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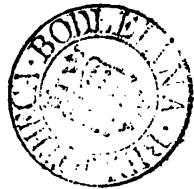
JOHN FOSTER,

AUTHOR OF ESSAYS ON DECISION OF CHARACTER, POPULAR IGNORANCE, ETC.

SELECTED FROM PERIODICAL PAPERS NOT HITHERTO PUBLISHED
IN A COLLECTIVE FORM,

AND EDITED BY

HENRY G. BOHN.



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P R E F A C E.

THE present volume of *Ana* consists, almost exclusively, of Extracts made from such of the late Mr. Foster's Contributions to the "Eclectic Review" as have not already been published in the collection, entitled "Critical Essays."

The papers which have here afforded so much of what is believed to be sterling matter, were, in their original form, too diffuse and mixed to be successfully republished entire, and for this reason had been allowed to remain undisturbed in their original repositories.

But a desire to give to the world, as completely as possible, the works of a writer who has been pronounced by Sir James Mackintosh "one of the most profound and eloquent that England has produced," induced the publisher to re-examine with close attention these comparatively neglected papers; and he soon perceived that although unavailable as a whole, they abounded with valuable morceaux which might be advantageously detached.

In this feeling he determined to make selections in the form they are now presented. All the intersecting chapter-headings, printed in capitals, and repeated in the Table of Contents, are additions of his own; and though in some instances they may seem capricious, they have never been adopted without due consideration. In this department of his labour, he has throughout consulted Mr. J. E. Ryland, the friend and biographer of Mr. Foster, and is much

indebted to that gentleman for his judicious advice; but not having invariably followed it, he is bound to take all responsibilities on himself.

A high appreciation of the writings of John Foster has long actuated the publisher to collect them all, with the view of publishing them popularly in a uniform series, and he is happy to say that he is now in a condition to fulfil his intentions.

The present volume will be followed by one containing Mr. Foster's "Introductory Essay to Dr. Doddridge's Rise and Progress of Religion," his "Observations on the Rev. Robert Hall," an unpublished and unfortunately unfinished "Essay on the Employment of Time," of which a specimen is given at pages 558—60, and other Miscellanies; after which, the whole works, consisting of ten volumes, will be arranged in the following order, and general titles be given in the last :—

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H. G. B.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
FALSE MODEL OF AN INDEPENDENT MAN *	1
ON MORAL EVIDENCE	6
ON MATHEMATICAL DEMONSTRATION	7
THE LOVE OF TRUTH A NATURAL PROPENSITY	8
ON THE MULTIPLICATION OF THE EVIDENCES OF CHRISTIANITY	8
ON INFLATED STYLE AND THE MISAPPLICATION OF METAPHOR	10
HOLLAND AND THE RHINE	13
DUTCH LOVE OF MONEY	15
DUTCH GRAVITY	16
DUTCH CAUTION AND ECONOMY	16
PUBLIC MEN	17
THE CHARACTER OF LORD MACARTNEY.	19
FOREIGN TRAVEL	20
ENGLISH POWER IN THE EAST	23
BUDDHISM AND BRAHMINISM	24
ON WORTHLESS BOOKS	26
ON TRANSLATING THE SCRIPTURES INTO THE ORIENTAL LANGUAGES	28
THE HIGH CHURCH AND DISSENTERS	41
THE FORCE OF HABIT	44
ANGLO-INDIAN LITERATURE	45
ON THE DESTRUCTION OF IDOLATERS	47
TRANSLATION AND DIFFUSION OF THE BIBLE	48
RESPECT FOR LORDS	49
QUALIFICATIONS OF A TRAVELLER	49
IMPORTANCE OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE	50
ON THE CONVERSION OF THE HINDOOS	51
MISMANAGEMENT OF THE INDIA SHIPPING	53
POLYGAMY	53
CHRISTIANITY IN ABYSSINIA	54
SACRED BOOKS OF THE HINDOOS	55
PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA	57
PERSECUTION OF THE MISSIONARIES IN INDIA	59
MISSIONARY PREACHING NOT THE CAUSE OF INDIAN REVOLT	60
ON THE MUTINY AT VELLORE	60
BRAHMINICAL PREJUDICES	62
HINDOO ANTIPATHY TO MAHOMETISM	62
ON THE PROBABILITY OF CONVERTING THE HINDOOS	63
QUAKERS OF NORTH AMERICA AN EXAMPLE FOR INDIA	65
CRUELTY TO ANIMALS	66

* The large capitals are used to distinguish the commencement of a new article. The particular book under review is always mentioned at foot of page.

	PAGE
ON THE PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY IN ASIA	69
EXAMPLES OF BAD ENGLISH	72
ADVANTAGES OF BRITISH SUPREMACY IN INDIA	74
SIR THOMAS MORE AND HIS UTOPIA	75
ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT	77
HUET, BISHOP OF AVRANCHES	79
THE DELPHIN CLASSICS	82
SPAIN	83
SPAIN AND PORTUGAL COMPARED	85
SPANISH FREEDOM IMPROBABLE	86
POPISH SUPERSTITIONS	87
AMELIORATION OF THE AFRICANS	88
SUGGESTIONS FOR COMMERCE WITH AFRICA	91
THE SLAVE TRADE AN IMPEDIMENT TO COMMERCE	92
EUROPEAN EDUCATION OF AFRICANS	94
ON THE QUALIFICATIONS OF A TRAVELLER	96
FAULTS OF TRAVELLERS	98
PICTURE OF RUSSIA	99
MOSCOW DURING EASTER	102
THE RUSSIAN ARISTOCRACY	103
RUSSIAN PEASANTRY	104
RUSSIAN SERFDOM, OR WHITE SLAVERY	105
RUSSIA ESSENTIALLY DESPOTIC	107
ON EPIC POETRY	107
GRAMMATICAL CRITICISM	110
AMERICAN INDIANS	114
NEPAUL AND THE CHINESE	121
HINDOO MYTHOLOGY	125
SURINAM	127
MARTINIQUE	127
PARAMARIBO	128
DUTCH COLONIAL POLICY	129
SEA COW AND OTHER NORTH AMERICAN LUXURIES	130
LONGEVITY OF THE LADIES IN SURINAM	130
SLAVERY IN SURINAM	131
THE CHURCH AND THE MISSIONARIES	133
TEMPLE OF JUGGERNAUT	137
ENGLISH SANCTION OF IDOLATRY	145
THE FUNERAL PILE	146
THE FIRST PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES	146
THE MALAYAN ARCHIPELAGO	148
PARENTS EATEN BY THEIR CHILDREN	148
THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS	149
THE INQUISITION AT GOA	151
BRITISH OCCUPATION OF INDIA	154
DOUBTFUL VALUE OF BRITISH INDIA	155
FALSE NOTIONS OF INDIAN GRANDEUR	155
CHARACTER OF TIPPOO SAIB	167

	PAGE
SIR JOHN CARR	159
THE MAID OF SARAGOSSA	159
SPANISH BULL FIGHT	161
SEVILLE	163
ROAD-SIDE SCRIVENERS	163
ON THEATRICAL ENTERTAINMENTS	164
LITERARY CHARACTER OF MURPHY	166
THE RAMAYUNA AND SANSKRIT LITERATURE	167
JAMES HERVEY AND HIS MEDITATIONS	169
ON THE ALARMING INCREASE OF BOOKS OF TRAVELS	171
THE READING TASK OF FUTURE TIMES	173
THE PERSIAN EMBASSY	176
INSENSIBILITY THE EFFECT OF DESPOTISM	177
BUSHIRE	178
STATE PROCESSION OF THE EMBASSY	178
PERSIAN ENTERTAINMENT AND ETIQUETTE	179
INFLUENCE OF ASTROLOGY	180
CEREMONY OF THE ISTAKBALL	181
SHIRAZ	182
WATER-SPOUTING AND ROPE-DANCING	183
FILIAL RESPECT AMONG THE PERSIANS	183
THE ROYAL AUDIENCE	184
PERSIAN NOTIONS OF AMERICA AND ENGLAND	186
DRAMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE DEATH OF HOSSEIN	186
THE PERSIAN HAREM	187
THE MAN AT THE TOP, OR DEFERENCE TO RANK	188
MENTAL INDUSTRY	188
JOHN SELDEN	190
SELDEN'S HISTORY OF TITHES	190
ROYAL METHOD OF SETTLING CONTROVERSIES	191
SELDEN'S FORBEARANCE	192
SELDEN IMPRISONED BY CHARLES I.	193
SELDEN'S PARLIAMENTARY LIFE	193
SELDEN'S RELIGIOUS OPINIONS	195
SUPERSTITION AND ITS EFFECTS	195
MORAL EFFECTS OF IDOLATRY	197
HINDOO INFANTICIDE	197
INFANTICIDE IN KUTCH	200
INFANTICIDE IN KATTIWAR	201
MODES OF INFANTICIDE	201
ORIGIN OF INFANTICIDE	203
REVERSAL OF MORAL SENTIMENTS	204
CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF INFANTICIDE	205
MEASURES FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF INFANTICIDE	206
IMPORTANCE OF ENGLISH INFLUENCE IN INDIA	207
BISHOP WAYNEFLETE	208
FOUNDATION OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE	209
EXQUISITE NONSENSE	210

	PAGE
INFLUENCE OF SCENERY ON THE MIND	212
GRANDEUR OF ICELANDIC SCENERY	214
REIKEVIG, THE CAPITAL OF ICELAND	215
ICELANDIC HOSPITALITY	215
INCONVENIENCES OF TRAVELLING IN ICELAND	216
THE GEYSER SPRINGS	217
AN ICELANDIC CHURCH	219
WONDERS FAMILIARIZED BECOME INDIFFERENT	220
CHURCHES USED AS WAREHOUSES	220
EXTRAORDINARY SALMON FISHING	221
FIRE AT SEA	221
LIBERTY OF THE PRESS	222
THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONISTS	222
THE FACTIONS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION	223
UNANIMITY OF THE GIRONDISTS	224
CAUSES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION	224
ADVANTAGES OF ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCH	225
ON ALLEGORY	227
ALLEGORY AN INFERIOR MODE OF INSTRUCTION	228
SPENSER'S "FAIRY QUEEN"	230
BUNYAN'S "PILRIM'S PROGRESS"	232
ISAAC D'ISRAELI	233
THE POETICAL WITS	234
ARISTOCRATIC PATRONAGE OF AUTHORS	234
ROYAL ELEEMOSYNARY GRANT TO STOWE	235
COWLEY, DENNIS, AND ORATOR HENLEY	235
COMPATIBILITY OF STUDY WITH LONG LIFE	236
LABORIOUS AUTHORS	236
CARDINAL WOLSEY	237
WOLSEY'S BOUNDLESS AMBITION	238
THE VARIETIES OF HUMAN CHARACTER	241
CHARACTER OF M. CHATEAUBRIAND	241
DESIGN OF THE BEAUTIES OF CHRISTIANITY	242
DEFECTS IN CHATEAUBRIAND'S SCHEME OF THEOLOGY	243
PHILOSOPHIC INQUIRIES INTO THE TRINITY	244
CARELESS EXPRESSIONS IN THEOLOGICAL WRITINGS	245
THE FALL OF MAN	246
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SERPENT TRIBE	246
THE POWER OF MUSIC OVER A SERPENT	247
AMERICAN INDIFFERENCE TO TOPOGRAPHY	248
VERIFIED PROGNOSTICS REGARDING AMERICA	249
FERDINAND DE SOTO	250
RIVALRY OF SPAIN AND FRANCE IN CANADA	251
FOUNDATION OF QUEBEC	251
THE MISSISSIPPI ADVENTURERS	252
STORY OF THE NATCHEZ	254
THE MISSISSIPPI SCHEME	255
CESSION OF LOUISIANA TO THE UNITED STATES	256
ADMONITION TO AUTHORS	257

CONTENTS.

ix

	PAGE
ON FRIENDLY OPINIONS IN LITERATURE	258
THE MARQUESAS	260
PROFLIGACY OF THE ISLANDERS	261
FACILITIES OF MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE	262
GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUESAS	262
THE TABOO	262
WAR FEASTS OF THE MARQUESANS	263
CANNIBALISM OF THE MARQUESANS	264
WOMEN DENIED THE LUXURY OF EATING THEIR PARENTS	264
INSPIRED CANNIBALISM	265
JUNIUS	266
IGNOTUS PRO MAGNifico, OR THE POWER OF MYSTERY	267
GLOVER'S CLAIMS TO THE AUTHORSHIP OF JUNIUS	268
THE CHARACTER OF GLOVER CONSIDERED	271
CARDINAL XIMENES	275
REMOVAL OF THE COURT OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA	276
PROMOTED TO THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF TOLEDO	277
XIMENES AS A MILITARY LEADER	278
XIMENES APPOINTED REGENT OF SPAIN	279
DISMISSAL AND DEATH OF XIMENES	280
CHARACTER OF XIMENES	280
THE USE OF EMBLEMS IN EDUCATION	281
EMBLEM OF THE PROGRESS OF LIFE	282
FREE WILL AND ORIGINAL SIN DANGEROUS GROUND	282
INDIA AND ITS PEOPLE	283
THE WHITE ANTS OF INDIA	284
DESTRUCTIVENESS OF PARROTS AND PARROQUETS	285
SUSCEPTIBILITY OF THE CHAMELEON	286
THE SWINGING DEVOTES	286
ORNAMENTAL WELLS OF INDIA	287
FALSE CHRISTIANITY AT GOA	287
THE SALT-PANS OF MALABAR AND BENGAL	287
CHEAPNESS OF CHILDREN AT MALABAR	288
LOW ESTIMATE OF THE HINDOO CHARACTER	289
ON HINDOO CASTES	290
HINDOO MARRIAGES	290
A MAHRATTA CAMP	290
INDIAN WARFARE	292
THE BEAUTS OF GUZERAT	293
INDIAN RECKLESSNESS OF LIFE	294
MUTUAL TOLERATION BETWEEN THE HINDOOS AND MAHOMETANS	295
EFFECTS OF TIME AND CLIMATE IN PRODUCING TOLERATION	296
HINDOO AND MAHOMETAN HATRED OF EUROPEANS	296
THE UNIVERSITIES	297
PRESTIGE OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION ON THE DECLINE	297
THE MONARCHY OF ETRURIA	299
A QUEEN IN ADVERSITY	299
KIDNAPPING THE POPE	300
ABYSSINIA	303

	PAGE
THE INTERIOR OF ABYSSINIA INACCESSIBLE	304
ABYSSINIAN SLAVE MARKET	305
EUROPEAN IGNORANCE OF THE INTERIOR OF ABYSSINIA	306
THE MAKOOA NATION	306
ABYSSINIAN LUXURIES	307
TRIPLE DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM OF ABYSSINIA	307
THE AGOW CHRISTIANS	309
SHOOTING AT THE HIPPOPOTAMUS	309
LIVING RUMP STEAKS	310
AN ABYSSINIAN ELEPHANT HUNT	311
MERCANTILE ADVENTURE	312
A FIFTY-TWO DAYS' FAST	312
ABYSSINIA ESSENTIALLY CHRISTIAN	312
CONJEVERAM, NEAR VELLORE	313
MAGNIFICENT PAGODA AND TEMPLE	314
LOFTY PAGODA DEDICATED TO SEEVA	315
TEMPLE TO VISHNOU	316
BRAHMIN MODE OF RECOVERING CASTS	316
SOUTHERN AFRICA	316
STOICISM OF HOTTENTOTS	318
DANGERS OF AN AFRICAN STATION	319
DIFFERENT ESTIMATES OF SOLITUDE	320
MINERAL COLOURING POWDERS IN AFRICA	322
THE CITY OF LATTAKOO	323
RELIGIOUS NOTIONS OF THE LATTAKOOS	324
AFRICAN NOTIONS OF MISSIONARY OBJECTS	325
EMPLOYMENTS AT LATTAKOO	325
NATURE OF AFRICAN GLORY	326
THE WANKETEENS AND THEIR MURDEROUS PROPENSITIES	326
AN AFRICAN DESERT	327
ADVENTURE WITH LIONS	327
ASBESTOS MOUNTAINS	328
SUPINENESS OF THE BUSHMEN	328
MONSIEUR LE VAILLANT DRUBBED BY A LADY	329
INTENSE HEAT	329
THE SOLITUDES OF AMERICA	330
THE OSAGE INDIANS	332
THE OSAGES LINEALLY DESCENDED FROM A SNAIL AND A BEAVER	332
THE AMERICAN PRAIRIES	333
THE SIOUX INDIANS	334
THE YANKTONS	334
FOUR ACRES OF LITTLE DOGS	335
THE MANDANS	335
THE MEDICINE MAN	336
INDIAN FEROCITY	336
INDIAN ENDURANCE OF COLD	337
VOLCANIC MOUNTAINS	337
BEAR-SHOOTING ADVENTURE	338
BUFFALO DECOY	339
THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS	340

CONTENTS.

xi

	PAGE
AMERICAN CATARAOTS	341
THE SNAKE INDIANS	342
CROSSING THE SNOWY MOUNTAINS	343
DESCENDING THE RAPIDS	344
A WINTER CAMP	344
AMERICAN INDIAN NOTIONS OF PHRENOLOGY	345
RUSSIAN CONQUESTS IN ASIA	346
RELIGION OF THE CIRCASSIANS	347
CIRCASSIAN PRAYING MACHINES	348
WOODEN PRAYER-BOOKS	349
THE MASTER BOOK OF THE WORLD	350
PRIESTCRAFT	350
SANCTIFICATION OF SHADOWS	350
MONGOL SUPERSTITIONS IN THE BUILDING OF TEMPLES	351
THE LAMA RELIGION	351
DOMESTIC ALTARS OF THE MONGOLS	352
THE TSCHERKESSIANS, OR CIRCASSIANS	352
CLARKE AND HUMBOLDT	353
THE PACHA OF ACRE	354
THE SERPENT-EATERS	354
THE PLAGUES OF EGYPT	355
TUMOURS PRODUCED BY IMPURE WATER	356
THE CITY OF CAIRO AND ITS INSALUBRITY	356
SCENES ON BOARD A TURKISH FRIGATE	357
REFINEMENT OF MOHAMMEDAN JUSTICE	358
GREEK MANUSCRIPTS AT PATMOS	358
CLASSICAL AND SCRIPTURAL ASSOCIATIONS	359
THE IDEAL FORMS OF ART	360
THE CELTIC CONTROVERSY	361
TRACES OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS	362
CLASSIFICATION OF BARROWS	362
LONG BARROWS OF HIGH ANTIQUITY	363
BURNING BODIES A REFINEMENT ON SIMPLE BURIAL	364
DEEP GRAVES OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS	364
TUMULI OF FEMALE BRITONS OF RANK	365
TUMULI OF HUNTERS AND WARRIORS	366
ANCIENT BRITISH POTTERY	366
TUMULUS OF AN ANCIENT WARRIOR	368
IRON NOT FOUND IN THE MOST ANCIENT TUMULI	368
SEPULCHRAL ORNAMENTS	369
INDICATIONS OF PRIMEVAL VILLAGES	370
RUDE HABITATIONS OF ANCIENT BRITONS	370
STONEHENGE	371
TIMBUCTOO	373
ADVENTURES ON THE WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA	374
SULPHUR MOUNTAINS	377
DESCRIPTION OF TIMBUCTOO	378
BUTTERING THE SKIN	378
TIMBUCTOO CUSTOM OF SELLING CRIMINALS	379

	PAGE
PREDATORY EXCURSIONS FOR SLAVES	380
ADAMS RANSOMED BY THE MOORS	380
ADAMS'S FURTHER ADVENTURES	381
LAROCHEJAQUELEIN AND THE FRENCH REVOLU- TION	382
LA VENDÉE AND THE LOYALISTS	385
PRIMITIVE STATE OF SOCIETY IN LA VENDÉE	386
FIRST OUTBREAK IN LA VENDÉE	387
CHARACTER OF THE FRENCH REPUBLICANS	387
THE PEASANTRY OF LA VENDÉE AUTHORS OF THE FIRST LOYALIST MOVEMENT	388
RECKLESS SELF-DEVOTION OF THE LOYALISTS	389
FEMININE TIMIDITY OVERCOME BY NECESSITY	389
SAVAGE FEROCITY OF THE REPUBLICANS	390
INFLUENCE OF THE PRIESTS	391
ECONOMY OF THE ROYALIST CAMPS	391
GRADUAL DESTRUCTION OF THE VENDEANS	392
MONASTIC AND BARONIAL REMAINS	393
BENJAMIN WEST	394
FIRST EMANCIPATION OF NEGRO SLAVES	395
BENJAMIN WEST'S EARLY INDICATIONS OF ART-LOVE	396
ARTISTICAL USE OF A CAT	397
WEST'S PRIMITIVE CAMERA OBSCURA	397
WEST'S FIRST SIGHT OF AN ENGRAVING	398
WEST ENCOURAGED AT PHILADELPHIA	398
QUAKERS FORMERLY OPPOSED TO THE PAINTER'S ART	399
QUAKER SOLDIERS	400
DEATH OF WEST'S MOTHER, AND HIS SUBSEQUENT JOURNEY	400
WEST'S RECEPTION AT ROME	401
THE APOLLO BELVEDERE LIKE A MOHAWK WARRIOR	402
A PRESBYTERIAN AND THE POPE	403
BENJAMIN WEST COMPARED TO RAPHAEL MENGES	403
EFFECTS OF EXCITEMENT	404
WEST'S GRAND TOUR AND ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND	405
RETROSPECT OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY	405
ANTICIPATIONS OF AMERICAN PROGRESS	406
SPANISH AMERICA AND HUMBOLDT	407
GOOD FRIDAY IN THE BRAZILS	408
IMPOSED DEFERENCES	409
VEGETABLE AND ANIMAL INCONVENIENCES	410
RAPID VEGETATION IN THE BRAZILS	411
IGNORANCE AND CREDULITY OF THE SERTANEJOS	411
THE MUMMY-PITS OF THEBES	412
DANGEROUS ADVENTURE IN THE MUMMY-PITS	413
SACRED BATH AND FAIR ON THE GANGES	417
HINDOO TOLERANCE OF ENGLISH MISSIONARY PREACHING	418
INHUMANITY OF THE HINDOOS	419
THE SUTTER, OR THE BURNING OF WIDOWS	420
AERIAL MONASTERIES OF METEORA	421

	PAGE
EXPERIMENTS ON THE GEYSER SPRINGS	423
THE GREAT VOLCANO "KRABLA YOKUL"	424
THE SULPHUR MOUNTAIN	426
TERRIFIC PASSES OF ICELAND	427
SCARCITY OF THE BIBLE IN ICELAND	428
ENORMOUS FIELDS AND MOUNTAINS OF ICE	428
AWFUL ERUPTION OF THE SKAFTAR VOLCANO	429
THE BOILING SPRINGS AND SEA-FARROTS OF BREIDAFJORD	430
GEOLOGICAL FEATURES OF ICELAND	431
THE SUN AT MIDNIGHT	432
THE VALLEY OF SMOKE	433
WONDERFUL MICE	433
THE ICY CAVE OF SUBTSHALLIR	434
THE HOT SPRINGS OF HVERAVELLIR	435
THOUGHTS ON THE HISTORY OF MAN	436
THE CELTIC TRIBES, OTTADIN, GADENI, AND SELGOVÆ	438
MILITARY WORKS OF THE ROMANS ON THE BORDERS	438
SAOXN ARCHITECTURE	439
INTRODUCTION OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM INTO SCOTLAND	440
BENEFITS OF MONASTIC INSTITUTIONS	440
CHARACTER AND CONSEQUENCES OF THE BORDER WARS	441
THE SCOTTISH BORDER STRENGTHS—PEELS AND BATTLE HOUSES	442
ENGLISH REPRISALS ON THE SCOTTISH BORDERERS	443
SUPERIORITY OF THE SOUTHERN BORDERERS	443
CHARACTER AND ECONOMY OF THE SCOTTISH BORDERERS	444
SCANTY RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES OF THE BORDERERS	445
ORIGIN OF THE CAMERONIANS	446
CHARACTER OF THE WARDEN GOVERNMENT	447
SUMMARY MODE OF PUNISHING MARAUDERS	448
MICKLE-MOUTHEO MEG	448
BLACK AGNES	449
THOUGHTS ON AFRICAN DISCOVERY	450
INFLUENCE OF MYSTERY ON THE MIND	452
CONJECTURES RESPECTING CENTRAL AFRICA	452
THE RIVER ZAIRE, CONGO, OR NIGER	454
THE MOUNTAINS OF THE MOON	455
THE MOUTH OF THE RIVER ZAIRE	455
AFRICAN INDICATIONS	456
AN AFRICAN LEVÉE	456
SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE CONGOES	457
THE CATARACT OF YELLALA	457
SLAVES THE STAPLE OF CONGO	458
CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS	459
GANGAM KISSEY, A CONJUROR-PRIEST	459
HOPELESSNESS AND TERMINATION OF THE ENTERPRISE	459
THE ABORIGINES OF AUSTRALIA	460
HUMAN SKULLS USED AS DOMESTIC ORNAMENTS	461
A HUNDRED MILLION PETRELS IN ONE FLIGHT	462
KING GEORGE'S SOUND, WESTERN AUSTRALIA	462

	PAGE
KANGAROO ISLAND	463
PELICAN ISLANDS	464
THE AUSTRALIAN FLORA	464
SCANDINAVIAN SCENERY	464
THE REGIONS OF PERPETUAL LIGHT	465
A REIN DEER CARAVAN	465
SOMETHING ABOUT MEETING-HOUSES	466
SALMON SPEARING	467
PERSECUTION BY THE MOSQUITOS	467
THE NOMADE LAPLANDERS	468
HIDDEN TREASURES OF THE LAPPS	469
THE CLOUDBERRY CURE	470
THE ATTRACTIONS OF A BALLOON AND A SERMON	470
A HINT ON CHURCH DISCIPLINE	470
RELIGION IN HARMONY WITH A TASTE FOR THE FINE ARTS	471
ARTISTIC MISREPRESENTATIONS DEPRECATED	472
THE PROPRIETY OF DISCRIMINATION IN SELECTION	473
THE BEAUTIES OF SMOKE IN SCENERY	474
INDIAN AFFAIRS IN 1817	474
MILITARY AUTHORSHIP	475
JUSTIFICATION OF THE WAR IN INDIA	476
TREACHERY OF THE NATIVE POWERS	477
INFATUATION OF THE NATIVE PRINCES	478
THE DESIGNS OF PROVIDENCE IN REFERENCE TO THE BRITISH CONQUESTS IN INDIA	478
FIDELITY OF THE SEPOYS	478
SUPERIORITY OF THE SEPOYS OVER THE NATIVE TROOPS	479
PROGRESS OF THE EUROPEAN MILITARY SYSTEM IN INDIA	479
INDIAN SUPERSTITIONS NOT INSUPERABLE	480
INDIAN CASTES MERGED IN MILITARY DUTIES	481
THE QUESTION OF TOLERATION OR CONVERSION IN INDIA	481
LINCOLN CATHEDRAL	483
POWER OF SIZE ON THE IMAGINATION	483
MIXED ARCHITECTURE OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL	484
THE POWER OF MYSTERY OVER THE MIND	486
SPECULATIONS ON THE NORTH-WESTERN PASSAGE	486
GREENLAND AND THE DANISH MISSIONARY, EGEDÉ	486
THE GOLD MINES OF GREENLAND IN THE CUSTODY OF DEVILS	487
THE AMOR PATRIÆ OF THE GREENLANDERS	488
GREENLAND SUPERSTITIONS	489
THE TORNGARSUK, OR DEVIL'S GRANDAM	490
THE GREENLANDERS' NOTION OF A FUTURE STATE	491
CHARACTER OF THE GREENLANDERS	492
THE KRAKEN	492
NEPAUL	493
NEPALESE RACES	494
ANTICIPATIONS RESPECTING INDIA AND CHINA	494
DESCRIPTION OF NEPAUL	495

CONTENTS.

xv

	PAGE
CHARACTER OF THE NEPALESE	495
DIFFERENCES IN BUDDHISM	496
THE GOT OR GARDENERS' CASTE	497
GRADATION OF CASTES FROM BARBERS TO SHOEMAKERS	498
THE POWER OF SUPERSTITION	499
GOORKA DOMINION OVER THIBET AND BOOTAN	499
INGENIOUS MODE OF APPLYING FINES	499
DANGEROUS POWER OF THE GOORKAS	500
POISONED ARROWS	500
HUMAN CATTLE	500
NATIVE SLAVES	501
THE CESSION OF JAVA TO THE DUTCH	501
THE SUPPOSED INSALUBRITY OF JAVA	502
EXTENSIVE VOLCANOES IN JAVA	503
THE GREAT ERUPTION OF THE TOMBORO	504
THE TEAK FORESTS OF JAVA	504
THE JAVAN POISON TREES	505
TARTAR ORIGIN OF THE JAVANESE	506
A YELLOW COMPLEXION AND BLACK TEETH THE TYPE OF JAVANESE BEAUTY	507
EARLY MARRIAGES AND FACILITIES OF DIVORCE	507
CHEAPNESS OF HOUSES	508
PICTURESQUE GROUPING OF THE VILLAGES OF JAVA	508
THE JAVANESE AN AGRICULTURAL PEOPLE	509
THE COMMERCE OF JAVA	509
EDIBLE BIRDS'-NESTS	510
THE GOVERNMENT AND RELIGION OF JAVA	511
POMPEII	512
REFLECTIONS ON THE SUDDEN REVELMENT OF PAST AGES	513
COMMENDATORY NOTICE OF SIR WM. GELL'S POMPEIANA	514
DIFFICULTIES OF EXCAVATING HERCULANEUM	514
THE VARIOUS STRATA WHICH COVER POMPEII	515
ACCIDENTAL DISCOVERY OF POMPEII	516
STRIKING MEMORIALS OF THE ERUPTION	516
OSTENTATION OF SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS	516
SINGULAR FUNERAL CEREMONY	517
DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE OF POMPEII	518
HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE AND IMPLEMENTS FOUND AT POMPEII	519
ROGER WILLIAMS, THE AMERICAN PILGRIM	520
THE ABORIGINES GRADUALLY EXTERMINATED BY THE MARCH OF CIVILIZATION	521
RECESSION OF WILD ANIMALS CONCURRENT WITH THE ADVANCE OF CIVILIZATION	522
APOLOGY FOR COLONIZATION	522
THE TIMES OF THE RED MEN	523
THE PURITANS INTOLERANT TO EACH OTHER	524
LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF ROGER WILLIAMS	524
ROGER WILLIAMS BANISHED FROM MASSACHUSETTS	525
SUPERNATURAL INTERPOSITION	526

	PAGE
TERRORS OF THE FOREST	527
THE RED MAN'S FRIENDLY RECEPTION OF WILLIAMS	527
THE FIRST SABBATH IN THE WILDERNESS	528
THE RED MAN'S COSMOGONY AND SCHEME OF FAITH	528
RETURN OF WABAN	529
WILLIAMS BECOMES A PACIFICATOR BETWEEN MASSASOIT AND THE NARRAGANSETTS	530
THE PAWAW OR WIZARD CHIEF OF CHEPIAN	531
THE MANITTOO, OR CHARMED RATTLESNAKE	531
SUCCESS OF THE NEGOTIATION	532
ROGER WILLIAMS'S FIRST SETTLEMENT	532
WILLIAMS AND HIS FAMILY TRACKED BY THE PAWAW	533
THEY TAKE REFUGE IN A CAVE	534
THE PAWAW AND HIS BLOODHOUND	534
WILLIAMS ESTABLISHED IN HIS SETTLEMENT	535
NEW TROUBLES.—A DEACON AGAIN	535
WILLIAMS'S SECOND PILGRIMAGE	536
ARRIVAL AND SETTLEMENT AT A SPOT OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY	537
GENERAL DEPRAVITY OF THE HUMAN RACE	538
CURIOSITY INHERENT IN MAN	538
IMPROBABILITY OF DISCOVERING AN UTOPIA	538
GENERAL FIDELITY OF MODERN TRAVELLERS	539
REFLECTIONS ON THE PREVALENCE OF MORAL DEFORMITY	540
THE ADAPTABILITY OF MAN TO HIS LOCATION	540
PHYSICAL VIEW OF NEW ZEALAND	541
MORAL AND SOCIAL VIEW OF NEW ZEALAND	542
POLACK'S PERSONAL EXPERIENCE OF THE NEW ZEALANDERS	542
THE 'ATUA' SUPERSTITION OF THE NEW ZEALANDERS	543
NEW ZEALAND BELIEF IN METEMPSYCHOSIS	545
THE REINGA, A NEW ZEALAND WALHALLA	545
NEW ZEALAND PRIESTCRAFT	546
EXTENSIVE CANNIBALISM	547
THE NEW ZEALAND CHIEF K'ONGI, ONCE RESIDENT IN ENGLAND	548
IMPROVED CHARACTER OF THE NATIVES	549
PICKLE COURAGE OF THE NATIVES	550
PARENTAL AFFECTION OF THE NEW ZEALANDERS	550
THE CEREMONY OF THE TANGI	551
THE UNIVERSAL RELATIONSHIP OF MAN	552
VIRTUES OF THE NEW ZEALAND WOMEN	552
ARISTOCRACY AMONG SAVAGES	553
VALUABLE QUALITIES OF THE NEW ZEALANDERS	554
PROSPECTIVE COLONIZATION OF NEW ZEALAND	555
THE IMPROVEMENT OF TIME	558
ON THE WASTE OF INTERVALS	558

FOSTERIANA:

THOUGHTS, REFLECTIONS, AND CRITICISMS,

SELECTED FROM

REVIEWS NOT PUBLISHED IN THE "CRITICAL ESSAYS."

FALSE MODEL OF AN INDEPENDENT MAN.*

By Independent Man, the author simply means, a man born to the inheritance of sufficient property to be the entire master of his plan of life; and the work professes to delineate a course of education and study for such a man, from his earliest infancy to an advanced period of maturity.

It may be proper to state generally, in a very few words, the kind of character which it is proposed that this man shall acquire, and the practical career through which it is presumed that he will be led. His virtue is to be of the true Roman quality, adopted for its dignity rather than sanctity, and therefore sustained by pride rather than conscience. After becoming an accomplished scholar, he is to liberalize and enlarge his views by travelling in foreign countries. By the time that he returns, he will be qualified to distinguish himself; and the ambition of doing this is to be a leading principle of his life, cherished by his instructors during his childhood, and afterwards cultivated and stimulated by himself.

There is not one sentence in the book that intimates an acknowledgment of a future life; and there are unequivocal marks of a total rejection of that revelation which has opened the prospect. The writer even rarely makes a serious reference

* The Independent Man; or, an Essay on the Formation and Development of those Principles and Faculties of the Human Mind which constitute Moral and Intellectual Excellence. By George Ensor, Esq. Two vols. 8vo. 1806.

to a Divine Being ; and it is in the language of contempt that he expresses, here and there, a transient allusion to religion, which he usually designates by the term superstition, especially when it is to Christianity that he alludes. This malignity is not always bold and explicit ; for, as he says, "the authorized superstition of nations is only to be circumvented by distant approaches and desultory attacks ;" meaning, undoubtedly, that the assailants must take care of their own impunity. It is hardly worth while to remind such a writer, of what has been repeated to his class a thousand times, that it was not in this sorry mode that the men, whose names he hates, assaulted the authorized superstitions of the pagan nations. If it had, the worship of Jupiter, Bacchus, and Venus, might, for them, have flourished long enough in all its glory. They sounded the trumpet, and advanced firmly in the face of their enemy, at the peril of incomparably greater evils than Mr. Ensor and his friends would, in these times, have to fear from any *human* power, in the most formal attack on what they account superstition. The hostility of those heroic innovators did not thus show itself for a moment, wriggling and hissing, and then slink back into a ditch. Our author and his class will reply, with the accustomed sneer, that *they* have no very eager desire for sufferings, though the *Christians* might : and assuredly, considering the nature of their dissent, they are perfectly wise in not risking their safety for their opinions. But then they ought to have the decency to be totally silent about magnanimity, generous devotion to truth, the vindication of the claims of reason, and such nonsense (worse than nonsense in the mouths of these sneaking cowards) ; and yet this is a kind of dialect for which they affect a particular fondness. Few of them, however, speak out more intelligibly than our author ; and when he does not choose to be precise, he resorts to the expedient, so common in his school, of intimating that the "dogmas of religion" are not only undeserving of the belief, but below the attention, of any one pretending to reason or philosophy. "It is not for me," this writer says, "to investigate such matters."

We have dwelt so particularly on this part of the character of the book, because we deem the preclusion and contempt of the sublime expectations founded on religion, to

be absolutely fatal in a work professing to be a comprehensive scheme of intellectual and moral institution. For the final object of that institution, and consequently many of its principles and rules, must in a scheme which disowns those expectations, be fixed according to a standard infinitely too mean for the interests of man, if there may be the smallest chance that he may be immortal. If, on the contrary, it is certain there is a full end of him at death, then a discipline so strenuous as that here proposed, is perfectly ridiculous, by the contrast between the greatness of its labours, and the poorness and vanity of its object. According to this scheme, a man must force himself to an exertion as severe and unintermitted as ever a slave expired under,—and for what? Why, to make, during a few years, a little figure and noise in the world, dividing the attention of the public with a Vestris, a Betty, or a Catalani, and enjoying incomparably the smaller share; or to obtain, just in order to lose, a partnership in office and power, with persons who, he might know, will endure none of his Catonic notions; or to make one more hapless trial to verify that weakest, wildest dream of philosophical fanaticism, that the complacency of virtue, without looking beyond itself, creates a happiness independent of all external circumstances; or to earn a little posthumous fame, which will be the same thing to him as the winds that will whistle over his tomb. The writer who can gravely propose a scheme so humble in its ends, and so onerous in its means, has neither, on the one hand, the sobriety of views requisite for adjusting a plan of discipline for beings who are to exist only a few years, and whose true policy is to incur as little uneasiness, and seize as much pleasure, as they can; nor, on the other hand, the enlargement of views indispensable in framing a system of education for beings who are to live for ever. He may give very good instructions relative to some of the specific parts and details; he may be a judicious guide in respect of a language or a science, and may even offer useful suggestions relating to morals; but believing, as we do, that the subject of his discipline is immortal, we cannot deem him better qualified to frame a *system* for the education and subsequent life of the Independent Man, whom he has taken under his management, than a bargeman on the river is

competent to command a ship which is to circumnavigate the globe, or than a vestry legislator is qualified to investigate the interests of an empire, or a parish officer to govern it.

It is impossible to imagine a book written, for the greater part, under a more complete exemption from all laws of regular connexion and consecutive train. The work is a huge mass of separate particles, brought into vicinity and contact, but not into combination. They are in the same situation as the atoms of the author's favourite Lucretius, at that particular period, when, after having danced about in the great vacuum in a state of infinite dispersion and freedom from all eternity, they at last, some million or two of ages before the complete formation of the world, found themselves, to the astonishment of each, all congregated thick together, waiting, as it came out afterwards, to be organized into a system. The work contains but little of what bears any semblance to reasoning, and scarcely anything that can be called disquisition. This is compensated, however, by an extraordinary measure of dogmatism, which is emitted in an oracular tone, and in shorter sentences than we can recollect to have been in use with any other of the pagan oracles. The author has a right to sneer, as he sometimes does, at "the believers;" for he, on every subject he touches, is far beyond mere *belief*; he always *knows*.

A more imperfect scheme of morals was perhaps never exhibited in a work designed, and sufficiently amplified, to comprehend the outlines of whatever is indispensable to the formation of a character of exalted excellence. It totally omits or rejects some of the highest virtues according to the Christian scheme: this is a matter of course; but it also places the virtues which it does enjoin on a treacherous basis, and under the feeblest sanctions. The presence of the all-seeing Governor and Judge of the world, and the infinite importance of His approbation, were considerations too mean, vulgar, or fanatical, to be recollected by our philosopher, among the motives to virtue. And as to the disapprobation of that power, he expressly and vehemently protests against the inculcation of any such barbarous idea on the youthful mind.

The observations on morals are followed by three short and very miscellaneous sections, under the titles — genius

and study requisite to great undertakings ; objections to learning answered ; remarks on reading. These contain sensible observations and learned allusions, but nothing particularly new ; and the composition is so disconnected, that we are reminded of the description mentioned by Mr. Ensor as having been applied to the composition of Seneca, "sand without lime." Here, and in several places, he inculcates the favourite principle of Rousseau, that the value of individuals is in their being component parts of the community. A man's own happiness is to be made a secondary thing, as it should seem, to the welfare and glory of his friends and his country.

The language of the work is neither vulgar nor classical. Occasionally, it is really forcible ; but very often it is unsuccessfully attempted to be made so, by short, snapped kind of sentences, which continually remind us of the crackers bouncing about the streets, with so much friskiness and petty explosion, on the evening of the fifth of November. There is often an incorrectness of construction, a quaintness of phrase, a crudeness in the enunciation of the thought, which we wonder so much familiarity with so many classical authors should not have prevented or reformed. The figurative illustrations now and then appear to have been brought into their places by main force, but in other instances are natural, expressive, and happy.

The most obvious feature of the composition, is a surprising frequency of proper names. A considerable number of this privileged order, this aristocratic class of words, has an enlivening effect, and helps to catch the attention of a person that may happen carelessly to open the book. But here they are crowded on the page, as plentifully as tin spangles on the robe of a strolling actress.

ON MORAL EVIDENCE.*

THE province of demonstration is a very exalted, but a contracted and secluded region. Its votary finds himself in a situation somewhat like the narrow ridge of the summit of Mont Blanc, where the atmosphere is refined to ethereal subtlety ; where the stars appear with a lustre unknown to the people of the world beneath ; where the man of science apprehends no intrusion of the vulgar, and where he may enjoy his apotheosis among diagrams which he draws in the eternal snow ; but where there is no living thing, nor sustenance for life, and even the vital operation of breathing is uncongenial with the place ; where he seems at an infinite distance from the community of man ; where the exercise of his moral functions is suspended for want of objects, and where often the whole face of the world, with all its beautiful diversities of form and colour, is intercepted from his view by a wide stratum of clouds, which compels him to be satisfied with looking into empty space. The attainment of absolute certainty in reasoning, is a high triumph of the understanding ; but the elation with which the mind surveys that portion of truth which it can ascertain by demonstrative proof, is repressed by observing, that the truths of this order form but a small part of what it is important for us to know, and that they do not involve the most interesting subjects. For the scope of demonstration is too confined to reach to the great questions of morals, of religion, or of political science, nor can it assist us in our inquiries into the events of past ages ; in our speculations on our own nature ; in our estimate of the pleasures of which that nature is capable ; or, in short, in our theory of the nature and means of happiness. Throughout this wide extent of speculation, the truth is to be ascertained by another mode of proof, denominated moral evidence, on the ground of which, our reasonings on almost all subjects, but mathematical ones, must proceed.

* An Introduction to the Study of Moral Evidence ; or, of that Species of Reasoning which relates to Matters of Fact and Practice. With an Appendix, on Debating for Victory, and not for Truth. By James Edward Gambier, M.A. 12mo. 1806.

Mankind, therefore, in general, and even the cultivated and intellectual part of them, have occasion to bring a thousand—perhaps ten thousand—questions to a decision, on this species of proof, for one which requires or admits a process of demonstration. We may be disposed to lament, that the nature of things makes it impossible to apply this most infallible method of decision to incomparably the greatest proportion of the subjects of our knowledge; but this regret for the exclusive nature of the most perfect of mental operations, should make us anxious to attain a finished mode of performing the next, which is of less pure intellectual dignity indeed, but of infinitely greater value, on account of the extent of its application.

ON MATHEMATICAL DEMONSTRATION.

In common with every rational man, Mr. Gambier expresses his high respect for demonstrative reasoning; but says, he has had many occasions of observing how little it qualifies a person for forming right opinions on moral and practical subjects. Since the *methods* of demonstration are necessarily confined to science, it is only its *spirit*, its severe accuracy, that can be transferred to the investigation of these more general subjects. This intellectual severity, carried into moral reasonings, would be of the greatest advantage, provided the inquirer would constantly recollect the nature of his subject, and let this spirit operate in the way of producing a vigorous exactness in the development and combination of such arguments as those subjects admit, instead of exciting an impatience for such as in their very nature they preclude. And, accordingly, several distinguished mathematicians have been admirably successful in questions of moral evidence. On the other hand, not a few of them, disabled, as it should seem, by their scientific studies, to employ their understanding in any other than a mathematical method, have, with regard to subjects of religion and morals, either reasoned ill, or abandoned themselves to scepticism. And to one or other of these consequences, but especially the latter, every man accustomed to demonstrative reasoning will be liable, if he do not make the nature of moral evidence a distinct and careful study.

THE LOVE OF TRUTH A NATURAL PROPENSITY.

When considering the influence of testimony on our belief, the author is inclined to coincide with Dr. Reid's opinion, that there are two principles implanted in our nature, which correspond with each other: first, a propensity to speak the truth; and secondly, a disposition to confide in the veracity of others.

It may be impossible to *prove* the non-existence of these specific original principles, in the constitution of our nature; because the human mind cannot be made a subject of investigation, till after it has begun to pass under those impressions, which may produce the appearance of a distinct specific principle, by giving a specific determination to a general one. But we think the experience of the children (for in the very worst society, every child probably hears a hundred truths for one falsehood), and the incomparably greater facility of relating from memory than from invention, are quite sufficient to account for the tendencies to credulity and veracity, without supposing distinct principles in the constitution of the mind; and if these causes are competent to the effects, it is unphilosophical to seek for others.

ON THE MULTIPLICATION OF THE EVIDENCES OF CHRISTIANITY.

MANY of our readers, we are persuaded, like ourselves, have been sorry that such a number of pens are employed on the proofs of the Divine authority of the Scriptures. This circumstance of multitude is injurious to the cause; the inquirer is absolutely confounded and distracted by the mass and diversity; unless he is fortunate enough to fall, in the first instance, on two or three of the ablest works, with which his judgment may be satisfied without reading any more, or to which, amidst various subsequent reading, his mind may continually recur, as containing the grand stamina of the argument.

If, when defences of revelation are as common as gram-

* Lectures on Scripture Facts. By the Rev. William Bengo Collyer. 8vo. 1807.

mars or compendiums of geography, a man can be ignorant enough to set up for a sceptic or a deist, without being apprized of these now familiar arguments, there seems little chance that they will come to the knowledge, or fix the attention, of such a stupid or frivolous mortal, merely in consequence of being exhibited in one more change of vehicle. And if it is after being made acquainted with these arguments, especially if it is after having read them as stated by the ablest advocates of religion, that he can still please himself with impiety and quibbles, we do not see on what ground a writer can expect to convince such a man, unless he really thinks he can reason more forcibly than Leslie, Butler, or Paley.

When the work has been done by several writers, in a manner supremely excellent, we should think succeeding authors, even of equal ability and preparation, would be anxious not to divert the public attention from those decisive performances, by labouring formally on the same ground, just as if nothing had previously been done. If they do employ themselves awhile on this ground, it will be for the purpose of just enumerating and concentrating the arguments by which it is so well pre-occupied, and earnestly enjoining their readers to study those great works in which these arguments are conclusively established. Their own principal efforts will be directed to what they deem substantially new. But then it is most clearly the duty of less qualified writers to forbear the sacrilege of injuring the powerful reasonings of their predecessors, and, therefore, injuring the great cause itself, by repeating and amplifying those reasons in a loose and enervated form. Without doubt, it is the duty of a minister sometimes to enforce these arguments from the pulpit, according to his measure of ability, whether it be greater or less; but when we consider the materials which infidels and sceptics are made of, we are anxious, we acknowledge, that all the works which challenge them through the press, should be such as would not depend for their effect on that most improbable preliminary,—that the prejudiced and scornful reader's own understanding shall be candidly exerted to give a stronger form to the arguments than the writer himself has given them.

ON INFLATED STYLE, AND THE MISAPPLICATION OF
METAPHOR.

There are probably few literary workmen who have not often in their time been vexed to feel, with how much more ease they could put together the figures of a picture, than the members of a syllogism. Mr. Collyer, in his anxiety to mark the *elegant* and the *touching* circumstances of a representation, sometimes gives such a prominence to little particulars, on account of their supposed gracefulness, that the attention fixes on them alone, to the neglect of the more general features of the object. In viewing this object, we feel much in the same way as we remember to have done in hearing a late reverend doctor who used to wear several beautiful rings on his fingers. We could perceive that the sermon was good, and that the man looked respectable enough ; but our perverse attention reverted every instant to the rings, and to those nice gesticulations of the hand by which they were made to sparkle so agreeably in the sunshine. Or, if we were for once to borrow an illustration from the art of painting, we should say, that he is sometimes less studious of the harmony and effect of the whole group, than of some elegant particularity of dress or attitude in one of the figures.

The histories adopted as the foundation of these lectures, involve some tender and many tragical scenes, and afford excellent opportunities of addressing the passions : these are never neglected by the author ; and he is sometimes very successful in delineating affecting situations. But in this particular we have found reason to complain of the sameness of images. Bereaved families, widows and orphans, aged parents dying, the separation of affectionate friends, are among the most interesting subjects of pensive thought. When they are brought in our view on occasions where it seems natural and inevitable, the heart acknowledges their claims, and willingly pays them the tribute of compassion and tears. But if they are made a topic of habitual recurrence, and brought forward whether the subject fairly introduce them or not, our feelings begin to change ; the sacredness of sorrow seems to be profaned, when the subjects of it are made to meet us wherever we go, as if by a con-

trived plan to play on our feelings. The sympathetic interest claimed by the scenes of mourning is lost in the hard effort, which candour enforces the duty of making, to believe that such deliberate and systematic contrivance is compatible with a great share of real sensibility in the contriver, who is watching every occasion to renew before us the same or similar spectacles of sorrow.

In various parts of the lectures, we observe a certain tincture of the language exclusively appropriate to subjects of a tender class, attempted to be infused into the composition, where it required a language of cool didactic or narrative simplicity. It is not going entirely out of the bearing of this remark to notice, that in a vast number of instances the term "bosom" is substituted for the plain, obvious word "mind."

The most prevailing fault in this work is one likely to be corrected by time and intellectual maturity. What we refer to is an excessively rhetorical cast of composition, which offends critical laws, sometimes by poetical apostrophe, when the train of ideas ought to have gone forward in a sober manner; frequently by personifications, when it is impossible to suppose either the speaker or the hearers, either the writer or his readers, to be in that state of vivid imagination, which is required to save a violence of figure from appearing altogether an effort of cold and forced invention; sometimes by representing as in sight of the assembly, past or distant events and objects; often by transmuting into metaphor what ought to have been in ordinary words; sometimes by amassing a number of magnificent images where one was sufficient; and very often by an artificial and too parading style. After alleging this fault, it is proper to transcribe some instances; and that we may not be suspected of having sought out these passages with invidious care: "One should imagine that Moses had snatched a feather from the wing of time, to record the swiftness of his flight." "But who regards the silent finger of religion, pointing to an inheritance above the stars, promising splendour that shall never expire?" "The laurel which he proudly boasts was nourished in the empurpled plains of carnage, and snatched from the field of death." "When Homer draws the picture of eternity with

the pencil of fancy." "Where Rome's awful senate convened, time strides over the ruin, and writes on the broken triumphal arch, The glory is departed." "We have learned from them [the orientals] in our eloquence to thunder with the storm, to rush with the torrent, to glide with the river, to murmur with the rill, and to whisper with the breeze." "At that period of the world when science unveiled all her splendours, and irradiated the discovered globe from pole to pole; when philosophy sat upon her throne enjoying the zenith of her power; and when reason had attained the meridian of her glory." "Hark, the trampling of the horses at the door, and the chariot of fire waits to bear thee to heaven." "This connexion looks death in the face." "Casting a mantle of forgiveness over this sinful pusillanimity." "If his mercy speaks in whispers, soft as the breath of the morning, or grateful as the gale fanned by the wings of the evening, every passion sinks to rest, every tumultuous feeling subsides, and we are lost in wonder, in love, in ecstasy." "See yonder Druid with fierceness glaring in his eyes, and the consecrated branch in his hand, polluting thy soil, O Britain! with the ashes of hundreds of victims, consumed in an enormous image! But soft—we promised to produce examples only from polished nations. My heart fails me, and the blood curdles in my veins with horror, when I recollect it was a custom common among the Carthaginians to sacrifice children to Saturn." "The earthquake that shakes the towering palace, and the proud battlements of the city, to the ground, rends the bosom of the earth, and discloses the shells and teeth of fish."

We should despair of the critical perception of any reader who would require us to prove, that it must be a false taste to be pleased with these passages, to which so many others might be added. Our candour would attribute this injudicious rhetoric to a cause which forms a very amiable feature in a juvenile mind,—an eagerness to give full effect to important truth; in the indulgence of which laudable feeling, we easily forgive a youth for having recourse to the obvious expedients of sonorous expression and showy ornament; since it requires a patience hardly natural to his years, to subdue himself to the hard and prolonged labour necessary for the attainment of vigorous

thought, and a chaste and precise language. At particular moments during our perusal, we confess a slight suspicion has come upon us, that the author had really persuaded himself to consider this mode of oratory as absolutely eloquent rather than as a very early stage in the progress towards true eloquence. But it would have been most unjust not to repel this suspicion, as it does seem impossible that a writer, acquainted with the most eloquent works of ancient and modern times, should deem the same epithet applicable to this species of composition, which we trust his growing good sense will abandon as one of the weaknesses of youth; and we are happy to suggest it to him as a consolation amidst his efforts to improve, that some of our best writers have begun their career with a certain degree of the same fault in their compositions.

HOLLAND AND THE RHINE.*

ABOUT twelve or fourteen years since, there was not a day in which nearly all the people of England did not think and talk of Holland, the Low Countries, and the Rhine. In contemplating the situation of Holland at that time, our minds reverted to the illustrious origin of its freedom, to its subsequent train of heroic characters and achievements, and to the national energy which had so long maintained at once its physical existence against the ocean, and its political independence against the most powerful neighbouring despots, while its commercial relations had extended to the remotest points of the globe. To see a state which had held so conspicuous a rank among nations approaching at last to its catastrophe; to see those moral and political mounds which had combined with the obstacles of nature to preclude the access and repel the approach of foreign dominion wearing away, and at length subverted at the very moment that nature too, in an extraordinary

* A Tour through Holland, along the Right and Left Banks of the Rhine, to the South of Germany, in the Summer and Autumn of 1806. By Sir John Carr. 4to. 1807.

manner, reversed her conduct, and opened the barrier to the irruption of a new and overwhelming power, which if it once inundated the land, was not likely to subside or recede ; and to see all those events consummated by the final surrender of that proud country, excited in our minds an attention and an emotion, in comparison with which many of even the important concerns of our own country were matters of but insipid interest.

During a year or two before this event, the Netherlands had been the scene to which our imagination constantly returned, in every interval of our immediate business, and often while that business was in our hands ; we were far more familiar with its cities and fortresses than with the towns in the farther part of the county in which we resided. In thought we traversed every district ; in following the movements of armies, we often saw from a high tower the field of battle, placed ourselves alternately in the situation of defenders and assailants of entrenchments and ramparts ; and amidst our amazement at the heroic enthusiasm which had perhaps never before animated so many combatants at once, we could almost imagine the shades of chiefs and legions who had fought and fallen in the same fields in former ages, recalled to the scene, and viewing with mixed wonder and envy the exploits which eclipsed their fame.

The Rhine was perhaps already the most celebrated river on earth, from the martial triumphs and devastations which had illustrated and afflicted the regions through which it flows. The events, however, which had made it so memorable, had long since sunk into the quietness of history, and our thoughts but little frequented its vicinity, till the tumult of a new and unparalleled contest extended along its banks. And then, for awhile, our imagination saw the Rhine wherever we went, and we were still musing on the *sublime* achievements (for there is hardly any man that does not associate rather a grand than a frightful and odious idea with distant war) which were probably at that very hour thundering on the one or the other brink of that stream. It was much indeed if we could walk over a bridge, or be rowed over a ferry, without thinking of armies swimming across the Rhine, to attack the enemy's lines on the opposite bank. Over these borders our anxiety and wonder hovered

for a considerable time ; and it was thought a rather extravagant presumption if any one predicted, that the scene of action and of interest was yet to be transferred far toward the east. After a year or two, however, all was changed. The fields which had been so fiercely contested were resigned to the peasant and his cattle ; the battlements no longer shook under the discharge of artillery, except when it announced some distant conquest, and the river was once more left to flow in peace. As soon as its neighbourhood ceased to be terrible, our imagination deserted it, and this famous river, and the territories immediately adjacent, have been for years past nearly as little thought of, as the Oby and its wildernesses and barbarian hordes. It could rarely be recalled to our recollection, while our thoughts were borne away by the strange progress, we might almost say flight of war, to the Adige, the Brenta, the Nile, the Danube, the Oder, the Elbe, the Vistula, and the Narva.

The author intermixes many anecdotes of the Dutch painters. It would have been no bad thesis for the exercise of his ingenuity, if he had attempted to account for the production of such a disproportionate number of painters, in a country where the natural scenery is so little adapted to inflame or enrich the imagination, where the heavy uniformity of society and manners would seem to afford so few diversities and combinations of character, and where poetry, the best nurse of the genius of painting, has never been able to preserve her sensibility and enthusiasm, amidst the eagerness for getting money, the exhalations of stagnant canals, and the smoke of tobacco.

DUTCH LOVE OF MONEY.

The sober, orderly character of the Dutch people does not much engage our respect, since it unquestionably springs in no small degree from the "root of all evil." But, considering the general state of the world, we may congratulate ourselves on meeting with a national characteristic which is good in practical effect, however unsatisfactory the principle. We are glad when vice is prevented, even though it be vice that prevents it. It will be a most sublime spectacle whenever a nation shall be found to renounce riot and dissipation from a principle of obedience to Divine laws : but in the mean-

time, it is very pleasant to be informed, even though there be little religion there, that a city is moderately quiet at night, that there is a general industry, and a tolerable share of domestic regularity and morality, that "drunkenness is held unpardonably infamous," and that there are excellent public institutions for the relief of distress, and for the salutary discipline of the profligate. Undoubtedly, a material proportion of this must result from something better than that mean passion for which the Dutch are notorious; it is partly the consequence of that careful education, which we are assured prevails in Holland.

DUTCH GRAVITY.

In spite of all the painters, the warriors, and the memorable events, of Holland, there is still something on which the imagination cannot endure to be detained; it is impatient to fly off, in quest of a country that should really seem a production of nature rather than of art, and in quest of a more lively or more dignified people. There is in this people nothing playful to divert us, nothing graceful to enchant us, and nothing majestic to keep us in awe. There is gravity enough, but it is more like the dry vulgar gravity with which a tax-gatherer makes up his accounts, than that of a philosopher exploring truth, or a philanthropist deliberating on plans of utility. It is the gravity of a man, who despises gaiety without being able to rise to contemplation. It is the gravity of a man that we wish fairly asleep in order to get out of his company, instead of that gravity which we respectfully wait upon, regretting its reserve, and anxiously soliciting it into social converse. The love of money always creates a certain coarseness in the moral texture either of a nation or an individual. Such a quality disables the mind to feel the fine part of any subject; and all that cannot be measured by roods, or valued by guineas, is considered as the business of men who came into the world to dream, and whine, and rant, and starve, being unhappily not born to the wisdom of minding and securing the main chance.

DUTCH CAUTION AND ECONOMY.

It is well known that the bronze statue is the third raised to Erasmus in his native city, the first having been of wood,

and the second of blue stone. For this a very characteristic reason has been assigned :—namely, that the worthy burghers, not knowing whether the race of genius, now that it had naturalized itself among them, might not be as prolific as that of rabbits, and very naturally considering what an expense it would in that case prove to raise a statue to each, except of the plainest materials, determined to begin on a plan which would enable their exchequer to accommodate all the tribe, let them be ever so numerous. Finding, however, at the end of near twenty years, that no second Erasmus had appeared, they allowed their heretofore well-judged parsimony to relax ; but still keeping a cautious and calculating look out, they thought it not prudent to venture beyond the expense of working a piece of good blue stone. After sixty-five years more had passed on, during which long period the threatened inundation of geniuses, wits, and literati, had not, in whole or in part, broken in upon them, they concluded that the danger was fairly over, and, instigated to a bold feat of liberality, they commemorated at once the merit of Erasmus and the security of their finances by a fine metal figure of the stature of ten feet.

PUBLIC MEN.*

THE great crowd of what are called public men, deserve no individual description or memorial. After having examined a few specimens, it is easy to guess the qualities of the rest. Compound an ordinary portion of talent with a rather extra quantity of cunning, and just as much selfishness as you please, existing in the lowest form of ambition and avarice, or both, and you have the substance of what is most commonly called a public man ; a very cheap composition, because it can be made up without the expense of a drachm of that rare and costly ingredient, public spirit. If there are persons, in the more retired walks of life, so simple as

* Some Account of the Public Life of the Earl of Macartney ; including an Account of the Russian Empire, a Journal of an Embassy to China, &c. By John Barrow, F.R.S. Two vols., 4to. 1807.

to regret that they cannot have the privilege of intimately observing the characters of the occupants of power and office, it might allay their discontented curiosity to be assured, that they may see everywhere around them exact models, on a smaller scale, of what they are precluded from inspecting. They may find, in the most subordinate ranks of society, plenty of the very same genus of personages, only with narrower scope for acting out their dispositions, and somewhat less plausibility of manners. If the high and imposing titles by which the upper part of the genus have agreed to call one another, have impressed a certain degree of awe on the minds of our supposed inquisitive recluses, it will perhaps be a little of the nature of a discovery and a surprise to them to find, that the schemes, and jealousies, and rivalries, and quarrels, that the intriguing, the cheating, the pettifogging, and the speechifying, of a country village, form a very good counterpart, except in speciousness of management, to the characters and proceedings of the men who generally transact the business of states. If they feel such surprise, however, they have only themselves to thank for the ignorance of so obvious a fact, as that mean and selfish passions predominate in human nature, that these must operate in all ranks of mankind equally, and almost in the same manner, and that consequently, in what are called public men, they will operate just to the extent of their larger sphere and opportunities. It is but to look at the portrait of a private and subordinate man's character through a glass that will magnify it to the dimensions of the public man's condition, and we have the latter character placed fairly before us. This expedient of magnifying the features of the private and vulgar character, is perhaps even the best way of obtaining a true idea of what assumes so much importance under the title of a public character ; for if we look directly at the public character itself, it is placed in a situation so much above the ordinary level, and in so peculiar a light, that we view it under a kind of optical deception, by which the coarse lines and features acquire a certain fallacious smoothness of appearance.

If the character of men in the higher stations be thus for the most part truly represented by a multitude of characters in all the lower ranks, the public, on which these men have

laid so many imposts during their lives, is but little obliged by the attempt to lay a new tax on its time and money, by volumes of tedious detail, after they are gone, of their commonplace qualities and actions. But there is just now and then an individual among these persons of public life, who combines such extraordinary talent with depravity, or it is possible (for the thing has happened) with high virtue, or who has transacted business in such uncommon circumstances, that it may be fairly claimed for him to be an object of considerable attention after his mortal agency has ceased. The curiosity which would feel but little interest in looking at those public productions, briars, nettles, and thistles, would be strongly excited at sight of the banyan, for its remarkable appearance ; and still more of the manchineel and the upas, for their qualities, if the latter were more than a fabled phenomenon ; it would be considerably excited if even a very ordinary tree were seen growing out of a crevice at the top of a high tower, or in any other strange situation.

THE CHARACTER OF LORD MACARTNEY.

Lord Macartney appears to have been of so different a composition from the vulgar tribe of men of office, that, independently of the singular embassy which has given the chief notoriety to his name, a patriot would be gratified to see a compressed discriminative sketch of his life exhibited to the nation, as, in a good degree, a standard by which to estimate men in high stations, and we wish it might not imply a hope which it is foolish to cherish, if we add, exhibited as a pattern for the imitation of such men. But though we feel so little hope of its being imitated, we are gratified in contemplating the one individual example of disinterestedness, prudence, and inflexible and courageous probity. To have the very *possibility* of such a character thus practically evinced, is something in these times ; and if it be useless, as it will of course, for operating any amendment, it will at least warrant the aggravated censure of what is incorrigible.

This memoir confines itself very strictly to its professed subject, the *public* life of Lord Macartney. And indeed, after reading the whole of this publication, we view him as so entirely and exclusively a public character, that we have

not the slightest curiosity about his private life. From almost the time of his being at school his ambition was directed toward the employments of the state ; and this continued to be his leading passion through his whole life. Having set in for a statesman, his studies, his habits of thinking, and the cast of his language, took the character appropriate to office. The whole intellectual and moral man grew into a political shape, wonderfully tallying, as if made on purpose, with the shape of the British state and constitution. He was very much like a tree trained and nailed to the wall of a building, perhaps vigorous and productive, but losing the free and various form of nature, in its adherence to the flat and the angles to which it is affixed. Though always desirous of public employment, he had nevertheless too much dignity and principle to seek it by cringing to the powerful, or intriguing with the profligate. Both in the earlier and later periods of his life, his only method was to place in the view of those at the head of government the proofs of capacity and virtue, in such a way as to indicate a willingness to be honourably employed. And as to the execution of the high offices in which he was engaged, we must be speaking of an extraordinary man when we say, we sincerely believe that, toward the close of his life, he would have been willing, as he avowed to a person who solicited materials for writing his biography, for every circumstance of his official conduct to be universally known.

FOREIGN TRAVEL.*

SOME of us can recollect it among the vain feelings of earlier life, that we regretted the disproportion between the dimensions of the globe and the locomotive powers of man, and should have been glad for the one to have been greater or

* A Description of Ceylon ; with Narratives of a Tour round the Island in 1800, the Campaign in Candy in 1803, and a Journey to Ramisseram in 1804. [By the Rev. James Cordiner, A.M. Two vols., 4to. 1807.

the other less. Or it would have partly contented us, as to our own gratification (and we own we were not much caring for that of persons in distant nations), if ten or twenty of the most wonderful objects and scenes in the whole world had been placed in such contiguity as to be comprehended in one country, and in Europe, where a moderate share of travelling might have brought us in sight of all that most deserved admiration on earth. But as these objects are placed at such distances that a hundred thousand miles of travelling, and the average length of human life, would hardly suffice to carry a man to all the principal of them, we felt great mortification, while burning with a most eager passion for the sight of the wonders we read of, to think of the miserable slowness of the modes of human motion, as set against the immense spaces which must be traversed to gratify the ambition of curiosity. When, in addition to this, we found ourselves denied the means and facilities for visiting even many remarkable scenes much nearer home than those which make the most conspicuous figure in a description of the globe,—means which would have enabled the ordinary powers of motion to reach these nearer objects of curiosity in a comparatively short time,—we did sometimes feel the wonderful accounts of travellers and naturalists operate as a bitter satire on our lot as belonging to such a slow moving genus of animals, as being placed so far from the most interesting spots on the earth, and as having at command so few of the compensations derivable from viewing more accessible, though less magnificent, wonders. It was mortifying, after reading of Niagara, to find nothing in the compass of our walks more striking than the weir of the mill-pond; to turn our eyes from the page which described an eruption of Etna, to see the smoke of a brick-kiln or forge; to be reminded of the pyramids by the sight of a steeple, or to have our reverie about Thebes or Palmyra interrupted by coming in view of a ruined manor-house. And even when, being in a much less romantic and classical mood, we carried the excursions of fancy no farther than Derbyshire, Cumberland, Killarney, or the Highlands, the indulgence became a very equivocal gratification, while we looked over the dull level or the insignificant hillocks around us, and considered how many things concurred to forbid our

going even a hundred leagues to indulge our taste for the beautiful and the sublime.

With no very good grace, perhaps, we submitted to our destiny, which every interesting book of travels we successively read, tempted us to deem an unfortunate one, but which we endeavoured to alleviate by making to ourselves a positive assurance, that at some period of life we absolutely would and must repay ourselves, by gazing on alps, or cataracts, or the ruins of ancient grandeur. It was not so obvious how this could be ; but an acknowledged certainty that it was *not to be*, would really have been a grievous conviction.

Though still subject to a revival of all our ancient enthusiasm when we look into some parts of the books of Bruce or Denon ; and though it is somewhat hazardous to our peace of mind to read about Rome, Herculaneum, Vesuvius, and Antiparos, yet time, sober reflection, and disappointment, not to add the infirmities of age, have done a good deal toward reconciling us to our excursions of half a mile, to our garret, and to our arm-chair, sitting in which garret and chair we often depute our imagination to accompany, instead of our bodily form and substance, the adventurers who traverse large tracts of sea and land. When these heroes are brought into desperate perils, we look complacently round on the dingy walls of our garret, and kindly grasp the arm of the chair, feeling ourselves very glad that our bodily substance is where we find it to be ; but no sooner do we see them dexterously eluding, or bravely surmounting the danger, than we begin to think that we were qualified to share the exploit, and deserving to share the triumph. When we beheld Park in the very romantic predicament of finding the gates of the town shut against him, while he heard a lion roar, and perceived its very near approach by the rustling of the bushes, there is no doubt that we blessed ourselves in the security of our situation ; but when this man of resources mounted a tree, and defied the enemy, we thought that we also could have climbed a tree with the adroitness of apes, and there laughed at the formidable king of beasts. Some of our readers may be spiteful enough to say, that a cluster of reviewers, with their spectacles on, up in a tree, would have been a goodly

sight, and to wish we might have been reduced to hold our sessions nowhere else to the end of time. They must, however, pardon our opinion, that no tree was ever so richly loaded as the one in question would be : but we are talking about the adventures of travellers, and the employments of our garret. Till that impatience to see wonderful things, which we have described as the grand passion of our youth, shall totally subside in old age, we shall hold it a principle of prudence to distribute books of travels into two classes—the animated and wonderful, and the sober and common. The former class we may hope to read in safety and advantage in our dull and languid seasons, since they will be at such times sufficient to enliven our spirits, without exciting us to deplore the want of wings or balloons, which we should be likely to do if we were to take up such books at an hour when our minds are at all infected with ardour and enthusiasm. This latter is the proper season for perusing slow-paced narratives and tame descriptions, which may contribute to damp the distempered passion, that is so fierce for distant climates.

ENGLISH POWER IN THE EAST.

It is curious enough to see just about as many Europeans as might have been carried out in two or three good ships, holding in subjection the entire coast of an island nine hundred miles in circumference, and rigorously confining the ancient native monarchy within the woods and hills of the central region, a space, indeed, which humanity would regret as too large to be left under the power of such an odious tyranny, even if it did not exceed a hundred acres, much more when it comprises several thousand square miles. The character of the native inhabitants, as to anything relating to knowledge and spirit, may be inferred from the fact, of more than one-third of them being kept under dominion by a stupid barbarian despot, and the remainder by a mere handful of Europeans.

The Malabars, as their name indicates, are descended from emigrants of some former age from the Peninsula, and retain their Hindoo and Mahometan manners and religion. They differ much from their neighbours, the Cingalese,

being stouter, more active and enterprising, but less innocent and more fraudulent.

BUDDHISM AND BRAHMINISM.

The greater proportion of the Cingalese and Candians profess the religion of Buddha, which is said to differ materially from that of Brahma, though our eastern scholars have failed as yet to determine the degree or all the points of difference ; and probably, if it could be done, the labour would be but indifferently bestowed, excepting so far as any incidental light for exploring ancient history might arise from the investigation. The merits of the two systems, if they may be so called, are probably much on a par, the superstition of Buddha not giving place to that of Brahma, or any other, in point of raving folly and puerile monstrosity of fiction. It talks of its twenty-six heavens ; of a stone, a kind of perching place of a god, which is the amount of a hundred and forty thousand English miles in circumference, and upwards of nine hundred and fifty thousand miles in height ; of a bird named Gourolass, which lives somewhere on the outside of heaven, and is two thousand one hundred miles in stature ; of elephants found in some region, of which we forget the name, which are a thousand million times stronger than those of Asia ; of iron, silver, and golden cities, which had wings and were ambulatory ; and of a period of years in the life and adventures of Buddha, which is expressed by an unit followed by sixty-three cyphers. It is yet to be determined who and what this Buddha was ; he is sometimes represented as an incarnation of Vishnu, but proves not to be identical with any of the nine Avatars of the Hindoos. Indeed there have been, it seems, more than twenty Buddhas in former periods of the universe, to whom are to be added five more for its present economy, four of which gentry have appeared already, and the fifth will be here a few thousand years hence ; till his appearance there is a vacancy or interregnum of Buddhas, as Gautama Buddha, the last of the four, was off a good while ago, leaving a Sahampattu Maha Brachma, or supreme of all the gods, to keep the world under his management till the appearance of Maitri Buddha. Gautama Buddha is the one whose "religion" now prevails in Ceylon, Siam, and

other parts of Asia. Before his appearance as a man, he was a god, and the supreme of all the gods, at the solicitations of many of whom he descended on earth to appear in a human form, and was born about 2,440 years since. "He lived happily with his queen Yassodera and forty thousand concubines for thirty-one years. The six next he passed in the midst of wildernesses, qualifying himself to be a Buddha. At the close of this period his calling became manifest to the world, and he exercised his functions as Buddha forty-five years. After his death he ascended to the Hall of Glory, which is a place above, and exceeding in magnificence the twenty-sixth heaven : there he will live for ever in happiness and incorruptibility, never to be born again in this world."

Some of the leading doctrines professed by his followers are said to be the following : That there has never been a creation, all things that now exist having existed from eternity ; that the universe has often fallen into a kind of chaos, but has in some inexplicable manner recovered itself into order again ; that there are an immense number of gods, all of them occupying their proper offices in the universe ; and, that human souls, after certain transmigrations, will at some very remote period cease to exist.

But whatever are the precise tenets of this superstition, as delineated in any of the sacred books, or held by the few of what may called, by courtesy, the learned men, "the generality of the Cingalese professing it are in the highest degree ignorant, and possess no knowledge of the principles of any religion, beyond what is to be found in the most savage state." And unfortunately this appears to be too true also of the very large proportion of Cingalese who profess a preference of Christianity. This proportion is reckoned at one half, part of whom belong to the reformed church, and part to the church of Rome. "Both are alike ill instructed, and adhere to the forms of their particular faith more through the strength of habit than from any serious conviction." These two modes of profession originated from the exertions of the Portuguese and Dutch masters of the island.

ON WORTHLESS BOOKS.*

FABLE has gone very great lengths, but fable has its limits. It ascribed to King Midas the power of transmuting everything he touched into gold; but it has never attributed to any man, king or subject, the faculty of turning all the books he might touch, or even read, into sense and value. Had there been any such man, we should have been very glad to receive his assistance, or steal his art, on occasion of examining this specimen of typographical elegance and literary futility. If it should be judged that there is any chance of such a magician arising in future times, and of his not having quite enough work in operating on the publications of his own day, it may perhaps be worth while to preserve just one copy of the book before us, in the spacious repository which the state should be recommended to erect, for preserving, till the appearance of this new and greater Gregory Thaumaturgus, single copies, accumulating through years or ages, of the successive books that shall be deemed to labour under an infirmity of meaning at present incurable. There will thus be a grand hospital of invalid books; and glorious will be the day, and vast the flood of light, when our great enchanter shall arrive to help them all into sense and new editions, and set them a-going in infinite swarms. Even this "Midas" may then be considered as one of the most precious remains of a former literary world; and many a student, whose taste shall be polished, or whose genius kindled by perusing it, may be grateful that *all* the copies were not surrendered to the service of candles, soap, and snuff. And the reviewers of those times, though of tempers probably far less benign, and of justice far more rigid than we, may congratulate their nation on the re-appearance of a work which they can ascribe to nobody but Apollo himself; for as to Anthony Fisgrave, LL.D., they will believe, as we do, that it is a mere manufactured name. If, on the other hand, it shall be deemed not at all reasonable seriously to expect, in any

* Midas; or, a Serious Inquiry concerning Taste and Genius; including a Proposal for the certain Advancement of the Elegant Arts. By Anthony Fisgrave, LL.D. 12mo. 1808.

length of future time, such a phenomenon as fable has never presumed to feign, we are afraid the whole edition must go to the uses just now mentioned ; though it is really a pity to see such a pretty offspring of the paper-mill and the letter-foundry consigned to so ungentle and inelegant a part of the great literary economy.

Perhaps we deserve only to be laughed at for having taken considerable pains to understand the meaning and object of this production, especially as we must acknowledge the labour has been nearly in vain ; we question, indeed, whether the author had any meaning at all beyond a mere literary *hoax*. A certain degree of art appears to be used in keeping the composition from coming out into sense, when sometimes it seems on the point of doing so. It would be hardly possible, indeed, for pure honest absurdity to get through so many pages without telling what its joke is aiming at. A portion of dexterity, which, applied the same length of time to some honest task, might perhaps have given instruction or got money, is required in making up a thousand or two of sentences, on one leading subject, each of them sufficiently intelligible in itself, and all joined together in an orderly manner into a composition so effectually confounded, that the writer cannot be cited as holding any one opinion on any one topic. The dexterity is employed to preserve an absolute confusion and contradiction of ideas, and not in advancing any class of opinions under a regular sham appearance of maintaining the contrary, as in Swift's "Argument for abolishing Christianity," or Burke's "Vindication of Natural Society ;" nor in contriving a plausible train of mock-serious arguments in support of some merely fantastical proposition, just to show what ingenuity can do.

When any purpose is meant to be answered by a piece of grave ironical reasoning, there must be a consistency and uniform bearing in the series of arguments and illustrations ; they must all be, to use a convenient vulgar phrase, *right wrong*. In the production before us, observations which are unmeaningly ironical are crossed and blended with such as are soberly and unmeaningly true. Nor is the incongruous farrago disposed into any remote resemblance of a regular alternation of remarks, adapted to maintain the two opposite sides of a question, and prolong an amusing argumentative

indecision ; the whole is a mere thicket of involved confusion. If anything more, than the sport of making a number of curious people wind and toil through a literary brake to get at a choice fruit tree which they are told is to be found in the midst of it, and then laughing at their disappointment, was in the writer's view, we should perhaps have conjectured that he might intend to ridicule the pretensions and conceit of connoisseurs in the fine arts, and to rescue professors, and men of genius, from the arrogance of their judges. Something of this kind might seem intended in the mock proposal of a sovereign court of taste, to which every performance in the arts should be required to be submitted, and which should peremptorily and definitively pronounce on its merits, and with such authority as to preclude all further question, and all difference of opinions in the public. But in the various topics which are brought in as having some kind of connexion with the argument for this ludicrous institution, there is no management to bear out the joke, and make it tell to any purpose of either wit or sense. Just as much ridicule, and with just as little point or use, seems to be splashed, in the author's course through this puddle of whim and absurdity, on the men of real genius as on the pretended men of taste.

ON TRANSLATING THE SCRIPTURES INTO THE ORIENTAL LANGUAGES.*

It may be presumed the principal object of the proposal to the English Universities, for the appointment of four of their members to preach on this subject, was rather to excite the national attention and interest, than either to bring under discussion the general question of the propriety of thus translating the Bible, or to obtain specific instructions relative to the mode of executing such a work.

* Four Buchanan Prize Sermons, on the Duty and Expediency of Translating the Scriptures into the current languages of the East. 1. By the Rev. F. Wrangham, Cambridge, May 10, 1807. 2. By the Rev. John Dudley, Cambridge, June 28, 1807. 3. By the Rev. W. Barrow, Oxford, November 8, 1807. 4. By the Rev. E. Nares, Oxford, November 29, 1807.

That propriety, indeed, could not be held to need any argument, or admit any debate, among persons believing the volume to be, and to be exclusively, a Divine revelation ; and the questions relative to the particular methods and rules of translating, and to the number, and the order of precedence, of the Eastern dialects which should be made vehicles for the sacred oracles, would be more within the competence of the Christian scholars in the East, than of the most learned judges to whom they could be submitted here.

Indeed, the work had already made such a progress in the able hands of Mr. Carey and his associates, long before any kind of co-operation was thought of by any of the persons assembled since in the Bengal College, or the smallest notice was taken by the learned in this country, as to prove that no ostentatious scheme, no formal movement in the learned world was necessary, in order to effect a very rapid, and, at the same time, careful, transfusion of the Holy Scriptures into the Asiatic languages. Aided by annual supplies of money, in sums surprisingly small, considering the vast extent of the work, that Briareus of translators, with his assistant missionaries, and some learned natives of the East whom he has been vigilant and successful in seeking for the service, would in a few years have equipped the Bible for invading every idolatrous region of Asia, though unassisted by the slightest favour or co-operation of any learned intuition whatever.

We feel it the more necessary to do this justice to Mr. Carey, and his missionary coadjutors, because we have observed not a few instances of a disposition to withhold it. We have perceived in some quarters the indications of a wish to pass as slightly as possible over the unparalleled achievements of these men ; while representations would be still making of the necessity of translations into the Eastern languages, and of a plan of appointing translators, so and so selected, so and so qualified, so and so authorized, and so and so patronized, just as if the fact were not before our eyes, that there already *are* many translations going on with the utmost despatch, a number far advanced, and several very nearly finished ; that there already *are* in full action a set of translators, whose combined industry, fidelity, facility, and

attainments in the Asiatic languages, there can be no chance of ever finding men worthy to supersede.

Mr. Wrangham's is the first in the order of time. It begins in a pointed and sprightly manner, with a quotation from a venerable English prelate, a Bishop of Chichester in the sixteenth century, who was of opinion that the most pernicious effects would accrue to the devotion of worshipping congregations, from the prayers being in a language which they could understand.

After some remarks on the fierce resistance made by the priests to the extension of the knowledge of the Scriptures, even in any language, and especially to translations into the mother-tongue, as the most effectual means for that extension, Mr. Wrangham enters on his proper subject, by charging this country with a negligence, at least, of its duty in respect to the communication of Divine knowledge to the people of the East; and proposes to consider the subject of translations into their languages under the following topics of inquiry: With what languages, from moral and political considerations, shall the undertaking begin?—In those which we may prefer, shall we publish the Scriptures collectively, or in separate portions; and in the latter case, what shall be the succession adopted?—From what text, and by what persons, shall the translation be made?

Supposing that such an inquiry had not been rendered somewhat impertinent—by the fact of a translation of nearly the entire Scriptures into the Bengalee, and of a large proportion of them into many other languages of India,—the question proposed could still have admitted very little doubt or discussion; the vast province which forms, if we may so express it, the head part of our Indian empire, in which we have the greatest extent and familiarity of intercourse with the natives, and in which the translators would almost necessarily be stationed, being very evidently the proper one to begin with. But the preacher has made the proposed inquiry merely a starting-point, from which to go into a wide diversity of observations, on our perverse indisposition to impart a privilege to which we are so much indebted as Divine truth, to a country to which we are said to be so much indebted as India; on the indications of the will and probable

intentions of heaven in giving us so vast a foreign power; on the nature of the bigotry of the Hindoos, and their wretched condition; on the advantages afforded by the centrality of our Eastern Empire for diffusing the gospel over all Asia; on the possibility of overcoming the paganism even of Hindostan; on the inutility of the Roman Catholic mode of proselyting the heathens; on the various dialects of India; on the advantages derived from the institution of an Eastern college, and on several other topics. In the course of these observations, our connexion with India is asserted to be so vital to the interests of this country, that the severing of it "would open an artery by which we should bleed to death." We suspect Mr. Wrangham would find himself involved in great embarrassment, if reduced to state and prove the prodigious benefits derived by our nation from the possession of India; and to us it would seem very like a reflection on the arrangements fixed by the Creator, in the economy of the globe, to maintain, that the welfare or ruin of a cultivated people, possessing a cultivated land, can ever, without some monstrous violation of the order of nature, be dependent on a country on just the other side of the planet.

On reading a few pages of *Mr. Dudley's* sermon, our attention was forcibly arrested by an unexpected and unaccountable strain of eulogium on the political and moral state of the ancient people of India, and on the moral character of its present inhabitants. Citing the testimony of Greeks who visited that country in the time of Alexander, confirmed by historical indications found in some of the newly discovered Sanscrit records, he asserts that the whole of modern Hindostan was, in the earliest ages, divided into a variety of powerful states, some monarchical, and others republican.

With respect to ancient Indian freedom, even supposing we had not the means of knowing that their religious economy was utterly mortal to any such thing, it would require far more precise evidences than any we have happened to see, to satisfy us that such a people could know anything about what a modern political philosopher ought to mean by the term free constitution. When maintaining that the ancient Hindoo population were virtuous and happy, we presume Mr. Dudley necessarily means and asserts that they were so under the prevalence of the Brahminical system, the

system indeed which has prevailed with supreme authority from the earliest ages of which we have any historical notices of Hindostan, only with a partial and temporary suspension by the conquests of Buddha. Now it is too well known to need repeating here, that the Brahminical system of *religion* (as we are trying to learn to call it, in conformity with the pious complaisance of the times) comprehended everything, without exception, in the life and concerns of its believers ; it constituted the morals, the economics, and the politics, as well as the theology of the nation, and, as Mr. Dudley very pointedly insists, and repeats, the character of the Indians has always been most wonderfully conformed to their religion, inasmuch that whatever they were and are, they were and are in obedient devotion to its principles and institutions. The grand repository of those principles and appointments is the Institutes of MENU. Now then let a sober man read this book, keeping in mind, throughout, that he is reading the comprehensive, the sacred, and sovereign institution of the people. Our preacher has read this famous work himself, and should know what he has seen in it. To say that he has seen there a set of false and silly dogmas and fancies about Deity, though combined indeed with one or two ideas that appear like the traces and relics of a true theology that had once been known, but had long since vanished, may not seem directly to the purpose ; though it may be assumed as unquestionable, that a false religion is absolutely incompatible with the existence of a pure morality in the community entertaining such religion, and that, as matter of fact, there is not, nor ever was, a nation in which they have existed together. But he has seen there the actual economy of practice, exhibited at great extent in the moral, civil, and ceremonial institutions. He has seen that the most prominent thing in the whole system is that infernal contrivance of castes, which would be the death of all feelings, and all right conceptions, of justice and benevolence, even if the distinctions were less flagrantly iniquitous than they are, and were brought into operation in a hundred times fewer modes and instances. He has seen, in the definitions and classification of virtues and crimes, and the punishments appointed to the latter, a greater accumulation of absurdities by far, and a more complete abjuration of all just moral principles, than in the

institutions of any other pagan nation, or of all the pagan nations taken together. He has seen in that work so vast a catalogue of ridiculous and often nauseous ceremonial prescriptions, as could have left no room in the thoughts, no rectitude or independence in the understanding, and very little space in life, for the study or the exercises of true morality. And, finally, he has seen the priest and the king conjoining themselves in a relentless unlimited despotism. All this may be seen in the Institutes of Menu; the system exhibited in these Institutes was practically in operation in the early ages; the character of the people accorded, even to a wonderful degree, with their religious institutions; and the writer will have it, notwithstanding, that such a people were virtuous and happy. A more desperate absurdity, we imagine, was never advanced from pulpit or press, since preaching or printing began. The reports of the adventurers who returned from Alexander's expedition to tell just what stories they pleased in Greece; the vague assertion of Arrian, or the traces of ancient history found in Sanscrit writings, are all not worth a straw as opposed to the evidence resulting from the records of the religious institutions. We know what was the system, both in the general principles and the detail, which not only was arranged in a book, but did actually and imperiously tyrannize over the population of ancient India; and we know that that system was of a nature incomparably more deadly to freedom, virtue, and happiness, than any system that ever cursed the human race.

In adverting to the theological and moral doctrines of the ancient philosophers of India, our preacher falls into the error, in which many writers have preceded him,—the error of taking a few lofty speculative ideas, and a few good moral prescriptions, which have been detected here and there in the writings of those sages, as proof that their philosophy was sublime in its views, and excellent in its precepts; as if a system, of which perhaps a fiftieth part is true in theory and useful in practical application, might claim to be held in high veneration because it has failed, because it really has just failed, as the very worst systems must do, of being *all* false and *all* pernicious. Why will not the writers, who do not advert with an irreligious design to the few shining particles of true theology and pure morality discoverable in

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the Indian literature, always take care to tell us what a load of base materials is to be examined, and washed, and sifted in order to get a sight of this slender proportion of gold dust? Why do they not recollect to notice how nugatory, in point of enlightening and salutary influence, must be this diminutive quantum of truth intermixed and buried in heaps of absurdity and pollution? And why will they not, or can they not, perceive, that when a noble idea, perhaps concerning the Divine nature, or virtue, does present itself in these revered literary importations from Benares, it is hardly allowed to continue noble for an instant? Scarcely has the reader begun to admire it, and to wonder at finding it in a heathen page, when suddenly it sinks into baseness, or shoots into a monster, or is dispersed in smoke. It is connected, in the very same or the next sentence, with some puerile conceit or vile superstition; the figure that seemed to begin with the face of an Adonis or Apollo, ends with the tail of a snake. No transformation of an object from great to despicable in one of our dreams, can be more whimsical, more sudden, or more devoid of rational process. The writer has, for instance, read and quoted the Geeta, which is celebrated in a preface to Wilkins's translation by that *eminent Christian divine* Mr. Warren Hastings, as a performance "of a sublimity of conception, reasoning, and diction, almost unequalled; and a single exception, among all the known religions of mankind, of a theology accurately corresponding with that of the Christian dispensation, and most powerfully illustrating its fundamental doctrines." But, unless awed and dazzled by the authority of this great theologian, he must have observed, in this production of Hindoo illumination, many instances of what we have described, of a just and striking theological or moral thought lapsing instantly into some inexpressibly silly phantasm, or some grossness of superstition, or into a mystical inanity, under a diction that glimmers of philosophical abstraction, but is, in fact, a more exquisitely perfect nonsense than Jacob Behmen ever even dreamed.

Mr. Dudley allows, that in later ages the Hindoo superstition, with its inseparable system of moral principles and ordinances, is become inexpressibly abominable. Well, the Hindoos take their character, with astonishing correctness, from their superstition; and yet, in the face of this his own

position, and in contradiction to every—yes, every—respectable authority, he describes these Hindoos as distinguished by their “fidelity,” “punctuality,” “filial obedience” (as, for instance, in burning their mothers), “gentleness and mildness of temper,” “elegant manners,” and “amiable dispositions,” “and adorned by many virtues, which shine with an endearing brightness through every shade of either fault or vice.” We might quite as well stop here : and we shall only notice, that the preacher disapproves of employing missionaries ; the Bible is to be translated, to get into the hands of the learned Hindoos, to convince them, and then all the rest of the people will follow. How it is to find its way to each of these learned persons, and excite their attention, we are not told. But at all events, the gospel must not, as in the beginning of its beneficent and victorious career, be “preached to the poor ;” it must not begin its labours and successes in India, as it has in other countries, among the lower orders of the people. “If that cause ever triumph in India, it must owe its success to arguments which may convince the head, not to contrivances for securing the foot ; the *Brahmin* must be gained before the *Sudra* will be turned. To begin with attempting the conversion of the lower classes, would in all probability be injurious to the general success of the Christian cause : for the proud Brahmin, offended by observing the men he has been accustomed to lead, anticipating him in the reception of the faith of the gospel, would be apt to maintain, from prejudice, an obstinate persuasion that the religion of the Christian is fit only for the basest of mankind, and wholly unworthy the regard of men of higher birth, of nobler natural powers, and the more especial favourites of heaven.”

Let the learned Brahmin be convinced, and declare for Christianity, and the reverential multitude, our preacher thinks, must naturally be awed into the same faith. He forgets the trivial circumstance, that the moment the Brahmin does this, he will lose his caste, and sink to a class that even the *Sudra* beholds with contempt.

Doctor Barrow wishes the English version to supersede the originals as the authoritative standard for the Oriental translators,* notwithstanding that these translators are to be exclusively Europeans. He does not even signify that any

* The adoption of it as the original, is literally his expression.

exception should be made in favour of the translation of the New Testament into the Sanscrit, though he must know there is a wonderful resemblance of structure between that language and the Greek. With regard to the Hebrew, he says that our scholars in the East have probably not studied it critically. It is not for us to decide how far this is the fact; but we may well presume they will think it an indispensable prerequisite for translating the Old Testament, to acquire so much knowledge of the original language, and of the collations and criticisms supplied by several distinguished scholars, as to be able, in their own minds, to rest the authority of their version into the Eastern languages on the true original, and on their own comprehension of the most material criticisms of the best Hebraists. Several very obvious considerations would occur to forbid their taking the English version in substitution for the original. Even on the absurd supposition that these translators could believe that the English version does, in every sentence in the whole Bible, as truly express the sense of the original as it is possible for the English language to express it, yet they would be aware that in a thousand instances the peculiar idioms and figurative expressions of the original (especially an Oriental original), are of necessity dropped in the English version. Now every scholar, of the most middling acquirements, is sensible how much the precise cast and colour of the sense depends on these peculiar phrases and figures. The meaning may in substance be faithfully given in the translation; but a certain nice characteristic modification, which gave it a definite and peculiar bearing, a significance, force, or beauty, is lost, through the impossibility of literally translating the original idioms, or finding any exactly parallel to them. How many times this has been urged as an argument, in this country, for studying both the sacred writings and the classics in their originals, notwithstanding the acknowledged excellence of our translations! The observation always is, that you are much more absolutely in possession of your author, that you have a far more vivid and discriminate impression of his thought, than you could by means of the best possible translation. There is the same difference, as there would be between seeing the natives of a distant country settled

among ourselves and adopting our own dress and customs, and seeing them in their proper climate, with all their appropriate habiliments and manners. But if such knowledge of the original be so desirable for a mere reader, how much more for the translators to be appointed for the proposed undertaking. In the long process of translating the whole Bible into any one of the Oriental languages, let it but be considered what a prodigious number of instances will occur, in which the translator will have to choose his form of words among a variety of modes of expression, one more dignified and one more common, one more plain and one more figurative, one more moderate and one more vehement, one more specific and one more general, in either one of which the idea as it stands in English, divested of the striking particularity which it perhaps bears in the original, might be almost indifferently rendered. Now, in a vast number of these instances, it is obvious that his knowing the precise manner in which the idea is presented in the original would instantly determine his choice, when the language of the English version would have given him no assistance for deciding it; and it is fair to presume that, in a great majority of these instances, the selection so determined will be much better than the one which would else have been adopted nearly by chance. These instances will be so numerous, that there can be no manner of doubt that the Bible, as translated directly from the Hebrew and Greek into one of the Eastern languages, would appear considerably different from what it would as translated by the very same men on the plan of taking the English "as the original." And not only would there be this prominent difference of idioms and figures, but the far greater confidence, which is felt by a translator from an original, will impart to the general course of the composition a certain vigour and firmness, which can never be given by a translator who is reminded that the ground and authority on which he is proceeding is only itself a version. We are ashamed to be obliged to dwell on such very trite considerations.

Thus far the case is stated, on the supposition that the translators in the East could be made so superstitious as even to take the English version positively for a work of Divine authority, which renders every part and passage of

the sacred Scriptures as strongly and accurately as it is possible for them to be rendered in English ; but, *secondly*, they know too well that this is not the fact. They know that a vast number of important criticisms, tending to a more correct interpretation, have been accumulated by a series of indefatigable scholars ; and that the result of the collations has confessedly proved the necessity of modifying, in a considerable number of instances, the original text, by changes which, though in general not very important perhaps in themselves, might often become extremely material at the distance and divergency of a *version of a version*. They cannot avoid perceiving, besides, that a considerable number of passages in our translation have a perplexity and obscurity of expression, which they will not and should not be disposed to impute to the original ; and they will only have to look into Lowth's Isaiah (though they will feel certain that so general an alteration of language is far from necessary or desirable), to see how much more perspicuously many passages might be rendered. Taking, therefore, the present version as their invariable authority, the translators would be quite certain that they were transfusing the Divine revelation into the languages of Asia, under the disadvantage of a multitude of defective and inaccurate expressions, which the actual state of biblical criticism has furnished the means of preventing.

Another important objection to the plan, arises from the consideration of the low repute in which a translation from a translation is held, and ever will be held, in all parts of the world. Who, among ourselves, has not described such works in the usual phrase, "the shadow of a shade ?" Who has not heard and repeated how little regard is due to works which bring the Icelandic compositions into our language only through the medium of the Latin, and those of Arabia or Persia through that of the French ? And what is to prevent the more intelligent and learned part of the readers in the East from entertaining a similar sentiment in the case in question ? Indeed they will not only know how very much modified and deteriorated the professed sacred books are likely to have become under this double transmission, but they will be apt to surmise something more, and something worse. It may happen that some

few of them will ask, significantly, Why this scrupulous adherence to the English version, as a standard? Whence is it, that in the use of your *sacred* book, and exactly that alone of the numberless volumes of your literature, you set up or acknowledge a higher authority in your version than in the original? Is there, in that version, some important *difference* from the original, of which difference you are kindly resolved, as good Christians, that we, the people of Asia, shall enjoy the benefit? What are the translators to say in reply? It ought not to be possible for them to answer with truth that they really do not themselves understand the original; for it is easy to conceive what a mischievous effect this would have on the minds of inquisitive heathens, who are inclined to reject, doubt, or cavil, and cannot be aware of the full evidence which, in this country, a person not able to read the originals has, notwithstanding, of the *general* faithfulness of the translation. And what will be the impression on the minds of those same heathen inquirers and opposers, if the translators shall fairly assign the reason which our learned preachers have more than intimated as requiring a strict adherence to the English standard; namely, that there is in England a legal religious establishment, from any tenet or appointment of which it is essential that no expression even in the Oriental Bibles should be suffered to dissent?

While Dr. Barrow advises that selected portions of Scripture be circulated among the heathens of the East before the whole is given to them, he very judiciously condemns any plan that should propose to give out the Bible in a long succession of small parcels, at considerable intervals, regulated by a spiritual policy of adapting the various parts of the sacred book to the occasions and the attainments of the people. He observes,—

“It was thus that the pretended Prophet of Arabia introduced his Koran to his followers and converts; and such a system is in its own nature liable to the suspicion of forgery and fraud. It may reasonably excite apprehension in the natives of the East, that we shall continue to produce what we shall represent as inspired writings, as long as they appear willing to receive them; as long as we have any interest to be served by their credulity; or any political influence to be procured by the submission of their minds.”

As to "perfect uniformity," it is exceedingly strange at this time of day, so long since the period when the Emperor Charles made the observation on his watches, to hear such a thing spoken of as a possibility. There can be but one man in England uninformed, that no formulary of faith ever did or ever can secure uniformity of opinion; that no existing creed is found capable of precluding numberless questions and controversies among those who are willing, on the whole, to subscribe to it. No creed, consisting of a moderately long series of articles, could probably be so framed, as not to require at least a thousand new articles, to fix the definitive sense of the primary ones, and guard it with every nice discrimination, if it is really required that all the subscribers shall receive precisely the same idea from every term and clause of every article.

Perfect uniformity of doctrine, which the preacher requires in the Christian teachers in India, in order to give the natives an impression of the certainty of our religion, would produce the directly opposite effect; it must appear to them the result of collusion. They are not, we suppose, to be taught, that all these teachers are inspired from heaven, and directed by a uniform infallible intelligence in all their thoughts and words on the subject of religion. They are to be taught, that these men have certain inspired books in their hands, but that all the interpretations of them are purely the work of these fallible, though honest and thoughtful men. They will soon perceive that the inspired authorities, though in many parts of most perfectly decided meaning and easy comprehension, do yet, in other parts, afford much matter for the exercise, and not a little for the difficulty and doubtfulness of understanding. Their common sense will tell them, that their teachers must read these documents, and deliberate, and balance, and reason on them, with the same diversity, and in some points perplexity, of opinion, as they do themselves. Now this being the case, if the missionaries are all found to agree exactly in the opinions they hold forth, throughout the wide extent of Christian doctrine, the intelligent natives will feel certain that this cannot be an honest agreement. They will know that so many distinct minds, each thinking, with honest simplicity and indepen-

dence, on the very multifarious doctrinal contents of an ample volume, never could come, in so many points, to the same conclusion ; and therefore they will be soon convinced the whole is a concerned system to impose upon them.

Mr. Nares, with much ingenuity and plausibility, represents the happy introduction which the Christian doctrines will find, to the acceptance of the Hindoos, through their own theological dogmas. We must say, that experience, if no other cause, would make us exceedingly sceptical on this point ; we cannot remember to have read of any Hindoo convert who professed any obligations to his heathen creed for inclining him to the admission of Christianity, except, indeed, by means of the contrast of evil with good. There is incomparably so much more that is utterly hostile to the true religion, than concordant with it, or analogous to it, in the Indian system, that we can see no slope for sliding smoothly from the one to the other.

THE HIGH CHURCH AND DISSENTERS.*

SOME of the most zealous friends of the English church have maintained, that it would have little to fear from external hostility so long as it should be true to itself; and that the corruptions to which, like all other human establishments, it was liable, were to be dreaded as the chief causes and symptoms of its falling, like others, into decay. Indeed we had been so long fixed in this opinion ourselves, that we cannot help repeating how utterly we were confounded to hear the Rev. Josiah Thomas predicting the fall of a church, in which his keenest scrutiny had found hardly a single circumstance for censure or reform. He has nowhere told us he had the smallest reason to apprehend, that a considerable proportion of its clerical members entered on the sacred office, not from feeling a profound interest in religion, and a pious zeal to promote it by the instruction and conversion

* *High Church Claims Exposed, and the Protestant Dissenters and Methodists Vindicated; or, Free Remarks on a Pamphlet by the Rev. Josiah Thomas, entitled Strictures, &c. In a Letter to the Author, by a Layman.* 8vo. 1808.

of mankind, but from the mere necessity of choosing a profession, or from expectations of emolument or preferment;—that many of its chief officers, occupying situations of solemn and anxious responsibility, were content to live in showy, stately indolence;—that its stations of wealth, dignity, and power were carefully withheld from clergymen of eminent zeal and piety, while they were conferred with a view to enrich relations and friends, to reward political services, or to strengthen parliamentary influence;—that great numbers of its ministers were found in theatres, or at balls, assemblies, and card-tables; or habitually playing the fop, or the buck, or the wag; or mixing in the mirth, the intemperance, and the songs of convivial parties; or at one time trussed up in a jacket, wielding a fowling-piece, and maintaining a peripatetic dialogue with a couple of pointers, and at another time racing after a pack of hounds;—that many of them were observed to perform their functions in the slightest, scantiest, and most careless manner possible; or to decry, even with scorn or violence, a popular fervent mode of addressing the conscience and passions of mankind, in behalf of religion and their eternal salvation; or to neglect teaching, and even to hold up in ridicule, those doctrines of a renewal of nature and the operations of a Divine Spirit, and the evangelical plan of salvation for mankind, to which they had formally subscribed in the articles of the church, and which are so exceedingly prominent in the New Testament; or that they were generally chargeable with a spirit of arrogance and persecution against conscientious seceders from their communion, of sycophancy toward persons of rank, or of servility to the party in power. If he had found any such grounds as these for the apprehension of the friends to our church, he would certainly have done well—not to cry out in this frightened and childish manner, that the church will fall,—but to recommend measures of reformation as highly conducive to its respectability and perpetuity. But we trust that, on a careful consideration of the subject, Mr. Thomas's apprehensive mind will become reassured and cheerful; for it may be clearly gathered from his own work, we repeat, even from his own pamphlet—which labours hard to represent the condition of the church of England in the most gloomy light,—that, with some

trifling quantity of exception, our church is not beset by any of the ominous circumstances we have here enumerated.

Our author refers us to the destruction of our national church, effected by the dissenters at the time of the "great rebellion;" and plainly declares there are awful indications of a similar catastrophe threatening our present establishment, and even the state too, from the same kind of men and operations. Now we are surprised he should need to come to us for consolation on this head, when one single sober reflection would have dissipated all his fears. It is this: the dissenters (we are too much in good humour to contend with him about the propriety of calling them "rebels"), the dissenters of the seventeenth century, who accomplished this remarkable subversion, notoriously had among them a very large share of talent and learning, but for which their designs would have burst like a bubble, instead of exploding into a revolution; whereas the dissenters of the present day are the most ignorant, silly, and despicable of mankind, according to our author's own testimony,—which we look upon, for the reason already assigned, as of peculiar weight.

We will confess that one fact, which he states, did rather at the first moment "give us pause," as appearing to prove there was more reason in his terrors than we had been willing to allow. He deposes in the following words: "We know that a man, not unfrequently, by going thither" (to the meeting-house), "if he do by chance forego the vices of men, adopts those of devils." We are very sorry to learn this fact; from any little acquaintance we have with the dissenters, we should not have imagined it; and we must own such a phenomenon would seem to portend no good to our national establishment. There is, indeed, something that might be cavilled at in the terms of the deposition; but the plain fair construction is, that often, by going to the meeting-house, men are converted into real veritable devils, retaining indeed the human flesh and shape. The fact, we fear, since it is so attested, must not be denied; but we think we can again suggest to the reverend gentleman a consideration of very consolatory efficacy. He will recollect it is said, that "If Satan be divided against himself," his cause will come to nothing; the position involving,

of course, the whole tribe of infernals, whether inhabiting human forms or subtler vehicles. Now it is obvious to say, that the incarnate demons in question *are* divided one against another; there are Trinitarians against Unitarians, Arminians against Calvinists; there are Independents, Methodists, Baptists, and many other sorts; and some of the sorts differing from some of the rest far more than from the Established Church: we surely need not draw the inference for the learned gentleman. But even if all this were too little to allay his fears, and if he were desperately convinced that, in spite of all these divisions among them, there is still one main purpose, in which

"Devil with devil damned
Firm concord holds,"

he has after all the final consolation of an assurance, in favour of the true church (and it is impossible he can have any doubt *which* is the true one), that the gates of hell (i.e. the meeting-house?) shall not prevail against it.

THE FORCE OF HABIT.*

A WHIMSICAL anecdote is told of a hawker crying certain small wares on the Thames, at a time when it was frozen over, and a sort of fair was held on the ice. The story is, that when the ice broke under this unfortunate person, and in closing again severed the head, the force of habit was such, that the head, in rolling along the ice, continued for a while, like that of Orpheus, to articulate a part of the accustomed cry. It is not according to the best morality, to fabricate for a jocular purpose stories involving a tragical idea; and it would not perhaps be according to the best

* MAJOR SCOTT WARING'S Remarks on the Sermons preached before the University of Oxford by Dr. Barrow and the Rev. Mr. Nares; on the Prize Dissertations of the Rev. Mr. Pearson and Mr. Cunningham, read at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; and on a Pamphlet written by a late Resident in Bengal, on the Practicability, Policy, and Obligation of communicating to the Natives of India the Knowledge of Christianity. 8vo. 1808.

morality, for critics to be affected chiefly by the ludicrousness of the thing, when they witness in controversy a case nearly parallel to the above story. The writer whose *fourth* bulky pamphlet we have many months omitted to notice, from nausea of literary dulness and dregs, not to say of impiety, has long since, as a reasoner (if it were at all allowable so to apply that denomination), been "cut sheer;" but he has not the less gone on repeating just the same things in almost literally the same words. Such of our readers as have not taken the trouble to look through the whole of his pamphlets, will really suspect ourselves of being under some compulsory spell to iterate the same sentences whenever we have to do with this unfortunate writer; they will impute to us a total want of the discrimination requisite to vary the modes of critical description and animadversion. We cannot help it. When a *yogi* in that part of the world to which these publications relate, has fixed himself on the top of a post under a vow to repeat some one word or phrase millions of times, a person that should be sent repeatedly to reconnoitre him, and report what he is about, must every time return with the same story. The only variation he can make in his report will be to signify, after each visit of observation, how much nearer the performer's *ens rationis* appears to have approached towards that final irremediable fatuity, in which the describers of the Hindoo customs inform us that this "religious" exercise not unfrequently terminates.

Probably no external stimulus was necessary to ensure the repetition, through a hundred and twenty additional pages, of the phrases and sentences, "*mania of conversion*," "*ignorant sectarian bigots*," "*mad Calvinistic missionaries*," "*I am decidedly of opinion that the conversion of the Hindoos is impracticable*," "*these proceedings will end in the destruction of our Eastern Empire*," and about a half a dozen more. There was something so ingenious, so eloquent, and, we may add, so genteel, in such expressions, that to have once hit upon them created both an inducement and a warrant to repeat them a hundred times over at the least.

ANGLO-INDIAN LITERATURE.

Dr. Buchanan and others have strongly represented the causes which operate towards irreligion in the minds of the

European residents in India. One of the most unequivocal evidences before the English public, relative to this point, is in the writings of our Oriental literati. No terms of admiration can be too strong in applause of the indefatigable exertions and the attainments of those men; and there are some of them that have not published anything for which they owe an atonement to Christianity. But in the writings of more than a few of them, we fear, the student will find a sort of language which appears to insinuate or assume that all religions are of the some authority; that authority being, of course, in no case absolute and divine. And yet, even this principal of infidel equity, he shall find violated, by levity, not to say malice, of allusion to the Jewish and Christian religion, while a manner of respect and almost of veneration is maintained towards the mythologies, the institutions, and the impostors of Eastern superstition. He shall see these philosophers affecting to accept the diction and the delusions of the pagans, and gravely writing about the "sacred books," and the "awful doctrines," about this "inspired sage," and the other "divine legislator." There appears often a studied, and in some instances a palpably malignant endeavour, to transfer to these subjects the language in which Christians have been accustomed to speak of the Bible, its religion, its prophets, and its Messiah. Anything in the wild, fabulous records of India, that appears capable of being turned into a plausible contradiction of the Scripture history, is sedulously and ostentatiously elaborated into an authentic document. There is a show of discovering wonders of recondite and inestimable wisdom in that deplorable dépôt of phantasies and abominations, the mythology. And in adverting to the pretended antiquity of the Hindoo literature, some of these gentlemen have given signs of a credulity, which fairly disqualifies their understandings for admitting anything so sober and strict as the evidences of the Christian religion. On the whole, and with exceptions in favour of particular individuals, the Anglo-Indian literature will but very indifferently contribute to support the claim to the character of believers in revelation which the Major pretends to make in behalf of "gentlemen in India." He adduces, however, a more satisfactory kind of evidence; he brings testimony to prove, that, where their

situation allows it, they go to church. We confess this is strong ; especially as no one ever heard of such a thing, as that a number of these gentlemen, after attending divine service at church in the morning (suppose on a thanksgiving day), should in the afternoon publicly go in procession with offerings to a temple of Gonga in the neighbourhood of Calcutta.

ON THE DESTRUCTION OF IDOLATERS.

The author, in deploring that so large a proportion of our subjects should be idolaters, was naturally led to reflect on the deep malignity of idolatry in the sight of the Supreme Being ; and cited as one of the many illustrations of the divine abhorrence, that command in the Mosaic law which enjoin the Jews to stone to death even the nearest relative or friend that should be guilty of enticing to the worship of the heathen gods. Every reader but one instantaneously apprehended the design and the pertinency of this citation. The palpable object was to urge, that, the Almighty having by this, and a multitude of other denunciations, declared idolatry to be so detestable a crime, we ought to dread giving it such a sanction in the conduct of our Eastern government as to involve ourselves in any degree in the guilt. But the quotation of this passage from the Bible, with the very plain and solemn inference from it (an inference which it is melancholy and alarming to find a necessity of pressing on the conscience of a Christian nation and government), confounds the understanding of the Major. He returns to it several times ; and " it strikes him," he says, " with astonishment ; " and not without reason, for with his utmost efforts he cannot comprehend what is meant by it, unless that we ought forthwith to kill all idolaters, which, as he very truly conceives, would be a strange thing for the writer to recommend, and not strictly consistent either with justice or policy to attempt in India. He has not thought it safe, however, to trust the matter to the public and the government without some reasoning, to prove the injustice of such a measure. One of his arguments is, that on this principle of its being our duty to slay all idolaters, the Protestants, to be consistent with the opinion they profess to entertain of the Popish image-worship, will be obliged to kill all the Papists of the United Kingdom.

Another is, that the Hindoos having, as he says, the same right to condemn our religion as false, that we have to condemn theirs, will be authorized, on this principle of the noble writer, to adopt toward us what may be called a preventive retaliation.

TRANSLATION AND DIFFUSION OF THE BIBLE.

While impiety is fretting itself away in imprecations and menacing predictions, the cause which has excited all this imbecile anger, and mocks it, is still going on, and with augmented force. Providence is sometimes too kind to a people to visit its governors with that ominous infatuation, for which some of their subjects are venting angry prayers. By such a visitation, indeed, that Providence would not in effect suspend for an hour its process for the destruction of paganism and all the superstitions that governments or nations might sacrifice themselves to maintain ; but it is gratifying to find, that the government in the East continues to give the fullest protection to the most important by far of the missionary operations, the translation and diffusion of the Bible. The very restrictions imposed on some of the other labours of the missionaries, have but concentrated their efforts in this grand employment. They have been accomplishing entire versions, during the very time that their unfortunate calumniators have been wasting themselves away in feeble invectives. Their children are rising up zealously intent upon the same object, and some of them almost prodigies of early capacity and attainment. Thus the great cause is multiplying its agents, and every month consciously enlarging its powers and completing its formidable apparatus. Thus an infinite number of phials are charging with that electric element, that lightning of heaven, which will be directed to explode every idol and temple into atoms, The prophets and apostles are springing up within the dominion of each pagan god almost as suddenly as the armed host of Medea, and appointed, instead of assaulting one another, to challenge all the priests and all the demons of superstition to a last and mortal battle.

RESPECT FOR LORDS.*

IN spite of all that the privileged orders, the administrators of government, and the advocates of arbitrary power, have reproachfully uttered against the people of England, to the effect of imputing democratical and levelling dispositions, the English in general feel a profound respect for lords, as such, and have by no means renounced the truly philosophic and salutary notion, that there is in noble blood a mysterious something which constitutes a man intrinsically superior to the surrounding commonalty. We cannot be willing to forego the merit of having entertained this persuasion ourselves; and may properly plead it, in the present instance, as a reason for being extremely reluctant and slow to admit into our minds any feeling of disappointment in reading a part of this sumptuous publication.

QUALIFICATIONS OF A TRAVELLER.

Some degree of disappointment will however be felt, we apprehend, by many of its readers. The first perception of defect will probably be, that the writer is not eminently an original, speculative, sagacious observer. We are not made to feel as if he had been formed on purpose for a traveller. He notices and describes the most obvious features of the scenes he traverses, as any other well-educated and sensible man might. He does not make his narrative inform us of anything more than just so much superficial fact. No unexpected questions are started, few important reflections are made. The traveller seems neither to have carried theories and general principles along with him, to be verified and illustrated by the diversified facts that he should see; nor to have surveyed the accumulated mass of facts with that independent speculation which elicits principles immediately from facts, without regard to any previous systems or notions whatever. A man of strong understanding and earnest observation, in passing over a considerable portion of the globe, is not content with merely recording a series of dry particulars, without any attempt to generalize, and to trace the connexion between effects and their causes. He will be sensible that,

* *Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia, and Egypt, in the Years 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806.* By George, Viscount Valentia. 4to. Three vols. 1809.

while travelling among the various tribes of mankind, placed at great distances from one another, and while witnessing so many phenomena of the natural world, he owes it to his species, to truth, and to his high and enviable privilege, to endeavour to make his observations furnish some direct light to moral, political, and philosophical inquiry.

IMPORTANCE OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Lord Valentia insists warmly that the Cape, which, at the time he was there, was preparing to be delivered back to the Dutch, ought always to be in the possession of the English, and he expatiates very sensibly on its value and capabilities. He says, the expected cessation of the English government was regretted by the respectable part of the Dutch settlers, who were both pleased with its equity, and terrified by the apprehended aggressions and revenge of the Caffres and Hottentots. The former had already assumed a warlike attitude, and even the Hottentots he represents as no longer a race of imbecile, submissive victims.

His lordship's zeal for maintaining possession of the Cape, does not prevent him from being honest enough to advert to the fact, that the expense of the civil and military establishments of the said possession has exceeded the revenue, by a sum between £200,000 and £300,000 per annum. But he wishes to attribute this unfortunate state of the balance in a considerable measure to temporary causes, and confidently predicts the case will mend in time ; insisting, nevertheless, that though it should not, the Cape must be retained at all events, as highly important to the security of our trade, and as capable of facilitating the most destructive designs if in the hands of Bonaparte, who would be sure to have it, he says, if we should yield it up. Perhaps, in the particular instance of the Cape of Good Hope, the plea for maintaining a foreign settlement at a constant and heavy loss, is stronger than in almost any other ; but it is mortifying to reflect on the delusion of this nation, which, in its foolish passion for multiplying and extending its foreign settlements, is always fancying some wonderful advantages to trade, when the fact often is, that all the benefits capable of being really brought to account against the cost, come ultimately to nearly the same proud and prosperous reckoning, as that of

a nation that should, with great bustle and importance, send some thousands of miles to find a bog into which to toss the earnings of its domestic toils.

ON THE CONVERSION OF THE HINDOOS.

With regard to his lordship's "belief that the impediments to the conversion of the Hindoos are unconquerable," it might be fairly asked, What does his lordship know of the Hindoos, beyond what any one may learn by reading a small number of books, or conversing with a few persons who have been a good while in India? What intercourse did he hold with them? what researches did he make into their character and economy? But however attentively he might have inspected them, of what consequence is his *belief*, or that of any man else, placed in opposition to the matter of *fact*, that they sometimes *are* converted, that several even of the Brahmin caste are on the list of recent converts? To see the full absurdity of such assertions, we have only to suppose them made in the midst of a small devout assembly of such converts, with several of the *quondam* Brahmins among them.

His lordship says the advocates for the schemes of conversion shrink from meeting that argument against its practicability, which is derived from the failure of the Mahometans, with all their power, during the whole long period of their ascendancy, to convert the Hindoos, and from the failure of the Roman Catholics, in the latter part of this period, with all their zeal. Now so far from evading this redoubtable argument, we thought those advocates had replied that the premises are not true; for that, first, according to the best accounts and the most reasonable conjectures, the Mahometans *have* made, in the past ages, a great multitude of converts from among the Hindoos; that this is the only way of accounting for so large a proportion of the population being Mahometans, and being so like the Hindoos in physical appearance, and that the opponents cannot bring the shadow of a proof to the contrary: secondly, that the Roman Catholics *have* also made many thousand converts, so far at least as to induce the loss of caste, which is alleged as the insuperable obstacle. But in the next place, these advocates say, that the argument is of trifling weight with them, even were the premises true; for that they

believe, and here will be the mystery to his lordship, that there exists an All-governing Providence, which will certainly give an ultimate, and they hope a not very distant prevalence to Divine truth.

The proposal to circulate translations of the Scriptures among the Hindoos, is rendered altogether illusory by the proviso—"if it will not induce them to make unfavourable comparisons between our lives and our doctrines, and consequently expose us to contempt;"—for his lordship has very freely charged immorality and neglect of religion on the Europeans in India. And what a state of the judgment or moral principles is indicated, in making such a proviso! It assumes that the preserving of an unmerited reputation to a number of irreligious and immoral foreigners resident in a country (for that is the character supposed in our author's words), is an object of greater importance, than for the population of that country to obtain the knowledge of the only true religion and morality! The people of India must remain in all the horrors of paganism, rather than become qualified, by Christian knowledge, to pronounce a deserved condemnation on the vices and impiety of Englishmen!—because some thousands of these English choose to be bad in spite of better light, all Asia must be kept bad also, if possible, by the preclusion of that light, lest these English should become liable to be affronted by a censure! If our nation is really going to learn moral principles like this, on an extensive scale, from its possession of India, that possession is one of the greatest curses that Divine wrath could have inflicted. And to be gratified by such a possession, on such a condition, is about as rational as it would be for a man to be pleased with the fine colours of a great serpent, when winding its wreaths round him in order to grapple and sting him to death. But did his lordship mean to confine the application of the hint to India? There are possibly other parts of the world, beside India, where it would be prudent in the possessors of power and rank to prohibit the Bible, lest the people should get at the knowledge that there is something detestable in the profanation of the sacred name and day, or in venality, peculation, and adultery.

At Lucknow, our author witnessed a splendid celebration of the Moharam, the Mahometan festival to the memory of

Hassan and Houssein ; and he describes the Imaumbarah, the sacred edifice in which the celebration was completed, in terms which, for the first time in his narrative, present before us the full splendour of the Oriental romances. A striking description is given of a tremendous storm, carrying along such a cloud of sand as to render the air perfectly dark.

MISMANAGEMENT OF THE INDIA SHIPPING.

The Parsees of Bombay almost monopolize the establishment of the dockyard ; no European master-builder, it seems, has been permitted long to survive his arrival ; and, in the hands of these virtuous fire-worshippers, the whole business has become a mass of fraud and abuses. He represents, with much probability, the whole administration of the India Company's marine establishment here as most villanous, and the fitting out of the vessels with which he went a second time to the Red Sea, was an excellent sample. The situation of the town was extremely unhealthy, and the evil is aggravated by the cheapness of spirituous liquors, which leads to a dreadful mortality among the European soldiers, particularly on their first arrival. He thinks a sudden attack, on the land side, might easily reduce or destroy the place. The trade of Bombay, he says, is now "very inferior to what it was in former times, which is chiefly owing to the indulgences given to the Arabs, particularly the Imaum of Muscat, whose flag being recognised as neutral, his vessels sail to and from the Isle of France, carrying there provisions, and taking back prize goods, which they purchase at half their prime cost."

POLYGAMY.

In consequence of Bruce's assertion, that, from Suez to the Straits of Babelmandel, four females are born for one male, Lord Valentia made some inquiries on the subject at Mocha, and was assured that the proportion is two females to one male. The information being given him, however, by Mahometans, to whose privilege of polygamy such a fact might seem to give a sanction, was not received by him without some doubts of correctness ; nor, supposing it true, does he seem disposed, like Bruce, to admit it as a justification of polygamy. He cites from Dr. Russel the report of a

Maronite priest, who had been employed in 1740 to make a census of the Mahometans in Aleppo, on a coast where Bruce has asserted there are nearly three females to one male ; the result of which census was 1,533 females to 1,500 males.

CHRISTIANITY IN ABYSSINIA.

There seems a sort of melancholy ludicrousness in mentioning the *Christianity* of Abyssinia. Something so named, however, does retain a precarious existence in the shape of priests, a few churches, a few old books, superstitious ceremonies, and numerous pictures of St. George, who appears to be the favourite saint. They are prompt to avow themselves Christians, on being visited by foreigners ; and have a degree of pride in being so distinguished from the Mussulmans and Pagans. Nor are they disposed, as it should seem, to let these foreigners, when ostensibly bearing the same distinction, escape without some trial of their attainments in religious knowledge.

Few of the religious observances are particularized ; the most obvious one was their frequent fasting, much according to the Roman Catholic sense of that word. They have a sufficient number of religious ideas to make their profound ignorance deplorably superstitious.

Mr. Salt observes, "I am fully persuaded that there is no part of the world where European influence might be exerted with more beneficial effects than in Abyssinia." This appears to us a very interesting subject for speculation. In the interior of Africa there is a nation which very early received Christianity. From various causes their knowledge of this religion has become so obscured, as nearly to reduce it to a few historical facts, prominent names, and ritual observances. Still it has been so far maintained, as to preclude the prevalence of any other religion ; the people are tenacious of the Christian name, and would be well disposed to receive Christian knowledge. Without European interference, they are likely, in a few years more, to be finally overrun by the surrounding tribes of absolute savages, partly pagan, and partly Mahometan. This catastrophe would involve the destruction of all the institutions which preserve the name, and some small measure of the knowledge of Christianity ; and would probably involve, too,

the exercise of a rancorous intolerance against all that retained any trace of its profession. A very small supply of English knowledge, arts, arms, and agents, quietly introduced through the channel of commercial intercourse, under the express and most willing sanction of the king of Abyssinia and the governor of Tigré, would completely vindicate and secure the independence of the country, would probably restore its tranquillity, and would thus obtain a most advantageous ground for the exertions of the friends of Christianity and civilization. As an exceedingly subordinate object, we should not neglect to add what is so strongly insisted on by our travellers, that we should obtain a profitable market for our British and Indian exports, and an advantageous position in the Red Sea, for frustrating the designs of the French against our Eastern possessions. May we humbly presume to hope, that an object like this may have any chance of obtaining a moment's attention of a Christian nation that can afford to spend so much more than a million sterling a week for promoting the tranquillity and improvement of the world, when that Christian nation shall have concluded its more generous and dignified employments of fighting for the re-establishment of the Inquisition, and manuring the opposite coasts with the thousands of dead bodies of its troops?

SACRED BOOKS OF THE HINDOOS.*

WE hope that, in due time, very accurate translations will be given to the English and European public, of the most important parts, if we may so apply that epithet, of these revered Oriental books. Not that it is possible to conceive a greater waste of time than to read them; we mean as far as respects their *direct* value, in either the power of instructing or amusing. But they will serve a very excellent purpose in making some classes of infidels keep the peace; and they will also afford any good man, who can spare a few

* Ancient Indian Literature, illustrative of the Researches of the Asiatic Society, from original MSS. 1809.

hours to look into them, an occasion of giving a stronger emphasis to his thanks to Heaven for a Divine revelation. Judging from such specimens as have already appeared, they never can in England become interesting as general reading; not even the epic poems, from the destitution of that right reason, that perception and observance of the laws of possibility, probability, and consistency, which cultivated Europeans have learnt to require, even in the lightest works of amusement. We can indeed contrive now and then, even after the period of childhood, to run so far wild as to be amused for half an hour in the Arabian Nights, though we soon steal back, almost ashamed, within the boundaries of reason: but the Arabian Nights are perfect models of sobriety and consistency, compared with what has yet been exhibited to us of Hindoo poetry and theology.

There can be no harm in so far giving credit to this professed translation of some parts of three Puranas, as to transcribe a short sample of what we are to possess, after a while, in greater plenty. We will take part of the second section of the *Sheeve Poorane*, as it is here written:—

“Narayen and Narayenee, having collected all these things into one place, again betook themselves to repose, and from their navels there appeared a lotus flower, whose leaves were beyond the bounds of all idea, and of the length of several thousand *yojens*,* and which cast a light which flashed like many crores† of suns; and from that lotus I (Brahma) came into existence; and, except that, I could trace nothing. I then reflected with vast astonishment, Who am I, and whence came I? and how should I employ myself? and who is my creator! Amid these doubts, I determined with myself that as I came into existence from the lotus flower, that assuredly must be my creator. Under this groundless idea, I descended for a hundred years toward the root of the lotus; but, as it was an insuperable difficulty to get to its bottom, and wide of my efforts to reach its extremity, still tasking myself to arrive at the place of my origin, for another hundred years I measured upwards the road of my desires; but no mark ever appeared that way of the end of the lotus; and I considered, in deep amazement, O God! what enchanted wonders are these that spring in this manner from nothing into existence! I was in

* A *yojen* may be reckoned about $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles. † A *crore* is 10 millions.

this trance of thoughtfulness and perplexity, when a voice suddenly struck my astonished ear, saying, 'Tepe, Tepe,' i.e., worship, worship."

A malicious being of the name of Tareke, wanting to obtain from Brahma the power and liberty to perform a certain destructive exploit, bought his license at the following price :—

"In the wood *Medhoo* he selected a pleasant and beautiful spot, adorned with verdure and blossoms, and there exerted himself with penance and mortifications, with an intention, and for the purpose, of annihilating the Deivetes. 1. For one hundred years he held up his two arms and one foot towards heaven, and fixed his eyes on the sun for the whole time. 2. For one hundred years he remained standing upon his great toes. 3. For one hundred years more he nourished himself with nothing but water. 4. For a hundred years more he lived on nothing but air. 5. For a hundred years more he stood and made his adorations in the river. 6. For a hundred years more he stood and made his adorations in the earth. 7. For one hundred years more he stood upon his head, with his feet towards heaven. 8. For a hundred years more he stood upon the palm of one hand resting on the ground. 9. For a hundred years more he hung by his hands on the branch of a tree. For a hundred years more he hung to a tree with his head downwards.

"When he came to a respite from these severe mortifications, a flame, arising from his head, began to burn the world."

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.*

It is of prime importance, in discussing the question of the propagation of Christianity, to state it in its true and precise terms. It is not whether Christianity should be taught to the Indians, but whether Christianity should not be *hindered from being taught* to them. That, is in plain English, Whether or not *ought Christianity to be persecuted* in India? That such is the real import of the question we cannot think any man will scruple to admit, as soon as the coincidence is suggested to his mind. It is one species of persecution, no doubt, to

* An Historical Review of Hindostan: the Rise and Progress of Christianity in the East, its present Condition, &c. By Robert Chatfield, L.L.B., Vicar of Chatteris. 4to. 1808.

be called upon actually to renounce and disavow any set of opinions ; and it is a different species, to be commanded under penalties not to propagate these opinions. This latter, however, is still persecution, though a kind somewhat less atrocious than the former. Suppose, how absurd soever the supposition,—suppose a decree to pass the British legislature, that no Presbyterian doctrines shall any longer be taught in this kingdom, as not being favourable to royalty, and that penalties shall be inflicted on all those by whom the statute shall be broken ; would not the Presbyterians call this persecution ? and would not every unprejudiced man allow that they called it rightly ? In fact, the persecution which the emperors of Rome exercised against Christianity was neither more nor less than what we find recommended to the British government in India ; it was barely commanding the Christians not to preach in the name of Jesus, and punishing them when they did so. But it was a point of conscience with those Christians so to preach. If any Christians in India are actuated by a similar principle, it is a similar persecution to forbid, and to punish them.

It will, we doubt not, be said,—for many of the advocates for the persecution system are inconsiderate enough to say anything,—“ We are not for persecuting the missionaries ; we only propose to forbid them.” But what if the missionaries, judging that God bids them do what you forbid, should not obey ? Do you propose to punish, or to let them go on ? or do you know any alternative ?—“ Oh, yes ; we will send them out of the country.” That is to say, you wish for a law to banish them. And is banishing, then, in your opinion, no punishment ? It will very possibly be said, that banishing Englishmen from India is no great punishment. That evidently depends, however, upon the force of desire that may exist in any man’s breast to remain in India ; and the missionaries evince that their desire to remain in India is very strong. But, at any rate, thus much is certain,—that to send Christians out of India, for preaching Christianity, is persecuting Christianity to the extent (whatever it may be) of the penal infliction which banishment from India implies. It is to be observed, besides, that banishment from India has annexed to it several adjuncts, which are liable to operate in many cases as the most atrocious

punishment. It implies the being seized upon, and being imprisoned for such a length of time, greater or smaller, as may be necessary to intervene before it may be convenient to send the imprisoned missionary to Europe. It is well known that this would often be a very considerable period. Now imprisonment is in any country ranked among the severest punishments. Under the climate of India there is scarcely one more dreadful. No European constitution can endure it for many months ; to most it is fatal in a few weeks, or days. After this, the unfortunate victim is to be placed in a ship, which to a man not used to a ship, and placed in it against his will, must be one of the most inconvenient and most odious of prisons ; and in this, without any preparation made for him, he must accommodate himself among the common sailors, for a period of about six months. If, making a fair estimate of all this misery, we should figure to ourselves an equivalent portion inflicted on the banks of the Ganges in the shape of direct torture, and conceive any man coming forward in parliament with a bill conferring power to torture Englishmen to this extent, for the persecution of Christianity in India, can we doubt for a moment what would be the feelings in the breast of the most hardened and profligate amongst us ? Why should the calling of the same thing by a different name make such a prodigious difference in our sentiments ?

PERSECUTION OF THE MISSIONARIES IN INDIA.

The question, whether Christianity ought to be, or ought not to be, persecuted, by any detachment of the British Government in any quarter of the empire, one would hardly have expected, among a people and under a government professedly religious, to have seen so flippantly and confidently answered in the affirmative. For us, who are the impartial, irreconcilable enemies of persecution, wherever operating, against whomsoever, by whatever penalties, whether open or disguised ; as we would protect Brahmins teaching their opinions in a Christian country,* if anybody cared to listen to them besides the half-dozen wretched pamphleteers who have lately been the furious advocates of their superstition, so would we protect Christians propagating their doctrines among Hindoos, even

* Of course, the protection cannot be extended to those overt actions

independently of the consideration of those doctrines being true. "Oh! but you are bigots and fanatics," cry our antagonists; "and in your blind zeal for things of the other world, you lose sight of all the consequences of your actions in this."—Let us just remind these temperate disputants, that it is not impossible to be bigots and fanatics for other things besides Christianity. For example, the Emperor Julian, who has been perhaps improperly called an apostate, but who, in his early days, had been certainly instructed in Christianity, was a bigot for the twelve gods of Olympus. The value which ought to be set upon Christianity is not the point here in question. Were Hindooism a better religion than Christianity, as some of those who contend against the preaching of Christianity pretty plainly give us to understand is their belief, still we should claim entire freedom for those who thought otherwise, to go and present their doctrines, with all the efficacy they could derive from their powers of persuasion. Whether this opinion or that opinion be right or wrong, whether the difference be material or trifling, it can hardly ever happen—in regard to all permanent arrangements it can probably never happen—that the freedom or restraint of enunciating opinions is not a concernment of transcendent importance. When we are contending, as at present, for freedom of opinion, and our antagonists are contending for persecution, we are willing to leave it to the consideration of our readers on which side the bigotry lies.

MISSIONARY PREACHING NOT THE CAUSE OF INDIAN REVOLT.

But, say the opponents, you do not consider the mischief you are about to produce. The Hindoos, they inform us, will take fright at the preaching of Christianity; they will revolt, and we shall lose Hindostan. We meet them with a direct negative; and assure them of our conviction that the Hindoos will do no such thing.

ON THE MUTINY AT VELLORE.

OH! BUT VELLORE, THEY CRY; think of that. Did not the which a civilized state must necessarily prohibit and punish as civil crimes. There is no helping it, if such persons as the aforesaid pamphleteers should spurn at this proviso as a piece of bigoted intolerance, and insist on a legal sanction for the Brahmins and their proselytes to expose children, to burn women alive, exhibit the Lingam, sit in Dhurna, &c., &c.

Sepoys mutiny ? The business of Vellore, we answer, is a strong and convincing proof to all who choose to understand it, that our position is just, and that yours is erroneous. The mutiny of Vellore was produced, not by preaching Christianity, but by altering head-dresses, which form an essential part of the religion of Hindoos : not by fear, in the breasts of this people, of being *persuaded* to become Christians ; but by fear of being *compelled*. The wearing of the anti-Hindoo caps, it is to be carefully remembered, was a matter of compulsion. Now observe the strength of the evidence which this case affords. Christianity has been preached in various places of India : no mutiny or revolt was ever the consequence. *Compulsion* was applied to the head-dresses, at one place, where no missionary, it appears, had ever been ; and mutiny was immediately produced. Here is experience itself, to prove that the preaching of Christianity is harmless, and that compulsory measures alone are productive of evil.

After the business at Vellore, which has come so conveniently for our disputants to hold up as a bugbear, and which has been for that purpose stuck upon the end of so many of their poles, we are presented, as their next grand resource, with a brilliant display of the mighty antipathies which prevail among the Hindoos against Christianity. Now as for these antipathies, we shall not dispute one single word of what they say. But we will tell them, what it is almost incredible they themselves should not have perceived, that these prove nothing whatever with regard to the point in question. If the Hindoos violently abhor all other religions but their own, why should that make it appear to them more likely that force is to be used to deprive them of their own ? And if they are satisfied that they have nothing to apprehend in the nature of force, their violent predilections must render them but the more secure with regard to any efforts of persuasion. Their confident preference of their own religion, if it has any operation in this case at all, must operate as a tranquillizing power, and render them less subject to alarms. If the disciples of the Brahmins are so unalterable in attachment to their own religion and in antipathy to every other, the Brahmins themselves need feel no anxiety, and can have no sort of inducement to excite commotion.

BRAHMINICAL PREJUDICES.

There is an instance produced by some of the advocates of persecution, by which many, we are told, have been deeply impressed. A Brahmin was found by some Christians on the banks of the Ganges just expiring. Moved by humanity, one of them poured a cordial, which he happened to have about him, down his throat. The Brahmin revived. But what was the consequence? He was regarded with abhorrence by all his tribe, he lost caste, and was reduced (if we do not mistake) to the extremity of destroying himself. But what connexion has this with the consequence ascribed to it? so that provided an incident like this should be liable to happen among any people, it must necessarily follow that they will rise in arms if Christianity is preached to them? How is the one made to appear as indissolubly connected with the other? It is very evident there is no such connexion between them. These disputants of ours betray, at the same time, the most pitiable ignorance of the Hindoo character and principles. Had a votary of the very same religion with this Brahmin, had a member of any of the inferior castes, performed the same act of humanity, the same degradation and suicide would have been the abominable consequence.

HINDOO ANTIPATHY TO MAHOMETISM.

But a third party, an indifferent spectator, may here say to us, and with great propriety, your arguments have as yet been only of the negative kind; you have shown that there is but little force in the reasons which your opponents allege for their fears. Can you give us any positive reasons why we should unite with you in your confidence? Yes, truly; you shall judge. Some four or five hundred years ago (no matter for the exact date) the Hindoos were conquered by a nation of Mahometans; as they have lately been conquered by one of Christians. Their antipathy to Mahometism was at first as great as it is to Christianity. These Mahometans mixed themselves with the people they had subdued; and not only taught their own religion, but studied to insult (as is the genius of Mahometism) the religion of the Hindoos; they domineered over the professors of it in the style of masters, and carried on against them on various occasions the most

ferce and bloody persecutions. What were the consequences ? Did the Hindoos revolt from religious motives ? Was any religious war kindled in Hindostan ? Was there any religious insurrection ? No such thing. From whatever cause the Mogul government was at any time disturbed, religion was in no instance the primary or even the secondary motive. Let us not be reasoned with, on a subject of this importance, as if we were children. A very considerable proportion of the whole population of Hindostan, is at this moment Mahometans, and the Mussulman doctors are preaching every day, as they have there preached for 500 years, against the religion of the Hindoos. What should there be in a handful of Christian missionaries, that they should excite those extravagant alarms, which myriads of preachers of Mahometism have failed to produce during many ages ?

ON THE PROBABILITY OF CONVERTING THE HINDOOS.

As to the quantum of immediate good which may arise from the efforts of the missionaries, neither they nor their advocates indulge very sanguine expectations. Among all orders and races of men, the teachers of the Christian religion meet with numerous impediments and but partial success. Among the heathens, and especially among this particular division of the heathens, beyond all doubt, they have peculiar difficulties to contend with. It is not the less true, however, that their enemies have immeasurably exaggerated the resistance to change in the character and principles of the Hindoos. The principles of change have already made no inconsiderable progress ; and so far is it from being true, that the texture of Hindoo society cannot by any means be altered, that the fact is, no power can now prevent it from altering, and that with increasing rapidity, every day. Mr. Forster, one of the most intelligent of the eye-witnesses to whom we owe our information respecting India, tells us (See his Travels, vol. i. p 54), "Many of the fences that marked the limits of the respective tribes are now broken down. The Brahmins of the Deccan and Punjab have taken up the sword, and are seen crowding the ranks of an army ; the Chittery occasionally betakes himself to traffic, and the Sooder has become the inheritor of principalities. Mararow, the gallant Mahrattah officer, and chief of Ghooty, was of the fourth caste of Hindoos." The family of the Paishwa is of the Brahmin

caste. In like manner Dr. Buchanan tells us in his instructive account of his "Travels in the Mysore," (vol. i. pp. 18, 19, and 318), that the distinct employment of the castes is now very little attended to; that the Brahmins perform almost all functions, except those which are reckoned very degrading; and that the Soodras are most commonly the cultivators, and very often the soldiers.

Even in religion the facts which prove the practicability of change are numerous, and of the highest importance. Whole nations of Hindoos have in reality changed. The Cashmirians have all become Mahometans; the Seiks have renounced Brahminism for the tenets of a pretender to a revelation among themselves. It has been remarked by a writer in the "Asiatic Researches" (vol. vi. p. 11), that the Hindoos and Moguls in India have, by their necessary intercourse, become remarkably assimilated, not only in manners, disposition, &c., but even in religion; and he states a very striking fact in confirmation of his remark, namely, that Scindiah, who is a superstitious Hindoo, is likewise very observant of Mahometan ceremonies. There are heretical sects besides, in India, whose influence is by no means inconsiderable; as the Jain, for example, who reject the Vedas, and the eighteen Puranas; have sacred books of their own; and say that Brahma, Vishna, and Siva, were no gods; that Vishna was a rajah, and Siva and Brahma only a rajah's sons. This sect extends over all India, and is extremely numerous in Tulava.*

The enemies to the preaching of Christianity, allow that the missionaries may make converts among the impure and most degraded castes. This admission is of more importance than they seem to be aware of. These, instead of being the most pernicious members of the society, are in reality the most valuable. They are the most industrious, and the most docile, because they are exempt from that pride of privilege which engenders idleness and self-conceit. So sensible was Hyder Ali of their value, that, in his excursions into the states in his neighbourhood, it was this degraded part of the population chiefly that he wished to carry away, and transplant into his own dominions. He generally settled them in

* See, for an account of the Jain, Buchanan's *Travels in the Mysore*, vol. iii. pp. 76—80; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 499.

his territories as farmers, and would not permit them to be regarded as outcasts or vile ; he commanded the opprobrious appellation attached to them to be entirely disused, and replaced by the honourable name of cultivators.*

But though our hopes of immediate success in the propagation of the Christian faith are not very elevated, yet our confidence of ultimate success is too firm and well-principled to be discouraged by the opposition at first experienced in prosecuting it, or by the trite falsehoods and gratuitous predictions of its adversaries. Nothing but a despotic interference on the part of this Christian country, can prevent the gradual introduction of the faith it professes among the people it rules. Something may be expected from the influence of seminaries of education ; something from discreet yet zealous preaching, an engine of limited operation, but of necessarily augmenting and indefinitely expansive power ; but most of all from the diffusion of knowledge, especially of religious knowledge, through the medium of the press.

QUAKERS OF NORTH AMERICA, AN EXAMPLE FOR INDIA.

Supposing it were really any object with government to promote the moral and religious change of India, it might be worth while to consider whether some use could not be made there of the plan which has been tried with such pleasing results and hopes by the Quakers in North America. They selected certain fit individuals in their society, whom they engaged to go and settle for a given time among the Indians, for the purpose of teaching them to cultivate the ground, and to practise such of the simple arts as were most conducive to their well-being. These individuals, having engaged the Indians themselves to allot them a portion of ground, began to cultivate it for their means of subsistence, convincing the Indians, by ocular demonstration, of the efficacy of this mode of operation, to procure what the support, and even the enjoyment, of the human frame demanded. They built themselves houses, and fabricated their own tools before the eyes of the Indians. To such of the Indians as were stimulated to follow their example, they gave instructions, and lent tools ; and by conducting themselves with that discretion, sobriety, and patience which characterize their sect, their progress in

* Buchanan's Travels in the Mysore, vol. i. p. 19.

a few years was extraordinary. In such of the districts as they had chosen for the scene of their experiment, the Indians had enclosed and cultivated portions of the ground ; had reconciled themselves in a great measure to labour, and derived a considerable part of their subsistence from the soil. To pursue this plan, would be to associate with the idea of Christianity the ideas of all those blessings which civilization and the arts bestow upon human kind. Let a few Quakers, for example, of the proper description—husbandmen, blacksmiths, carpenters, comprehending the more necessary kind of artificers, have a portion of land allotted them among the Hindoos for their subsistence ; where they would form a little village, in which the arts and the arrangements of European society would be visible to the eyes of the natives : let them observe the prosperity and happiness which attend these arts and arrangements, compared with the wretchedness which attends, and ever must attend, their own : let these societies be spread as numerous as possible, in the more populous parts of the country : let these villages be open to all such natives as may choose to join them, and to labour and live after the manner of the Europeans : let them serve, above all, as places of asylum, to which all those may repair that lose caste, or are treated with contumely by their countrymen, for having embraced Christianity ; and where they may find employment, and all the natural and precious rewards of industry and good conduct. Let all this be done, and, notwithstanding the difficulty presented by the castes, and the difference of character and condition between the savage Americans and half-civilized Hindoos, the happiest effects, we think, might be anticipated.

CRUELTY TO ANIMALS.*

WE should be greatly mortified in reading this speech, and thinking of the fate of the Bill which it recommended, but that we recollect we are advanced no further than the nineteenth century of the Christian era. At so early a period, however, of knowledge, and so soon after the very

* Cruelty to Animals. The Speech of Lord Erskine, in the House of Peers, on the Bill for preventing Cruelty to Animals. 1809.

first step in the progress from barbarism to civilization, it was too much to expect that a nation should enact effectual laws, to deprive itself of any part of the license and the exhibitions of cruelty, which are always so much to the taste of barbarians. Some famous legislators have been censured for trying to force and anticipate the improvements of society within their states, by superinducing premature refinements on a substantially gross state of the moral and intellectual cultivation of the community. And what could be the use of recording and condemning such an error, but to instruct other legislators to avoid it? The instruction has not been lost; for though it might be, no doubt, from a sort of amiable candour, that Lord Erskine fancied it compatible with the present degree of civilization in this pretendedly enlightened and Christian country, to put a strong interdict on the detestable barbarities which he describes or alludes to, he was taught his mistake by an authority and a decision to which all will reverently bow. Still we think it was proper for the speech to be printed. though it could only serve (instead of the same quantity of *larmoyante* poetry) to gratify the sentimental part of the nation, and to show the discontented part, who are always complaining of the interference of power in everything, what very signal privileges are yet left untouched by any such interference.

It begins by adverting to the notorious fact, "that it is not only useless but dangerous to poor suffering animals, to reprove their oppressors, or to threaten them with punishment. The general answer, with the addition of bitter oaths and increased cruelty, is, *what is that to you?* If the offender be a servant, he curses you, and asks *if you are his master*; and if he be the master himself, he tells you that the animal is his own." "The validity," says his Lordship, "of this most infamous and stupid defence, arises from that defect in the law which I seek to remedy. Animals are considered as *property only*. To destroy or abuse them from malice to the proprietor, or with an intention injurious to his interest in them, is criminal, *but the animals themselves are without protection*—the law regards them not *substantively*—they have no RIGHTS." He proceeds to argue with great force and beauty

of sentiment, that they ought to be recognised by the law as having rights purely their own, as beings capable of pleasure and pain, and that the dominion of man over them is a *moral trust*, in a different sense from that in which his inanimate property may be so called. At the same time he insists (an argument quite necessary to be kept in view at the beginning, middle, and end, of any pleading to human creatures in behalf of mercy) that the execution of this trust which shall be most benevolent towards the animals, will be, on the whole, most beneficial to the interests, in the gross sense, of the proprietors. In due subordination to this grand argument to a depraved being, it may be urged, and it is strongly urged by his Lordship, that the solemn promulgation by government of the *principle* of our duty towards the animal race, and the putting in force correspondent specific laws, would greatly contribute to the improvement of the moral sense of mankind. In framing the bill, he proposed to recognise the *principle*, in the following preamble: "Whereas it has pleased Almighty God to subdue to the dominion, use, and comfort, of man, the strength and faculties of many useful animals, and to provide others for his food; and whereas the abuse of that dominion by cruel and oppressive treatment of such animals, is not only highly unjust and immoral, but most pernicious in its example, having an evident tendency to harden the heart against the natural feelings of humanity." He censures the bill some years since proposed in the Commons against bull-baiting, as essentially defective in not referring to the justice due from man to the inferior animals, but resting itself on mere political considerations, such as the injury done to masters by drawing servants from their work. After exhibiting a striking view of that great and mysterious economy which has rendered death necessary throughout the whole animal world, his Lordship makes the most ample allowance for destruction, not accompanied by wanton cruelty, that could be desired by the most carnivorous or sporting part of his audience. He makes most ample allowance, too, in applying his principle to the state of beasts of labour, for the ordinary, and occasionally extreme, necessities of man, and acknowledges the impossibility of framing such a law as should protect them in all

cases from severity. But while he trusts that much good would be done by the operation on the thoughts and feelings of men of the legal and solemn declaration of the moral principle, he maintains there are many flagrant abuses that might be distinctly subjected to the operation of penal law.

ON THE PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY IN ASIA.*

THIS work has not much of a controversial complexion, having been written previously to the now nearly subsided contest between the friends of Christianity and the advocates of heathenism. These, we think, are not illiberal terms of description, in adverting to that controversy. Nor are they terms unlikely to be employed by the future ecclesiastical historian of these times, provided he happen to find, and have patience to read, a few of the productions; without which he could form no adequate conception either of the depravity or the imbecility displayed on the occasion. There might have been a mode of opposing the Christian designs on India, which should have been very decidedly irreligious, quite sufficiently so to satisfy any reasonably moderate hater of Christianity, and yet should clearly have stopped short of entitling those who employed it to the denomination of advocates of heathenism. Pretending a firm belief in the religion of the Bible, and a profound veneration for it (as indeed has been done by some of the persons alluded to), they might have avowed the utmost abhorrence of paganism, protesting that they thought it a most melancholy thing to see millions of the human race ignorant of the true God, and a hideous thing to see them prostrating themselves before idols, and practising, as a religion, many ridiculous and cruel and abominable rites; and that therefore they entertained, and should ever entertain, an earnest wish that this horrid mass of combined delusion and depravity could be immediately annihilated. And then, after duly avowing these proper

* A Dissertation on the Propagation of Christianity in Asia. By the Rev. Hugh Pearson, M.A., of St. John's College, Oxford. 4to. 1808.

sentiments, they might have proceeded to say, that, notwithstanding such a view of heathenism, they must take leave to think that it is no business of ours to attempt the rescue of any of our foreign subjects from such a condition ; that in the East we ought to keep strictly to our vocation of conquest and commerce ; that any attempt to introduce the true religion, though by persuasion alone, might possibly irritate the pagans, and render them less submissive subjects ; and that religious considerations are, systematically, to be sacrificed to political ones. Now this we should call irreligion. We should hold it a virtual renunciation of Christianity to maintain, that any interest *can* be involved in our connexion with foreign subjects, for the sake of which it can be lawful to repel from them the proselyting approaches of that religion ; and a virtual renunciation of faith in a Supreme Governor to believe, that a sincere and peaceful endeavour to promote his cause *can* ever, while his superintendence continues in the creation, be found contrary to sound policy. But the persons who obtained a momentary notoriety in the late controversy, were not content with any such irreligion as this. It should be distinctly recorded, as it may possibly be a fact worth knowing long after their pamphlets and names have perished, that they have not only represented that the effort to supplant paganism by peaceful Christian instruction may be politically mischievous, and insisted that to political considerations all others are without hesitation to be sacrificed, but shown an explicit partiality to the paganism itself. In speaking of its fables, institutions, and ministers, they have carefully employed a language not only of forbearance of "abuse," as they call it, but of marked veneration ; and they have been violently angry, that the friends of Christianity should assume the truth of that religion in terms implying that all other religions are therefore necessarily false. They have been quite furious when the zealous Christians in the East have applied, and have been justified by their friends at home in applying, to superstitious notions and idolatrous rites, the identical language applied to them in the Bible, or language of identical import. Every expression of hatred to the whole, or the particular parts, of the Indian pantheon and its rituals,—a kind of expression in which the Christians had imagined they might

innocently and consistently indulge,—was received by their opponents as an affront to a respected friend, which they were bound to resent for him, and which they would have been glad to be able also to punish. If they have now and then made some pretension of faith in the Christian religion, it is so much the worse thus to have added hypocrisy to impiety ; and it was also extremely foolish, for whom was it intended to delude into good opinion or co-operation ? No other persons in the nation, assuredly, besides these gentlemen, would have thought it worth one paragraph or sentence of simulation to gain the good opinion of those, whose understandings could give credit to professions of attachment to Christianity ridiculously speckling a general language of defensive respect for idolatry. As no credit can be sincerely given to such professions, we disapprove of any of the advocates of religion pretending, for the sake of politeness, to give it. Let men be plainly taken for what the general tenour of their performances evinces them to be ; and let the fact go down formally recorded to posterity, that, at the beginning of this century, a set of men in this country, some of whose names were avowed, and others more prudently concealed, obtruded on the public, in a large quantity of transitory writing, a systematically supported exhibition of respect for the vilest paganism, and of abusive anger in its defence. It will not be true, if it should be said they made this exhibition only in necessary enforcement of their argument of the impolicy and danger of irritating the minds of our pagan subjects. They might, as we have said, have urged that argument to its utmost length, without one word of favour to the heathen superstitions ; and, therefore, the favour and defensive partiality shown to those superstitions was the willing and gratuitous tribute of depraved feeling. This direct homage to paganism itself, abstractedly from all consideration of policy in our management of pagans, appears to us the distinguishing circumstance, on account of which, chiefly, the recent paroxysm of enmity to religion merits a more marked record than those ordinary manifestations of it, in which it is perfectly common to misrepresent religion and true policy as incompatible, and insist that the former must be sacrificed.

The author approaches his subject by referring to the time,

about a century since, when the first commercial grant was made to the British merchants trading to India, by a monarch of the country, and then stating the present extent of our empire there. Such an acquisition, made in so short a time, and in defiance of a powerful European competitor, he deems so extraordinary, as to force upon us imperiously the inquiry *why* we have been suffered and assisted thus to become one of the greatest Asiatic powers. He states several advantages, of a subordinate quality, which we, and which the people of India, have derived from our ascendancy in that country ; but insists that the ultimate design of Providence in giving us this power is "*the diffusion of Christian knowledge* among so many millions of its unenlightened inhabitants, as the means of promoting their temporal and eternal welfare."

On the subject of a religious establishment in India, he has but a short section ; and if he had to write it now, he would make it shorter. Between wars, the sumptuous paraphernalia of state, the support of pagan worship, and the disasters of the India shipping, it is tolerably evident that not a rupee can be afforded for such a purpose. In asserting the necessity of an establishment, our author does not, like some of his wiser contemporaries, avow it as his object and expectation, to secure a "perfect uniformity of religious faith." He insists on it as necessary in order to supply and support a sufficient number of qualified men for the religious service of India, to give some semblance of religion to our national character there, to embody the "national" religion in a visible and imposing shape, and to create in India an episcopal power of ordination independent of the hierarchy at home.

EXAMPLES OF BAD ENGLISH.*

WITH all due apprehension of the greatness of the subject, with all imaginable veneration for India, where Dr.

* Indian Recreations; consisting of Thoughts on the Effects of the British Government on the State of India. By the Rev. William Tennant. 8vo. 1808.

Tennant has been, where fortunes are made, where the Marquis Wellesley has built a superb palace, where a few English soldiers have often frightened a pagan army out of sight almost as easily as if it had been composed of rabbits; where a faggot, or a wheel-barrow full of mud, will make a dozen of gods, and where simpletons are reckoned by the million, —with all due impressions of so splendid a subject, it is yet difficult to consent it should overawe the laws of correct writing into an acquiescence in such forms of expression as the following: “They attempted to form, at once, all those different chiefs, *collectively*, into a *combination*.” —“The Zemindar illegally acquired by partial rent-rolls, and by *secreting* the *lands* and rents, &c.” —“These abuses were far surpassed by the *exactions* which were *imposed* at the markets.” —“To unfit the members of our Universities *from* affording much assistance in so important a discussion.” —“These labourers prosecute the task by *means* that are *impracticable*.” —“This product affords the *universal* beverage of *all* ranks.” We ought to learn from such an expression as the following, that the *ancient* Roman power is *still* very formidable: “Much probably is owing to the *deprecated* ambition of that celebrated nation.” There ought to have been at least a lucid belt of context to reflect some meaning round a sentence like this: “It will not, however, be denied, that a continued series of victories gained by Europeans, must have forced the stream of this calamity (war) with peculiar aim against those princes whom it endangered, either in their power, independence, or personal safety.”

After stating the beneficent practical effects of Christianity on human society, and the moral contrast between the Christian and pagan nations, he adds, “The very imperfections, however, of heathenism, seem to set limits to its extent and duration.” And this assertion is not followed by anything calculated to ascertain its meaning, nor by any guess at the period when the Hindoo superstition, for instance, may be expected to destroy itself by its own depravity. Nor when, in another place, he lays it down as a general truth, on the narrow basis of the particular fact of the Roman conquests, “that no nation can carry its conquests to any great distance without carrying also the useful arts,” does he betray any sign of ever having heard of Goths, Huns, or Tartars.

In the few preceding observations, we have been actuated by no feeling but that just discontent, which is excited at seeing with what self-complacency men of learning and information can waste the time, and contribute to spoil the intellectual habits, of the reading part of the community. Those habits are bad enough in all conscience without such assistance. There is little enough order in statement, clearness and concentration of reasoning, and simplicity and precision of language, even among those who are not completely absorbed in either business or dissipation, and who employ a tolerable portion of their life in inquiry. It might reasonably be expected, that when a man of intelligence and a scholar intends to occupy their time and attention to a large amount with what he is writing, he would be anxious not only to communicate a certain quantity of knowledge, but to communicate it in a manner that should have the effect of a sound discipline to their minds; that he would make a severe effort so to dispose and condense the statements, and to give such a perfect construction to the reasoning and the language, that the readers might be trained to logical thinking and good taste,—an advantage of greater value than that of merely getting the knowledge of a certain number of facts more than they knew before. The neglect of this grand duty of an author would be inexcusable, even if he were not seeking general attention to his subject and his book, but merely intending a statement of some particular matters of fact for the information of a particular class of persons.

ADVANTAGES OF BRITISH SUPREMACY IN INDIA.

Whatever be the good or evil arising to this country from the possession of India, no one doubts that the people of Hindostan are deriving great and growing advantage from our ridding them of the detestable oppressors and ravagers, who have been so long exercising their royal right of devouring them. Putting out of the question the mischievous influences on our own nation, we cannot but earnestly wish, whatever may become of the Indian sovereigns, and their royal divine right of playing the game of Nimrod across a few hundred thousand square miles, that the British government may become ten-fold more consoli-

dated over that country than it is. It appears the only chance for civilization, including under the term whatever knowledge is the most conducive to the introduction of the true religion, that has ever, in the whole lapse of time, been afforded to an immense multitude of most wretched slaves of tyrants and superstition. The work before us supplies much valuable information of the measures already adopted in favour of that degraded population, and of the beneficial effect which has become apparent even within the very short period since the termination of our recent wars. The grand advantage which was to be sought, as antecedent and introductory to all others, the putting an end to the state of constant war among the native powers, appears to have been in a great measure secured. Many of them indeed have been pacified by an expedient of the most infallible efficacy, the annihilation of their power, and the absorption of their dominions by the British empire; which would appear to them a more marvellous monster than any in their whole mythology, if nature had not been very parsimonious to them in the article of thinking faculty. Those whose turn is not yet come for making this complete surrender, have been bound to keep the peace by the contrivance of a British subsidiary force stationed within their territories, at all times exercising the vigilance, and in readiness to exercise the power, necessary to keep the crowned imps of Moloch in proper order.—The state of the police, and of the administration of justice, has been greatly reformed; and it was quite time.

SIR THOMAS MORE AND HIS UTOPIA.*

All Protestant admirers of this accomplished man will concur with Mr. Dibdin in regretting, that, if he *was* to be a papist, he had not, like some other men of fine genius who were slaves to the same faith, chiefly employed his studious labours on the *belles lettres*, instead of devoting many years of the most intense exertion to the support of an execrable superstition, and the annoyance of the only persons on earth that understood and taught genuine Christianity. But with

* More's Utopia. Edited by the Rev. T. F. Dibdin, F.S.A. 8vo. Two vols. 1808.

how much more energy will they concur in imprecating the total destruction from the face of the earth of that complication of error and priestcraft, which even such a man as Sir Thomas More could not defend, without renouncing whatever was noblest in his character, without rancour in the exercise of argument, and oppression in the exercise of power.

It probably cannot be ascertained to what extent Sir T. More did really judge the scheme, unfolded in his romance, a practicable theory of human polity. It seems quite impossible a man, so well acquainted with human nature and with business, could have expected anything else than immediate destruction to a state, from laying the basis of its economy in common property. Nor could a number of things in the detail of institutions and customs have been introduced for any graver purpose, than that of surprising or confounding the readers with an excess of contrast with the actual state of society. Various parts, however, are palpably meant as a most serious censure of that actual state, and a project of such changes as ought to be adopted, though he knew well enough they never would. Allowing the full value of these specific political lessons, we should be inclined to conjecture that less advantage has been rendered to society by the particular instructions conveyed in the *Utopia*, the *Oceana*, and other such works, than by that more general effect by which such works have contributed to keep the theory of government within the acknowledged rights of free popular discussion. It has always been the very natural desire of the holders of political power, that the constitution and authority of government should be regarded by the people as something awfully sacred, something which it is a species of impiety to suggest, or even to think, it may be possible to change into a better form than the existing one. This pernicious superstition has prevailed in no small degree, even in spite of all the counteracting causes; but that it has not prevailed much more completely, has been partly owing to the daring of a succession of ingenious men, who have presumed to exhibit in fictitious forms, but with many significant practical bearings and applications, schemes of policy directly upsetting and reversing those actually established in the country in which they wrote.

One remarkable particular in the polity of *Utopia* has been

numberless times adverted to with regret by the admirers of More, as furnishing so strong a condemnation of his own spirit and conduct toward the Protestants in the latter part of his life,—the freedom of religious faith, to the full length (which is of the very essence of that freedom) of endeavouring to make proselytes.

ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT.*

WITH respect to this one article, we may perhaps be allowed to question whether it was perfectly consistent with liberality of spirit, even in the irresponsible office of republisher, or the very slightly responsible office of compiler, to admit such a thing into the series, and so make it an inseparable part of the purchase. It has no such excellence of workmanship as to render it, in spite of its moral qualities, worth possessing as a literary rarity; and as to those moral qualities, the editor knows that, if all biography were written in the same manner, the best use of all biography would be to light fires. Every impartial examiner of the history of those times knows, that nothing less than either the most stupid bigotry or flagrant dishonesty could uniformly, throughout a long memoir, represent the proceedings on which Whitgift's fame is founded, as directed solely against faction, turbulence, and irreligion. Every one who has but glanced at that history knows, that he was the staunch and most willing minister and prompter of the bigotry of the half-popish Elizabeth; that his proceedings were such as to draw from the Lord Treasurer Burleigh (who is, notwithstanding, in this memoir, impudently affirmed to have been "always his firm and constant friend") an indignant remonstrance, pronouncing one of his most celebrated measures more iniquitous than

* Ecclesiastical Biography; or, Lives of Eminent Men, connected with the History of Religion in England; from the Commencement of the Reformation to the Revolution; selected, and illustrated with Notes, by Christopher Wordsworth, M.A., Dean and Rector of Bocking. 8vo. Six vols. 1810.

those of the Spanish inquisition ; that he and his coadjutor, the Bishop of London, received, and received without adopting any change of conduct in consequence, a letter from the lords of the council,* in which it was represented to these prelates, that the council had "of late heard of great numbers of zealous and learned preachers suspended from their cures in the county of Essex, and that there is no preaching, prayers, or sacraments, in most of the vacant places ; that in some few of them persons neither of learning nor good name are appointed ; and that in other places of the country, great numbers of the persons that occupy cures, are notoriously unfit ; most for lack of learning ; some chargeable with great and enormous faults, as drunkenness, filthiness of life, gaming at cards, haunting of ale-houses, &c., against whom they heard of no proceedings, but that they were quietly suffered." The letter was accompanied with a catalogue of names, one column of learned ministers deprived, a second of unlearned and vicious ones continued, and a third of pluralists and non-residents ; on which the council observed, "against these latter we have heard of no inquisition ; but of great diligence and extreme usage against those that were known to be diligent preachers ; we, therefore, pray your lordships to have some charitable consideration of their causes, that people may not be deprived of their diligent, learned, and zealous pastors, for a few points ceremonial which entangled their consciences." It was owing to the relentless intolerance of the queen, who supported the prelates in all such proceedings, that such ministers as Burleigh and Walsingham were reduced to remonstrate in vain. Now if a bigoted retainer, of the name of Sir George Paule, chose to write a life of such a prelate, celebrating his transcendent piety, equity, clemency, usefulness, and so forth, and applying all the terms of odium and contempt to whatever was opposed to him, we cannot comprehend what necessity on earth there could be for Mr. Wordsworth to give new currency to this piece of arrogance and misrepresentation. We will not entertain the suggestion, that such a necessity could arise from his official situation ; such a surmise is too humiliating to be admitted for a moment. Whatever could have been the reason that deter-

* Burleigh, Warwick, Shrewsbury, Leicester, Lord Charles Howard, Sir James Crofts, Sir Christopher Hatton, and Sir Francis Walsingham.

mined its insertion, we should have thought, that, as Mr. Wordsworth has undertaken to correct, confirm, or illustrate all his authors by means of notes, the determination to introduce this article would have been accompanied by the strongest conviction of the duty of protesting against the violent bigotry of the writer, and cautioning the readers against forming, on so bad an authority, their estimate of the archbishop, and of the class of persons that he persecuted.

Having discharged the indispensable duty, in place of the editor (who has not felt the jurisdiction of his office extending so far), of reprobating the part of the compilation which is so flagrant with the brimstone of intolerance and persecution, it is with great pleasure we find ourselves at liberty to say, that on the whole the work is a very valuable service rendered both to the religious and the literary public.

HUET, BISHOP OF AVRANCHES.*

HUET is the well-known name of an enormous magazine of learning, that existed in France during the greater part of the seventeenth, and the early part of the eighteenth centuries ; a magazine to which it should appear, from these memoirs, that the greatest scholars of Europe were proud to be able to make any addition ; and to which none of them, great or small, thought it humiliating to have recourse for supplies. How it was possible for such a mass of literature to be stored within the capacity of one human being, by what method of study and distribution of time so much could be taken in, and by what contrivance for preventing or stopping the leaks of memory and the thefts of age it could be retained there, is not satisfactorily explained in these memoirs. It would have been very gratifying to be admitted completely into the sanctuary of his library ; to be told whether he made it a retreat inviolable during particular portions of time to all

* *Memoirs of the Life of Peter Daniel Huet, Bishop of Avranches ; written by himself ; and translated from the original Latin, with Notes, by John Aikin, M.D. 8vo. Two vols. 1810.*

intrusion and interruption ; whether he adopted any peculiar methods of study ; whether it was necessary for him to read books several times in order to have their contents at command ; whether he tried the various artificial aids to memory, and which of them he preferred, or whether he invented any new one ; what sort of commonplace books or indexes he found most serviceable ; what were his principal difficulties in composition, and how they were overcome : to be informed, in short, of whatever was auxiliary to extraordinary aptitude and industry, in making and employing such prodigious acquisitions. The mere fact, however, that these acquisitions were made and put to use, in an assigned order of time, is the chief substance of the personal history here afforded of this wonderful scholar.

And this excursion, though rapid, is indeed so long or so wide as to bring him in view of a vast number of ancient and modern monuments of the same kind as that which he has been rearing. But what would he have said or thought, had it been possible for him to extend it so far as to see, in prospect, that Pyrenean heap of memoirs of their authors, by which literature was doomed to be, at a later period, loaded and buried?—that illustrious period, worthy to have been predicted by Sibyls, and to be celebrated by poets of the Admiralty and St. Stephen's ; when the right of calling the public attention to the memoirs of individuals, written by themselves, was no longer to be nearly confined to martial dictators, to great statesmen, or great scholars, to the Cæsars, the Sullys, and the De Thous ; but should be liberally accorded to each maker of a madrigal, a play, or a score of convivial jokes ; each tool of a minister ; each reverend obsequious retainer of a profligate lord ; each pander to each wealthy or noble corrupter of society ; each mistress of a field officer ; and each trifling adventurer who assumes a mighty importance on the strength of having exercised the functions of dressing, consuming the corn, and sleeping, a number of years in France or Italy, instead of London or Bath.

Unlike the generality of memoirs, the work of Huet is much too brief. Besides those particulars relative to the mechanism, if we may so call it, of his studies, which we have already noticed to be wanting and desirable, a man who had a more extensive personal acquaintance than any other

individual of his age, with scholars, philosophers, and statesmen, could have told a great number of entertaining and striking circumstances, which would have introduced his readers to something like an humble acquaintance with a portion of that splendid society; a society, too, in which he passed so much of his time, as to make it altogether inconceivable how the remainder could be enough for his prodigious quantity of reading, writing, and philosophical experiment. But he does little more than name a considerable number of the distinguished persons, and his sketches of the rest are brief and dry; much in the manner of a man writing out a catalogue of books, and sometimes stopping to say that this is a very celebrated work, in great request among the learned on the Continent, the supposed source of some of the greatest improvements in philosophy, its first appearance forming an epoch in the history of science or literature, &c. &c.; and that this other article is a superlatively correct and elegant edition, having occupied so many years of the life of such or such a learned editor, the typography being the very finest performance of the unrivalled Elzevir press, &c. &c.

Though the number of remarkable facts in this memoir is indeed very small for a busy life of more than eighty years, it would be possible, if we had room, to extract a tolerable portion of entertainment; and as to profit, the whole history is one most dense piece of instruction on the wonderful effects of unremitting industry. Men of ordinary literary hardihood look over the dusty and solemn ranks of learned works in a great public library as an invincible *terra incognita*; they gaze on the lettered latitude and altitude, as they would on the inaccessible shore of some great island bounded on all sides with a rocky precipice. Huet gives the example of a man having no such submitting and retiring sensations at sight of the most formidable masses of literature. There was no point where he had the smallest fear of not being able to make an entrance and a lodgment, and to extend his researches and conquests rapidly on all sides, while the common tribe of scholars should stand gazing and confounded at a distance. It is not the question, whether this literary rivalry of the military projects of Alexander, this scheme of universal conquest, was a judicious plan of life. Whether

it was wise or foolish, the marvellous effect of unrelenting industry in the prosecution of it may afford a valuable lesson to those whose ambition to accomplish something great and good is often repressed by the consideration of human imbecility and the shortness of life.

The fate which more or less befel the greatest part of the talent and learning in France, in the detestable though gaudy reign of Louis XIV., of being drawn within the vortex of the court, awaited Huet also, long after he had escaped from all the vortices of the Cartesian philosophy, in which he had taken a few whirls in his youth. In conjunction with Bossuet he was made preceptor to the Dauphin; and no doubt he performed, when in this situation and when out of it, his due share of that vile worship of the monarch, of which the collective literati of the country were proud to be the priests, with the noble exception of Tanaquil Faber, who dedicated a book to Pellisson, then an inhabitant of his Majesty's prison of the Bastille. Huet, however, had really not time to go far in this or any other species of fashionable vice: for it was during his preceptorship, which involved a considerable portion of official labour and duties of courtiership, that he performed his greatest work, "*Demonstratio Evangelica*." He has given a striking account, and not in an ostentatious style, of the labours of research required even for assembling together the crude materials for this monument of his erudition.

THE DELPHIN CLASSICS.

It was also during the period of his service at court, and of his employment on his "*Demonstratio*," that he undertook, at the earnest recommendation of the Dauphin's governor, the Duke of Montausier, the plan of publishing all the Latin classics, with that ample furniture of illustration which has made what are called the Delphin editions so well known throughout Europe; and this plan was executed within less than twenty years, to the extent of sixty-two volumes. Huet's office was to obtain competent editors for the respective authors, and to exercise a general superintendence, by examining, once a fortnight, the portions of work they had performed. And by degrees, he says, he became more of a workman himself than he had intended; the editors of some of the most obscure authors, as Manilius, applying to him for assistance.

In this comprehensive plan for the facilitation of the royal studies, Lucan, much to his honour, as Dr. Aikin remarks, was not recognised as a classic. His most Serene Highness, the Heir Apparent, was evidently likely to derive far more valuable instructions on the principles of just government from the obscure astronomical futilities of Manilius, than from Lucan's manifestoes against tyrants. It is probable, however, that the benefit accruing from this hopeful source was about as great as that from the expedient suggested by the sapience of the royal father, of getting together a party of the most erudite men of the age, to talk their best on high matters of literature and science, in the presence, and for the advantage, of a boy, who was probably meditating on the philosophy of frolics one half of the time, and literally dreaming of them the other. The time came at last for this royal receiver-general of wisdom to be a man, and to be married, for the good of the nation; and then, it should seem, by Huet's own confession, that, along with the governor and preceptors, he kicked away all the classics with a prodigious good-will.

SPAIN.*

A FEW more sketches of Spain are acceptable from so sensible a traveller as Mr. Semple, notwithstanding the continual diminution of the interest recently excited in the fate of that most miserable country: and the more acceptable, from the consideration that it may henceforward be very long before an Englishman will again be able to survey the country by so interior a route. Not, however, that the loss of such a privilege may warrant any very loud strains of lamentation, any more than the locking up of some large cemetery, that should have been heretofore accessible to the curiosity of every idle stranger, and the repeated ingress of those who had already explored it. One or two attentive inspections and accurate

* A Second Journey in Spain, in the Spring of 1809, from Lisbon, through the Western Skirts of the Sierra Morena, to Sevilla, Cordova, Granada, Malaga, and Gibraltar; and thence to Tetuan and Tangiers. By Robert Semple. 12mo. 1809.

descriptions of such a dreary repository, might fairly be expected to satisfy both the visitants of the place and the hearers of their report. They might reasonably conclude, that a gloomy sameness of appearance would long continue to rest on the objects in the subterraneous abode ; and that there could be therefore no inducement, on the ground of curiosity, to a re-examination, for a long time to come,—unless, indeed some strange convulsion, caused by natural or human violence, should throw the still figures and furniture of the region of death out of their order. It is true that a convulsion has been and is now disturbing the state of death, in which the human mind has so long reposed in Spain. But the report before us is enough to prove, that beyond a certain portion of mere physical ravage, the alteration is exceedingly small. There appears no symptom of discontent with the profoundest ignorance,—no perception of the superiority of neighbouring nations,—not the movement of a hair's breadth in recovery from any one prejudice or absurd custom,—not the faculty of even suspecting a defect in any one point of mechanism, agriculture, or policy, of which the uselessness, inconvenience, or mischief are palpably before the people's eyes every day ; and an execrable superstition, the best security for the long continuance of this state of intellectual death, remains as unshaken as the most ponderous tombstone in the whole country. To talk of the deliverance, the liberty, the glory, and so forth, of such a nation, as things to be the result of a year or two of anarchy and fighting, does really seem to be transgressing the utmost license allowable even in the language of a lamppoon or an Eastern fiction. And to expend, to a prodigious amount, the means, animate and inanimate, of a nation itself heavily pressed with burdens, in aiding the deliverance, as it is called, of such a people, without conveying the remotest hint of any measures corrective of barbarism, and tending to assuage the fury of fanaticism, would be quite worthy of a country where bigots and infidels should be contending for the political power. The mind seems sufficiently dead in Spain to ensure a protracted period of moral and intellectual sameness,—a monotony of ignorance and superstition,—whatever may be the despot's name whose slaves the population are ultimately to become.

The historians who shall *flourish*, as the phrase is, in the latter part of the present century, and at remoter periods, will have to do the best they can to explain the policy on which the English nation has been acting during the last twelve or twenty years. And it would be worth while for a person, who, though yet in the somewhat earlier part of life, has been, we will suppose, an intelligent observer of the transactions of the last few years, to consider, if he were to live to be asked for information, or for his opinion concerning them, forty or fifty years hence, by some one then preparing in the seriousness of history to state them, and comment on them, how he would answer such questions as these—Did the English nation at that time, in spite of all their vaunted illumination, and pretended spirit of liberty, entertain a real partiality for despots as such, for superstitious and intolerant church establishments, and in short for that state of the whole social economy, which is at once the result and preserver of ignorance and desperate corruption? Or, in their terrified haste to secure themselves against the ultimate ascendancy of a great rival power, were they eager to ally themselves with any sort of government possessing the semblance of a ready-organized military force, however such a government might be hated by its subjects, rather than wait to assist any nation to acquire the knowledge and freedom which would create a truly noble and powerful ally?—as a person startled with the apprehension of an attack, will catch a loose rotten stick from a hedge, instead of taking time, when there is really time enough, to cut out and prepare a sound and elastic one: but in doing so, were the English nation besotted enough to believe that such allies could render them any effectual assistance? And did that nation, in allying itself at so many points with the vilest despotism, entertain no apprehension that its own government might contract some similarity? Or is the truth of the whole matter no other than this,—that there was but little connexion but that of power, aided by delusion, between the English government and the English people?

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL COMPARED.

We cannot help wondering why, when Mr. Semple is so hopeless of any good among the Portuguese, he is so sanguine

with respect to the Spaniards ; as if the latter, according to his own descriptions, were not so deep in contented ignorance,—as if they had not also, in the same plenty, “its old rites, its superstitions, its prejudices of three centuries,” and all the signs of “decrepitude,”—as if the Spanish legislators and military commanders were not nearly as incapable, their ecclesiastics as stupid and intolerant, their adored sixpenny-worths of wax as numerous, their mobs as ferocious, and their accumulations of dirt as noisome, as those of Portugal. With respect, indeed, to any supposed analogy, in point of decline and decrepitude, between a nation and an aged individual, we cannot learn that the most sober class of philosophers esteem the notion anything more than a fancy ; but these matters of fact need no aid and aggravation from ingenious analogies to prove, that the nation have not mind enough for an enlightened system of co-operation against their enemy, and that they could not become a flourishing and happy people within vast lengths of time, if all the French on the peninsula were in one night, like the Egyptian locusts, carried into the sea.

SPANISH FREEDOM IMPROBABLE.

As to Spain being a *free* nation, after the expulsion of the French, Mr. Semple acknowledges such a thing to be impossible ; and that they have not a guess at the meaning of the word. In saying this, he betrays not the slightest consciousness that he is assigning any reason why the wretched population should not be kept in the cauldron of war as long as fuel to keep it hot can be gathered from their own ravaged country, or supplied by the oppressive taxation of ours. No ; his affliction is, that the fighting has as yet been in too small a way ; and he proposes that the English army shall be augmented to 80,000 men, in a country where he knows that half of such a devouring number would soon perish from famine and want of shelter, should they even not once indulge in the deleterious luxury of meeting the French artillery. The Spanish people, thus aided, and, through favour of such an adventitious multitude, and the still greater multitude that would crowd in from France to oppose them, partaking very largely of the comforts of famine, are to fight

on and gloriously perish for the name of Ferdinand VII. ; which name Mr. Semple thinks will be an inexhaustible source of inspiration, and a substitute for subsistence. The wearer of this name, however, will be destroyed, he says, by his savage captor, when it is seen how much ardour it keeps alive : but the triumph will, notwithstanding, be secured ; and then some other ignorant and feeble branch of the family may be had up, to be crowned the despot of Spain ; and thus the whole affair is to be finished, to the huge satisfaction, we will allow, of no small number of persons in Spain, who will (provided the new monarch so pleases) have the good luck of obtaining possession of numerous houses and farms which will have been left without owners. There are some persons of stout constitutions who can stand but little strong liquor ; and it is very curious to observe how many men of good heads, in the mental sense, cannot indulge five minutes in a speculation on Spain without reeling most woefully.

It may be reasonably presumed that so sensible a thinker cannot be absurd on any subject—saving the project of sending 80,000 English into Spain to fight for Ferdinand. Our readers ought, therefore, to have the benefit of another of the reflections suggested to him by the

POPISH SUPERSTITIONS.

The particular instance was in a church at Granada, where “one woman, on entering, fell on her knees, and in that manner worked her way to the altar, where, having muttered a prayer, and crossed herself repeatedly, she rose, walked backwards to the door, when she knelt again and proceeded as before : the ceremony was thrice repeated.” The traveller very properly exclaims against a superstition which can substitute the knees for the feet, in perambulations in which the latter would serve full as well.

AMELIORATION OF THE AFRICANS.

WHOEVER is the person conscious of having originated the idea of the African institution, that person, it may fairly be presumed, can have very few consciousnesses equally gratifying ; since it is an institution of which he may justly be confident of the permanent existence, and of which the operation must be infallibly beneficial as far as it can be extended, and may probably be at length extended, by at least an indirect influence, to the greater part of the least known and the most despised and oppressed division of the human race. That division has been regarded as so utterly abandoned to moral desolation, that it has been, comparatively, but little comprehended, excepting with respect to the abolition of its trade in human creatures, within the schemes, or even the speculations, of benevolent projectors : and the references made to it have so ordinarily been those in which European and national pride has expressed contempt, or those in which philanthropy has expressed despondency, that our very language seems reluctant to admit such phrases as African civilization, African literature, African science.

Most readers will recollect that this institution was formed immediately after the abolition of the slave trade, for the general object of attempting, for the benefit of the African nations, anything which could be devised by a combination of the most enlightened understandings, aided, for practical efforts, by whatever pecuniary means might be furnished by individual liberality, — and for the particular one of exercising an extensive vigilance respecting the effectual enforcement of the abolition act, and detecting those attempts at evading it which it was natural to expect would be made, but of which no man had anticipated the ample success and impunity which are now proved to have attended them.

It may be presumed, that if all the grand improvements which at the present time distinguish, or have in past ages distinguished, some of the nations of the world, could be

* Reports of the Committee of the African Institution, 1807—1810.

traced to their origin, it would be found, in many instances, that those improvements suddenly arose and made a prodigious advance under the genius of some individual, in each of these nations; as we know to have been the fact in the instances of Cadmus, Monco Capac, Alfred, and Peter. It is acknowledged that conquest has been the harsh and most ordinary instrument of civilization; but much has been effected by the gentler operation of commerce, next to Christianity the most powerful of the milder modes of civilizing barbarians; and this commerce can be set on foot without the intervention of war, or the concurrence of any extraordinary events or efforts.

The Committee represent, in somewhat sanguine terms, that if once but a small number of individuals in a country can be induced to adopt improvements which are of a nature to give immediate and practical proof of advantage, their prevalence will rapidly extend on all sides. A happy and wonderful instance in point is doubtless afforded in the fact here cited in illustration—the quick progress of conviction which had accompanied Dr. Jenner's discovery into all parts of the world. But the small-pox is an evil very dreadful to the imagination of even the most hardy or the most unthinking barbarians, and vaccination an expedient infinitely easy, a thing of a moment, involving no pain, no exertion of mind, no careful process of action, no toil, no confinement, no change from accustomed habits. It would be easy to advert to Russia, China, our immediate neighbours, or even our own country, for numerous proofs of the very slow progress of any improvement which requires the surrender and reversal of any fixed habits, any considerable exercise of the understanding, or any great novelty of manual operation.

Objections will be raised against the design on the ground of the African character, as it has been represented by the enemies of that unfortunate race. Many assert the radical nature of the negroes to be such as to doom them to an eternal impossibility of intellectual and moral excellence, and even to forbid their attainment of the humblest arts and advantages of civilization. Such judgment, pronounced by the oppressors of the Africans, is founded on an exaggerated estimate of those very vices which these very oppres-

sors themselves have created in them, by inflicting the misery and degradation of slavery, a condition in which some of the bad qualities imputed will inevitably be always found: but that even these accusers are, in their testimony, so discordant with one another, and with themselves, as to justify the opinion, even if there were no more direct evidence to rest it on, that the negroes, notwithstanding their debased condition, disclose so many favourable indications as not to leave materials enough, of decidedly bad quality, for false accusers and unjust judges to elaborate into a comprehensive condemnation, without being betrayed, in the attempt, into the grossest inconsistencies and contradictions.

The Report proceeds to allege, in extenuation of the admitted faults of the negroes in the West Indies, that they have been left to a more complete ignorance than was ever perhaps suffered to remain among any part of the people of a civilized country, the mass of them having been denied any species or degree of education or religious instruction; notwithstanding its being a notorious fact, acknowledged by the planters themselves, that a striking improvement has been effected in the character of the slaves, in those parts of the Islands which have permitted the labours of the missionaries sent by the "charitable zeal of some religious societies in this country."

The Committee then advert to various instances of the success of well-judged efforts for transforming barbarians into civilized societies, and very pointedly and triumphantly to the admirable plan successfully tried by the Quakers on the savages of North America, the one tribe of human beings of whose barbarous roving scarcely any speculator had foreseen any other possible termination than the extinction of the wanderers. The promising effects of this original contrivance for teaching these wild aborigines to find, for the first time, a home in their own country, and to adorn that home with the virtues, arts, and simple refinements which will render the vernal season of their civilization so enchanting to them and their benevolent instructors, are a proof of what may be done by a mere private association, and indeed as a proof of such associations being the fittest agents in plans of civilizing barbarians.

The indolence, and the vices and miseries naturally attendant on the indolence, of the inhabitants of the African coast are perfectly brought home as a charge on the slave-trade, and, therefore, on the nations that have had the chief concern in that trade, not only by a just observation on its tendency to destroy all the motives to industry, but by the striking fact, that in their grosser forms they are confined to the coast.

SUGGESTIONS FOR COMMERCE WITH AFRICA.

In the Second Report, the Committee, in illustration of the practicability of their grand expedient, the creation of an extensive traffic in African produce, made an ample enumeration of articles which Africa could furnish, to an indefinite extent, for exportation to Europe, if the natives could be made to feel a sufficient inducement, and be assisted with the requisite instruction, to cultivate and prepare them. Most of these productions are already found in the country, and the rest of the list could easily be brought to flourish there. Cotton is the one on which the Committee dwelt the most pointedly, as an article of great and almost immediate promise. They stated it to be already cultivated, rather extensively, on the African coast, though of a species inferior to what is required in the European market. The first opportunity was, therefore, to be seized for introducing a finer species of the plant into that richly capable soil; and they had the pleasure of reporting, that, through the active good offices of Messrs. Hardcastle and Reynier, they had been put in possession, much sooner than they had any reason to expect, of a large quantity of excellent cotton seed, part of which, put up in small packages, so as to admit of its easy distribution, was already on its way to Africa, and the remainder waiting the first conveyance. Rice, coffee, and indigo were among the other articles proposed to be made the first objects of encouragement in the new scheme of African cultivation. And as one practical movement in aid of that cultivation, the expedient was suggested (subject to the very limited condition of the Society's funds), of engaging in America or the West Indies respectable and well-qualified Africans, or descendants of Africans, to become the instructors of the natives and colonists of the coast in

the culture and preparation of these and other tropical productions. The Committee suggested, also, the probable utility of offering medals, or other honorary rewards, to the most successful efforts in either the cultivation or the trade. This suggestion was followed up by the Board of Directors in an offered premium of fifty guineas, in plate or money, to the first importer into England of a given quantity, in a specified state, of cotton, rice, indigo, or coffee, the produce of Africa; or should plant, within the colony of Sierra Leone before the first of January, 1810, the greatest number of acres, not less than ten, with coffee plants. The objection expected to be heard to the importation of so much cotton as Africa can be made to produce beyond its own consumption—that it will injure the interests of our colonies in which cotton is cultivated—receives an incomparably better answer, than that our benevolence for an oppressed race should make us willing to promote their welfare, even at the expense of some slight sacrifices in other quarters; namely, “that in proportion as the natives of Africa supply us with the raw material, they will be capable of paying for a larger quantity of the manufactured article.”

The other articles by means of which the Institution hopes to bring Africans at last into an advantageous commerce with Europeans, even though they have none of their relatives or neighbours to sell, are such as the following: gold, ivory, bees' wax, dye-woods, many kinds of timber, potash, palm oil, sugar, maleguetta pepper, spiceries, castor oil, arrowroot, tapioca, sago, tobacco, hides, sponge, opium, cochineal, and silk.

THE SLAVE TRADE AN IMPEDIMENT TO COMMERCE.

It may, however, be reasonably expected to be a very considerable time, before British captains and crews will be able to reconcile themselves to receive, with any tolerable temper, such articles as these for their lading, instead of those troops of distracted or sullen victims, they have been accustomed to cram and fetter down to suffocation and death in their vessels. There is hardly any luxury on earth which a little habit renders so delightful and indispensable as cruelty. The Africans themselves also have tasted of it so deeply, that it

may take a long course of years to clear their imaginations of the haunting tempting ideas which suggest to them, when they see a thicket, what an opportune place it would be to lurk in to spring on their prey; when they see a small village, what a rich midnight capture it would afford; when they see a gay, vigorous group, in the activity of labour or sport, what a triumph it would be to quench in a moment their vivacity, to overpower their struggles, to manacle their limbs, and to carry them down to the mart, thinking the while how much of the means of inebriation may be purchased with one, how many trinkets with another, and how many useful implements with a third. It is obvious, too, that a considerable time must have elapsed before the chiefs will be all perfectly convinced there is absolutely to be an end of the traffic in the persons of their subjects and their enemies; and also that, supposing this conviction universally and immediately complete, a considerable interval is likely to be consumed in confusion and imbecility between the forced cessation of a long accustomed mode of action, and the effectual adoption of a quite different one, among a people who have no enlightened speculative principles to guide them in the transition. Minds possessed of such principles, when an accustomed channel has been closed, can, by the application of them even to the most untried things, quickly ascertain the next most advantageous or most practicable course; but ignorant minds and nations come very slowly to find it out, through a long confusion of irregular and accidental movements, and waste, though often costly, experiments. It is the difference between a *scientific* practitioner in the mechanical or other arts, and a mere handicraftsman. The former, being possessed of general *principles* of art, if debarred from a particular department in which he has practised, will not be long in deciding what other practical branch he may most safely venture to attempt under the mere guidance of those principles, which are a medium through which he understands whatever is most essential in many branches. The latter, having worked merely by habit and pattern, is condemned, when thrown out of his particular employment, to look round despondingly on all others as things quite unknown to him, and on which he is to make a number of awkward,

and some perhaps mischievous trials, in order to find in which of them he may hope to get his hand in, and that too solely by means of practice. From such a view of the state of African understanding, the Society will prosecute, with peculiar earnestness, that part of their design, which aims at imparting instruction relative to the elementary principles of national interest.

To the question, "If Africa has such vast capabilities, what is the cause that they have remained so long undeveloped?" the Committee have one constant reply—the slave trade: and in the Second Report a very striking description is given, in the words of Governor Ludlam, of some of the methods of obtaining slaves, of the intense and almost furious eagerness with which these methods had been plied for some time past, in the expectation of a speedy abolition of the trade, and of the consequent desolation of the country. It is the picture of a region hunted, throughout all its tracts, with hell-hounds. And, meanwhile, a Christian legislature was debating and procrastinating; giving pledges of acts to meet, in this or the other *future* year, the present, instant claims of justice; affecting to threaten, and winking permission; as if to give the fiends just the proper stimulus, and just the requisite space of time, to devour the whole of their desired prey, and leave an absolute desert for that legislature at length to denominate, in its abolition decree,—"peace."

EUROPEAN EDUCATION OF AFRICANS.

The Third Report gave a concise and pleasing detail of operations; and must have afforded the Society that kind of pleasure which is felt in seeing a complex machine, of great expectation, beginning to work, and promising to work well. Several African youths, carefully trained during a number of years in England to several useful attainments, had been sent to Sierra Leone. An enlarged provision had been made there for the instruction of the sons of the chiefs, and for promoting the study, by Europeans, of the Arabic and Soosoo languages. More than fifteen tons of the best cotton seed had been transmitted; and it was heard that some of the first that had been sown was coming up. Printed instructions for its culture and

management had been sent. A sample of hemp had been received, which, it was expected, would prove little inferior to the Russian, and would not cost more than one-fourth of the price. Experiments were beginning to be made on the culture of the mulberry-tree, Peruvian bark, tea, and tobacco. The offered premium had been awarded for the importation of cotton. Representations had been made to government respecting the duties on imports from Africa, which were so high on several articles as to amount nearly or quite to a prohibition. The direct trade between this country and Africa had been ascertained to have considerably increased since the cessation of the slave trade. "Circumstances had come to the knowledge of the directors which left them no room to doubt that means were at that moment employed, by persons formerly engaged in the slave trade, for eluding the salutary provisions of the abolition act, and perpetuating the guilt and misery of that traffic." They were earnestly intent on frustrating those means, but to explain publicly in what manner would defeat the object. The same reserve was indispensable as to the measures which they avowed themselves to be pursuing to induce foreign nations to restrict or abandon their trade of slaves. "They had much pleasure in stating that his Majesty's ministers had shown themselves, on all occasions, fully disposed to promote, *as far as it had been in their power*, the purposes of the Institution." Letters from Sierra Leone, and one or two other points of the coast, had given the pleasing intelligence of fewer wars, and several palpable signs and promises of improvement, since the discontinuance of the slave trade. The Report terminates with a statement of expenses, amounting, from March, 1807, to Jan. 1, 1809, to £1,550 8s. 4d.; in every item of which expense the utmost attention had been paid to economy. Several facts mentioned clearly prove this laudable and indispensable care to have been maintained. The appendix contains several useful documents of a commercial nature, and several very interesting accounts of the manners of African nations.

The Fourth Report relates, almost exclusively, to the nefarious system of contriving means by which the slave trade has continued to be carried on, to a very great extent, in defiance of the English and American abolition laws.

ON THE QUALIFICATIONS OF A TRAVELLER.*

DR. CLARKE says, "a sense of unearned praise, bestowed by too eager anticipation, weighs heavy on his mind." There is no help for this. It is a man's own fault if he has made his main literary adventure additionally hazardous, by precursory proofs of uncommon talents and acquirements. Our author must submit to bear this evil, of meeting a very raised state of the public expectation; and we fear we cannot honestly hold out to him the slenderest hope, that he will feel any alleviation of it, when preparing to publish the next part of the series of his travels.

Dr. Clarke, we said, is regarded as a traveller of no ordinary class; and the truth is, he is of *no* class. He is superior to that peculiarity of taste and observation, by which the greater proportion of travellers are marked as of particular species; the respective distinctions of which imply something much more limited and less dignified, than that comprehensive intelligence, which speculating on every place and object through the medium of every kind of knowledge, brings home an *entire* estimate of the regions surveyed. We have travellers whose tastes and qualifications are specially directed and adapted to the object of ascertaining elementary geographical facts,—the situations, divisions, and most obvious appearances of imperfectly known tracts of the earth; of extending our knowledge of its minerals or vegetables; of exploring and illustrating antiquities; of accumulating facts and observations relative to political economy; of drawing sketches of national manners; or of catching the light shapes of amusement, and finding occasions of being witty. There have been travellers also, who, without any very specific pursuit, and without any considerable pretensions to either science or learning, have been content with the general exercise of mere good sense on such matters as are within its cognizance. Travellers of several of these classes, when they excel in their particular capacity, will always be regarded as valuable

* Travels in various Countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa. By Edward Daniel Clarke, LL.D. Part the First: Russia, Tartary, and Turkey. 4to. 1810.

contributors to our knowledge or entertainment ; but it is necessarily with a higher satisfaction, that we meet on his return a traveller, who unites in himself the qualifications for taking account of *all* those aspects of a country under which it would be contemplated, severally, by the specific classes of travellers ; a man, whose watchful and penetrating mind is never baffled, in any of its attempted operations, for want of an appropriate apparatus. The present author appears to meet this description in an extraordinary degree. He is a mineralogist, a botanist, a connoisseur—as to the arts to which that cant denomination most commonly refers—a critic, an antiquary, a historian, a lively painter of manners ; but all these qualifications are so involved and combined in the one element of general philosophic intelligence, that no one of them has an excessive predominance ; nor in the exercise of any one of them is the author's manner for a moment that which is usually observable in a man who can exercise no other. It is never the manner of the *mere* naturalist, the *mere* connoisseur, &c. &c., but of an enlightened observer who has learnt to judge of the absolute, in a great measure by the *relative*, importance of the various classes of facts and inquiries ; and never expends so much attention on one as to give it a disproportionate consequence, or excite a suspicion that he may not be master of the others. And that he is the master of the various departments, will be obvious to the reader by the time he has advanced through a moderate portion of the volume, in that remarkable appearance of ease with which he slightly adverts to, or more or less expatiates on, any of the facts or principles belonging to them, so unlike that effort and ostentation often visible in the references of writers, who have but a smattering of knowledge on subjects with which they are, notwithstanding, willing to have the credit of being acquainted. The same ease distinguishes also the style of our traveller, which is of natural construction, though the language of a scholar ; as free from vulgarity and every sort of slang, as from pomp and pedantry ; and in general happily descriptive. The writer is remarkably successful in putting the reader in possession of a fact by means of a delicate and dexterous turn of expression, where a bare explicit statement could by no possible choice of words avoid being grossly offensive. There are several instances of this in

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his descriptions of the surpassing abominations of Russian filth.

Dr. Clarke enjoyed high advantages in the latter part of his travelling enterprises, and in every part of the final composition of his relation of them,—from his having visited so many countries. He appears to have seen whatever is most worthy of attention in almost all the countries of Europe. He was thus progressively acquiring, throughout a considerable series of years, a more philosophic standard by which to estimate the different nations, by means of that wide comparative view, which was enabling him to attain a collective estimate of incomparably the most important portion of the human race. One result of this advantage is, that the book is clear of all language of puerile surprise and extravagant wonderment. And besides the general and philosophic effect of this extensive experience on our author's representations, the reader has the benefit of it in many distinct particulars of coincidence or contrast between the nations.

As to more general criticism, he will probably receive a larger portion of unqualified praise than any traveller for a century past. Perhaps no predecessor has combined so many requisites ; no traveller was ever more vigilantly inquisitive, or saw more varieties of man and nature ; excepting a very few instances of surpassing and barely justifiable though successful temerity, no traveller has displayed more enterprise and resolution ; no traveller with a mind so pre-occupied with literature, has ever, as far as yet appears, gone out with less of prejudice and system, to be confirmed by and to pervert his observations ; no traveller did or will narrate with a more elegant simplicity, or describe more luminously. It may be added, that the regions he surveyed were in some parts but very imperfectly, or properly not at all, known to us, and are in most parts interesting.

FAULTS OF TRAVELLERS.

When predicting a large share of *unqualified* praise, we need not say we have a reference to the conspicuous faults or defects in most of the distinguished travellers of the past century. Some of them have notoriously pursued their researches, and composed their books, in the express character of infidels. Some have vitiated the information they have supplied by an

absurd nationality of spirit, or even the spirit of a mere political party. Others have regarded all mankind as purely so much material for making satires. Others in exploring, with noble enterprise, unknown and dangerous regions, have been materially deficient in the knowledge pre-requisite in order to elicit the knowledge which those regions might have afforded; or possessing all the intellectual requisites, they have given to their relations such a constant air of extravagance as to keep the reader in a perpetual state of unwilling suspicion, and leave the public mind requiring additional, and expecting opposite, evidence. The present traveller has left all such faults to their respective owners.

PICTURE OF RUSSIA.

With respect to Dr. Clarke's odious picture of Russia, its lines are so different from that unmeaning generality, and from that artificial distortion, by the one or the other of which fiction is betrayed; its minute touches have all so much character, that the internal evidence of truth, combined with the confidence which there could be no good reason for withholding from a man like Dr. Clarke, ought to be quite sufficient to give perfect authority to his representation. But there was a time, a very short way back in history, when even in spite of that verisimilitude which we can now perceive in his representation, and of the authority which his testimony derives from his character, we should have been all to a man enraged at such a description. For at that time, Russia was our grand co-operator in defence of social order and the Christian religion. We were all bounding from the earth with joy, at first hearing of the arrival, in the south of Europe, of the military Howard, the mild though energetic Suwarrow, to assist us in protecting the civilized world against the threatened return of barbarism; every whiskered Scythian philanthropist in succession, down to Kutusof, has been the object of our affection and worship; the present autocrat was very lately our "august and magnanimous ally;" and as to the mass of his subjects, it was impossible for us to dream of their character consisting of any other than the most generous and heroic qualities, while we contemplated their representative legions that came so far southward to exhibit the virtues of a Russian camp. But since this monarch

and his heroic subjects so unaccountably grew cool in spite of all the fire at Austerlitz, and at last, for fear of drawing the same sort of heat to melt their own Moscovite snows, concluded to withdraw from our alliance, renounce even our friendship, and leave our cause to its fate, it is necessarily evident to us that the monarch is a coward, a simpleton, or worse, and all his people vile barbarians. We, therefore, shall all and every of us receive a representation like that of Dr. Clarke with such a violence of welcome as will soon banish all the apprehensions, which even the scrupulous and severe justice, apparent in these two judgments passed on the same people, might else have tended to inspire.

The general impression conveyed is, that the main body of the Russian population are in a strict sense heathens; that though they hear and utter some of the leading names and terms of revealed religion, they do not connect with them any of the ideas which revelation was intended to impart; that they have no more notion of Christianity as a system of doctrines, than they have of any ancient or modern scheme of metaphysics; that they are never permitted to look at the religion directly, but only see some distorted and fantastic reflections of a few of its memorable facts on the varnish and tinsel of superstitious pomp and ceremonies,—the ecclesiastics being of no manner of use but to perform these ceremonies and consume the fruits of the earth; that an inconceivable degree of childishness and absurdity predominates throughout the ceremonial, and makes its most splendid and solemn exhibitions as ludicrous as those on the stage of a mountebank; and finally, that, as might be expected, the religion, so to call it, has scarcely any more salutary influence on the morals of the Russians, than if it were the coarse mythology of their ancestors. The only recommendation of this Greek church religion is, that it is admirably adapted for an alliance with the Russian state, by its tendency to fix and aggravate the base servility of the popular mind.

Very little is said by Dr. Clarke respecting the intellectual attainments of the clergy. Nor are we enabled to guess what proportion of the higher rank may have acquired, through the medium of French novels, and letters of the *philosophes*, so much of shallow infidelity, as at once to laugh at the mum-

meries of their church, and identify them with Christianity. It should seem that the greatest number of them judge it more safe to be on reasonable good terms with the church and the Bogh. As to the lower order, they are evidently true and zealous believers. At proper times and places they will rush and crowd in a manner that endangers their limbs or lives, to touch a relic or consecrated picture ; even women being among this crowd, carrying their infants, and with tears of devotion lifting them up to make them perform this ceremony. When, during the fasting season of Lent, our travellers at any time offered a part of their dinner to the starving peasants in the cottages on the road from Petersburg to Moscow, "they would," says Dr. Clarke, "shudder at the sight of it, and cast it to the dogs ; dashing out of their children's hands, as an abomination, any food given to them ; and removing every particle that might be left entirely from their sight. In drinking tea with a Cossack, he not only refused to have milk in his cup, but would not use a spoon that had been in the tea offered him with milk, although wiped carefully with a napkin, till it had passed through scalding water." In another place he says, "a Russian hardly commits any action without this previous ceremony (of bowing and crossing himself). If he is to serve as a coachman, and drive your carriage, his crossing occupies two minutes before he is mounted. When he descends, the same motion is repeated. If a church is in view, you see him at work with his head and hands, as if seized with St. Vitus's dance. If he makes any earnest protestation, or enters a room, or goes out, you are entertained with the same manual and capital exercise. When beggars return thanks for alms, the operation lasts a longer time ; and then between the crossing, by way of interlude, they generally touch their forehead to the earth." A grand point of conscience is made, by all ranks, of eating no kind of food that comes in season till the benediction of the priest has been pronounced, either on that which is brought into the market, or on the kind of food in general ;—our author's expressions not being sufficiently precise in mentioning this circumstance. A particular church near the Mareschal Bridge is set apart for the benediction of apples ; and this is not given until the first apple drops from the tree, which is brought in great form to the priest. "A Mahometan would sooner eat pork, than a Russian unconsecrated fruit."

MOSCOW DURING EASTER.

Dr. Clarke fortunately arrived at Moscow just in time to witness all the pageants and excesses of Easter ; pageants, some of which he describes as more splendid than any he had seen in Popish countries, and excesses surpassing those of the Carnival of Venice. The bacchanalian fury with which the barbarous population bursts away, the instant the chain falls which superstition had stretched across, strongly illustrates the perniciousness of those appointed austerities, which, having not the slightest connexion with the principle of real Christian mortification, give an artificial and tenfold impetuosity to the appetites and passions. As if intentionally to stimulate the confined human wild beast to absolute madness, several public ceremonies, at short intervals, precede the grand concluding one. The first of them is on the eve of Palm Sunday, when all the inhabitants of Moscow resort, in carriages, on horseback, or on foot, to the Kremlin,* for the purchase of palm-branches to place before their Boghs, and to decorate the sacred pictures in the streets or elsewhere. The procession thus bearing palm-branches is prodigious, and creates no small degree of gaiety, though carefully marked by signs appropriate to the season of humiliation ; for instance, among the people of quality, a "dirty tattered livery, a rotten harness, bad horses, a shabby vehicle," and "figures that seem to have escaped from the galleys" for postillions and lackeys. The next ceremonial and farcical piece of absurdity is performed in the cathedral by the archbishop, personating Christ, washing the feet of twelve monks who personate the twelve apostles. The consummate silliness that characterizes all the ecclesiastical ceremonies is in this instance attained by means of the archbishop and the monk who personates Peter adopting the interlocution recorded to have taken place between our Saviour and that apostle. The ceremony which terminates the series, surpassing all the preceding parts, and suddenly letting loose the superstitious million of rampant barbarians, is celebrated two hours after midnight, in the morning of Easter Sunday. It is called the Ceremony of the Resurrection.

The travellers found the archbishop and his clergy just commencing a procession round the cathedral, with banners,

* A particular division of the city, a grotesque combination of fortresses, palaces, and churches.

torches, crucifixes, censers, sumptuous vestments, and whatever else was requisite to make the pomp complete. They entered in the archbishop's train into the cathedral, in which the vastness of the assembly, the profusion of lights, the richness of the dresses, and the loud chorus, filled them with astonishment. When they became capable of fixing their attention on any one circumstance of the scene, it was arrested by the striking figures and most sumptuous dresses of the ecclesiastics. The dance of heads and arms in bowing and crossing was universal and almost incessant; in the most zealous performance of which exercise, a Russian was detected by Dr. Clarke picking the other Englishman's pocket.

"After two hours had been spent in various ceremonies, the archbishop advanced holding forth a cross, which all the people crowded to embrace, squeezing each other nearly to suffocation. As soon, however, as their eagerness had been somewhat satisfied, he retired to the sacristy, where putting on a plain purple robe, he again advanced, exclaiming three times, in a very loud voice, *Christ is risen!* The most remarkable part of the ceremony now followed. The archbishop, descending into the body of the church, concluded the whole ceremony by crawling round the pavement on his hands and knees, kissing the consecrated pictures, whether on the pillars, the walls, the altars, or the tombs; the priests and all the people imitating his example. Sepulchres were opened, and the mummied bodies of incorruptible saints exhibited, all of which underwent the same general kissing. Thus was Easter proclaimed: and riot and debauchery instantly broke loose."

THE RUSSIAN ARISTOCRACY.

"As the nobles have rarely any money at command, their traffic in the fine arts, as in other things, is carried on by exchange. This sort of barter is of all things that in which they take the greatest delight. They purchase a picture for a carriage, or an embroidered suit of clothes, just as they pay their physician with a snuff-box. In everything the same infantine disposition is displayed; and, like children, they are tired of their toys almost in the moment they have acquired them. The method of paying their physicians by trinkets might seem an inconvenience to the faculty; but it is not so. Dr. Rogerson at Petersburg, as I am informed, regularly received his snuff-box, and as regularly carried it to a jeweller for sale. The jeweller sold it again to the first nobleman who wanted a fee for his physician, so that the doctor obtained his box again; and at last the matter became so well understood between the jeweller and the physician, that it was considered

by both parties as a sort of bank-note, and no words were necessary in transacting the sale of it."

As, however, the first venders, whether importers or manufacturers, of all those articles which form the subjects of so active and capricious a traffic among the nobility, must at all events be, on the whole, paid, and in some instances enriched; and as also the dealers, who in most cases will come between the first venders and the nobility, are not wise in their generation if they do not try the utmost of their faculties against the latter,—it might well be inquired where are the sources of the revenue that can long save such an aristocracy from beggary. Many of its members may indeed be on the borders of that condition;—as to the rest, the inquiry must be answered by those millions of wretched peasants, whose toils are supporting the boundless profligacy and folly of their lords, by a produce of which themselves partake but just enough to keep them alive. A part of the magnificent burden under which these labourers are crushed, is the prodigious establishment of domestics, kept by the nobleman or prince. "In the house of the young Count Orlof alone, are no less than five hundred servants; many of them sumptuously clothed, and many others in rags." The wages, however, of these immense tribes of menials, he says, "if wages they may be called, scarcely exceed an English halfpenny a day to each." And small as this nominal allowance is, "it might have been omitted, for it is never paid. There are few of the nobles who think it any disgrace to owe their servants so trivial a debt. There is in fact no degree of meanness to which a Russian nobleman will not condescend. To enumerate the things of which we were eye-witnesses, would only weary and disgust the reader. I will end with one." And here he relates the clearly proved fact of a young nobleman stealing the hat of one of our travellers from their apartments. Whatever becomes of wages, debts, peasants, or moral respectability, it is indispensable to a man of high rank to have about him "A swarm of slaves, attendants, hirelings, and dependent sycophants."

RUSSIAN PEASANTRY.

After such descriptions, we are not surprised to hear that "The peasants often take the law into their own hands, and

assassinate their lords. To prevent this, the latter live in cities remote from their own people, and altogether unmindful of all that concerns them, except the hard tribute they are to receive. Many of the Russian nobles dare not venture near their own villages, for fear of the vengeance they have merited by their crimes." Indeed, were it not for those habits of abject servility to superiors, in which the Russians are universally trained, we might wonder that revengeful despair does not hunt out and strike such tyrants in their cities and palaces. In reflecting on these representations, it may possibly be suggested to the reader—and that without any doubt whatever of the substantial fidelity of the author's statements—to question whether some of the expressions, taken in their strictly literal import, would not seem to describe an impossible state of things. There cannot be a moment's hesitation to believe that the Russian nobles are thoughtless and stupid enough not to comprehend, and almost barbarous enough to disregard even if they would be supposed to comprehend, the obvious good policy, with respect to their own interest, of promoting the comforts of their peasants; but the question would be, how the wretched multitude could actually be kept alive under such a destitution of the ordinary elements of subsistence; what remains for them to eat, after they are refused any share (beyond the absolute refuse) of any of the principal articles that the country they inhabit can produce—corn, milk, and animal food? This is partly answered in a latter part of the volume, where we are informed that a prodigious quantity of fish is caught in the Don and the Sea of Azof, and conveyed over all the southern provinces of the empire. And we may suppose a portion of the produce of the soil, rather more considerable than would seem to be admitted by the literal meaning of our author's language, afforded to the peasants—and indeed this supposition is authorized by his expressions, when speaking of the allotments of lands to them—while yet it may be so scanty and so bad, as to leave them in a state of misery not on the whole exaggerated by his melancholy and indignant description.

RUSSIAN SERFDOM, OR WHITE SLAVERY.

The fortunes of the nobles, "are estimated by the number of their peasants, as West-India merchants reckon their income

by the number of their hogsheads." And some of them have seventy, and even a hundred thousand of these peasants. These are, in the strictest sense, property,—as they may be sold whenever the proprietor pleases. And when his extravagant expenditure reduces him, as is often the case, to adopt this expedient, it is probable the slaves are, for the most part, very indifferent about a transfer so little likely to make their condition worse. Instances, however, have been known, it seems, in which they have earnestly deprecated such an event:—

"When the father of Count Golovkin was reduced to the necessity of selling a portion of his peasants, in consequence of debts contracted in the service of the crown, deputies from the number of his slaves came to Moscow, beseeching an audience of their lord. One venerable man, the oldest of the number advertised for sale, begged to know why they were to be so dismissed. 'Because,' said the Count, 'I am in want of money, and must absolutely pay the debts I have contracted.' 'How much?' exclaimed at once all the deputies. 'About thirty thousand roubles,' rejoined the Count. 'God help us! do not sell us; we will bring the money.'"

An instance like this is enough to show that even Russian boors have the affections, on which a generous master, and an enlightened and benign government co-operating with such generous masters, might take effectual hold to lead them gradually out of that wretched barbarism in which they have remained, unaltered, through so many ages. But, instead of any imperial or aristocratical plans or wishes directed toward such an object, we see, among the greater and smaller Russian holders of power, a general contempt for everything that could really tend to the respectability and happiness of a people, and for every faculty and feeling in human nature that is best adapted to be appealed to for the purpose of attracting human creatures into improvement. Indeed, there is no desire to lead them into improvement. They are of no known value or use, but to make soldiers for his Imperial Majesty, and labourers for the nobles; and, as ignorance and cudgels have thus far been found sufficient to train them for these uses, why should not the same discipline be sufficient still? Accordingly, a Russian statesman or noble is perfectly content that the thickest darkness should rest perpetually on this vast empire—a darkness as profound as if all the shades and mists that have been

cleared away from all the rest of Europe, by civilization, science, and religion, had rolled on this northern region, and there become accumulated into a preternatural midnight.

RUSSIA ESSENTIALLY DESPOTIC.

A despotic monarchy is clearly the doom of this immense country for an indefinite length of time. And, even supposing that once more, for the third or fourth time since the creation, the moral economy of human nature would be so far set aside as to permit a despot to possess consummate benevolence, as well as wisdom, it would still be difficult to conceive what he could do alone to raise the condition of the people. The expedient first presenting itself would be a plan for educating, civilizing, better supporting, more lightly tasking, and ultimately emancipating the peasants of the crown. But, how long would the monarch be suffered to live, that should thus venture to make himself such a contrast to the whole body of his nobles, as to excite universal discontent, and, perhaps, symptoms of approaching rebellion among their slaves?

ON EPIC POETRY.*

OUR times are unfavourable, to the last degree, to the writers of that kind of poetry commonly called Epic; a denomination about which there has been, among critics, a vast deal of superstition—a denomination as fairly applicable, for what any of them can show to the contrary, to any poetical narration of the great military transactions that have decided the destiny of a state, as to the *Iliad*—a denomination, therefore, which might, with perfect propriety, have appeared in the title-page of this work, had the author deemed it worth while to be tenacious of so trifling a point of rank. The present times, we observe, are unfavourable, because a great part of the impressive power of the heroic poem obviously depends on the contrast between such transactions as it narrates and the ordinary course of human events. We have

* *The Fall of Cambria, a Poem.* By Joseph Cottle. 12mo. Two vols. 1810.

very naturally been accustomed to calculate the effect of this sort of poem, on an assumption that the fall of great states and monarchs, the extinction and creation of imperial dynasties, the exploits of great heroes, and such conflicts of armies as transfer whole nations to a new dominion, are things of so rare occurrence as to be of themselves adapted to take possession of the utmost faculty of attention and wonder, and, therefore, to need nothing but the eloquence of poetry to give them an overpowering magnificence. In their plainest mode of representation they must rise before our view, it is presumed, with somewhat of the aspect of sublime mountains: the effect of their appearing in poetry, will be as when those mountains are seen in the state of volcanoes. But this high advantage of the epic poem—its having the province of celebrating a class of events which, in even the humblest style of recital, would be exceedingly striking to the imagination—is, along with so many other high and prescriptive things, totally abolished in the present age. The fall of monarchs—the end of a royal race—the catastrophe of empires—what solemn phrases these used to be, in the lessons of moralists, and the declamation of orators! How many pensive and awful reflections were they expected to awaken! To what a remote, and lofty, and tragical order of ideas were we suppose to be aspiring when we uttered them! But the time is at length come for such ambitious phrases to express but the ordinary events taking place within our sight. We are now become accustomed to reckon with great confidence, at the beginning of the year, that if we live to the end of it, we shall outlive some one or other ancient kingdom that is co-existing with us on the first of January. We take not the smallest credit for any unusual foresight in the prognostication; and when the event accordingly takes place, it seems so much a matter of course that it should have happened, that it is not till after a considerable interval of reflection that the mind admits any very grave impression of its importance. The impression is not so much made by the event itself directly, as by our reflective wonder that it has impressed us so little. But both our direct and our reflective ideas of the magnitude of such an event are soon swept away by that incessant rapid progress of revolution, which is overturning another and still another throne—destroying the boundaries of states—either reducing

those states to the condition of provinces of one vast rapacious empire, or supplanting their ancient institutions by new forms and names of government—and consigning the hereditary monarchs and their courts to obscurity and captivity, or driving them to the extremities and islands of Europe, or even to the other hemisphere. In this career of revolution, war has unfolded all its splendid and terrible forms, in such a crowded succession of enterprises and battles, with every imaginable circumstance of valour, skill, and destruction, that its grandest exhibitions are become familiar to us, almost to insipidity. We read or talk, over our wine or our coffee, of some great battle that has recently decided the fate of a kingdom, with an emotion nearly as transient as of an old bridge, carried away in our neighbourhood by a flood, or a tree overthrown by the wind, or struck with lightning. It is, even after every allowance for the natural effect of iteration and familiarity, perfectly astonishing to observe what a degree of indifference has come to prevail in the general mind, at the view of events, the most awful in their immediate exhibition, and the most portentous as to their consequences.

Now it is very evident that this state of the public mind must be unfriendly in the extreme, as we began by asserting, to the labours and hopes of epic poets. It is the chief object of their unfortunate task to excite the sentiments of awe and astonishment by the representation of events, for the most part, of greatly inferior magnitude to those (of the very same class) which are just sufficing to keep up our newspapers and annual registers to the competent pitch for amusing us. It is true that the poets, by going back several ages for their subjects, have the advantage of exhibiting their heroes and great transactions with that venerable aspect of antiquity which is strangely imposing to the imagination; but this is more than counterbalanced in favour of the newspapers by the momentous and direct relation of the present events to our own interests. The facts, too, of the epic narrative, instead of occupying the mind so as to withdraw its attention from the present events, have a quite contrary operation, tending rather to reflect its thoughts back to these nearer and greater objects. And this reflected attention involves comparison; which we shall

be sure to make with a considerable degree of disposition to find the transactions of our own more magnificent than those of former ages. We shall thus be made to contemplate with more attention, and, though a kind of reacting pride, with more admiration, the events of the last year or month, in consequence of the poet's challenging us with a pompous display of the battles and revolutions of remote periods—so that not only we are likely to behave ill to contemporary epic poets, but even Homer himself has need of all the sanctity of antiquity, and all the surrounding throngs of devotees of every time and nation, to protect him against the pert profaneness with which we might be tempted to ask, "What are all your conflicts on the Phrygian plain, and what is the fall of Troy, compared with what is taking place in our times, about once every six months?"

GRAMMATICAL CRITICISM.*

It is unquestionably on Dr. Collyer's uncommon talent for illustration, by means of ideal painting, that he will wish chiefly to rest his reputation. We came to the present work prepared to receive a great deal of entertainment from this prominent characteristic of his writings. We were resolved to practise the utmost courtesy if we should find, as we could not be surprised to find, that in the same manner as magicians used to be constantly tempted to employ the enchanted wand, even on occasions where an ordinary implement would have answered the purpose, the orator had recourse rather too often to the favourite expedient, the efficacy of which had been so well proved,—if we should find metaphors, personifications, and highly coloured scenes here and there somewhat unseasonably, as we might think, interrupting and suspending the succession of thoughts simply instructive. It was an exercise of this benevolent feeling that repressed any sentiment of dissatisfaction which might arise at seeing the Intro-

* Lectures on Scripture Prophecy. By William Bengo Collyer. D.D. 8vo. 1809.

ductory Lecture open with a magnificent and most elaborate metaphor, in contravention of the precepts and example of the greatest teachers and practitioners of eloquence, who have concurrently sanctioned it as a rule, that an explanatory introduction should begin with simplicity of thought and plainness of language. But in the most courteous temper of criticism there is no excusing such a commencement of an introduction as the following, without first making great allowances for juvenility :—

“In entering the temple of revelation, one of the first objects which has attracted the attention of all ages, and which constitutes a grand support, is the pillar of prophecy. Like the celebrated obelisks of Egypt, it is covered with hieroglyphics, which the wisdom of man, and the skill of science, in their combined efforts, attempted in vain to decipher. There is one interpreter whose elucidations never failed to render the inscription intelligible. It is Time. His hand retraces all the figures before the eyes of succeeding generations ; his interpretation is recorded by the pen of faithful, impartial history ; and by comparing the commentary with the original, we are able to comprehend both the one and the other. The pillar is adamant, and resists the impression of age. Its inscriptions were written by hands which have long since mouldered into dust ; and by persons who did not themselves always understand what they wrote, nor were able to explain the characters which they formed ; but the substance of them was dictated by God himself, and the column is his own workmanship. There have been many fruitless efforts made to shake this monument of infinite wisdom, and to erase these lines of unsearchable knowledge : but the pillar remains unmoved, the lines unimpaired, and the whole uninjured either by malice or by years. The parts of this singular elevation which stand near the roof of the temple, are covered with an impenetrable cloud. The whole pillar was once equally involved ; but Time, who has rolled away the mist from its base, shall at the destined period unveil the remaining part of it ; and while we shall be able to read the writing, he shall announce, with unerring perspicuity, the interpretation.”

Standing in an improper situation is not perhaps the only fault of this paragraph ; though it is highly laboured, carries certain marks of its author's approbation, and is indeed a fair specimen of the rhetorical part of his composition. As it is always desirable that, when an author founds his principal distinction on one particular mode of excellence,

that excellence should be brought as near as possible to perfection, we may venture to hope that two or three very slight remarks, in the way of exception, on the figure placed thus prominently forward in the front of Dr. Collyer's work, may contribute to induce him to study carefully the established laws of figurative composition.

It may be worth while to notice, in the first place, the faulty verbal construction of the first sentence,—“objects which has:”—the antecedent to the relative “which,” clearly is—“objects”—and requires the verb to be in the same number.—“In entering the temple of revelation:”—*What* enters? It would sound rather strangely to say that “all ages” enter it; but unless this be the meaning, the first part of the sentence stands perfectly unconnected with the rest.—Prophecy constitutes so large a part of the very substance of revelation, that it cannot, in just proportion of figure, be reduced to the dimensions and office of a “pillar.” But allow prophecy to be put in this form and office—and then we must observe that the figure has a fatal defect, inasmuch as that which is the *essence* of prophecy is represented by merely a *circumstance* of the column; it cannot be by its “hieroglyphics” that the pillar supports the edifice; the figurative temple would stand unshaken though the hieroglyphics were effaced. Is the “skill of science” something *else* than the “wisdom of man?”—We question, but with submission, the propriety of the word “decipher,” as applied to hieroglyphics, for the same reason that we should not speak of *spelling* hieroglyphics: the verb expresses a specific operation, which is perfectly inapplicable to the specific nature of the object.—“One interpreter—Time.” It causes a confusion of ideas to personify so as to confine to one exclusive place and agency, a thing that we must unavoidably think of as existing and operating everywhere else at the same time. We think a correct personification should, while it continues before the mind, appear a competent organ of all those functions, the constant exercise of which we attribute to the thing personified. But we cannot dismiss our idea of time in the abstract, with its infinity of operations, while looking at a figure named Time, standing perpetually by a pillar in a temple, “to retrace his figures to all succeeding generations.”—“His interpretation is recorded by history;” which seems

to be saying, that history has been written precisely as explanation of prophecy, and that it is, *of itself*, such an explanation; whereas history has no *necessary* reference to prophecy, being a record made, for the greater part, by men who never heard or never thought about the prophecies. Not history itself is the interpretation, but the result of the comparison made by the understanding between prophecy and history. How can it be said that by means of this comparison we are "able to comprehend both the one and the other?" We do not need it in order to understand history. What is the difference intended between "not understanding what they wrote," and "not being able to explain the characters which they formed?" How is it meant that the "column is God's own workmanship," as a fact distinct from that of its inscriptions being "dictated by him?" If the word "elevation" is adopted as a technical term, it is used without a knowledge of its meaning; if as a common one, its being used to signify a pillar is an unwarrantable license. Towards the end, the whole figure is again thrown into complete confusion by a "cloud," a "mist," which it now appears was the cause, or a cause, of that unintelligibleness which we were at first taught to attribute to its being in hieroglyphics, and Time has now an inexplicable duplicity of operation in the discharge of his office. Finally, what is meant by our being "able to read the writing," as a thing distinct from his interpreting it to us?

We like our author most when he is enforcing, in a plain and serious style, some of the most obvious but solemn admonitions of religion; and least, when he is ambitious to be argumentative, or splendid, or pathetic. In *reasoning*, we are compelled to acknowledge that he is apt to be rather loose and inconclusive, though indeed generally in the right, in virtue of not having been the first reasoner, in the order of time, that had handled the subjects. Many additional years, and much forced exercise, will be requisite to give the hard, cold, logical clench, to the gentle hand of our orator. Of the character of the *splendid* parts, we have already attempted a slight illustration, by means of a specimen. We earnestly wish our sensibility would give itself freely forth to the scenes in the *pathetic* style. But we are unable

to banish a certain perception of something very artificial in the management of those scenes. Occasions are sometimes evidently sought and contrived for presenting them ; as in the instance of the amplified picture of the sufferings of the negro slave, in the third lecture. And these parts come in as pieces intentionally set, and wrought to be affecting, with a most studious accumulation of circumstances and touches. This is so unlike the workings of that genuine sensibility which has sometimes made eloquence irresistible ! *That* sensibility emanates involuntarily, imparting a temporary softness, or fervour, to the train of sentiments ; the thinking faculty being for a while actuated by the passions, constrained to utter its thoughts in the form of emotions, but insensibly recovering itself again into the clear intellectual state. The eloquence that expects to captivate the passions, at least the passions of those who have learnt to use their understandings, must beware of all artifice, prettiness, and little sentimental conceits.

AMERICAN INDIANS.*

It is rather an effected epithet that stands forward as the first word in this volume ; but it suggests ideas of a very magnificent order. At a period not so remote but that many archways and doorways that we frequently enter were constructed at a much earlier one ; not so remote but that many of our large houses contain articles of furniture which were cut and framed in the highest fashion of that time ; not so remote but that there are, in every district of England, trees still in a state of considerable vegetable vigour that were flourishing at that time,—the people of this country saw a few small forlorn parties of their persecuted countrymen quit the English shore, objects of compassion to some of the spectators, and of contempt to the

* Exploratory Travels through the Western Territories of North America, in the years 1805, 1806, 1807, by Order of the Government of the United States. By Major Pike. 4to. 1811.

much greater number. The posterity of these virtuous outcasts, and of a few parties of various character that subsequently embarked, at different times, for the same destination, followed by a succession of individuals and families whose transmigration from Europe was not of consequence enough for any chronicles to record, are now the proprietors, on a tenure of necessary perpetuity, of so vast a portion of the earth, that they cannot *survey* it but in the way of "*exploring*" it. To learn the situation and extent of their lakes and mountains—to ascertain the course, the origin, and the very number, of their great rivers, they must send out formal expeditions of discovery; of which even the starting place must be several months' journey in advance from the points at which their ancestors first landed and established their diminutive colonies. The adventurers must be a band selected for extraordinary hardihood, both physical and mental; must set out prepared to prosecute their project through all the changes of difficulty opposed by all the seasons of the year, with the addition of the evils incident to a variety of climates; and must take leave of their friends as persons whom they may see no more. They must boldly leave behind them the last faint traces of the operations and excursions of what is called civilized man, and stretch away into regions in which their adventures and fortunes will be a long time unknown, and where they might perish, and the period, the exact locality, the circumstances, and the causes of their fate, for ever remain a secret.

This is, at least, a very moderate description of the character of the grand adventure, recently conducted by Captains Lewis and Clarke, across the continent to the Pacific Ocean; of which we have yet received no more satisfactory account than the meagre Journal of Patrick Gass. And though the expedition under Major Pike was appointed for a shorter reach, both of space and time, and was not directed through regions so absolutely unknown, yet it appears to have been accompanied by still greater sufferings and perils than were encountered by the other daring set of adventurers, and to have been executed with a quite equal degree of preserving energy.

The party consisted of twenty-one persons, besides the

commander ; and they set off, in high spirits, "in a keel boat seventy feet long, provisioned for four months." A large share of the narrative is, necessarily, occupied in recounting the succession of sand-bars and islands, the rivers falling into the main stream, the "*prairies*" and woodlands, the latter of which appear to form the larger proportion of the country, the accidents to the boat, and the hunting excursions made by individuals or small detachments, at the hazard of (what sometimes happened) being lost for several days. In one instance, two of the party were lost more than a week, during six days of which they had scarcely anything to eat. The Major made it a rule, that the main party should be constantly advancing, so that no detached individual could voluntarily straggle or linger. Game of the larger kind, such as elk and buffalo, was extremely rare in the earlier stages of their progress. They soon come to some samples of those formidable *rapids* and shoals which, in quick succession, were to impede and exhaust them throughout their whole course.

The land presents no stupendous rocks, or caverns, or mountains ; no Elysian vales, no aromatic groves. The author does indeed celebrate one, or perhaps two positions, in so long a traverse, as commanding a magnificent view ; but, having never enjoyed, or never improved, the benefit of learning the rhetoric of description, he is honest enough to let almost a whole thousand miles of country appear, for the most part, a dreary, murky wilderness. To a reflective and imaginative mind, amusing itself at its ease in raising certain fine exhalations of sentiment and fancy from the collective mass of the traveller's slowly accumulated notices, thus placed before it at one view, there is something greatly sublime in the ideas of almost boundless forests and savannahs, and almost endless streams. But this visionary aspect of the scene, these rainbow-coloured vapours, could have no existence to the traveller himself, while toiling for life under the pressure of the most ordinary, but urgent kind of wants, and the most unromantic kind of dangers. To him the real desert features were prominent in all their truth and dreariness, while his attention was fixed down to the currents and shoals of a troublesome river, and to a succession of long dead tracts of wood, swamp, and

coarse flat meadow-land; to the animal products of which he had to look for his precarious subsistence.

The party soon ascended to the site of various encampments of the Indians, with whom it was part of Major P.'s commission to take all opportunities of political rather than of commercial intercourse. And this he could do with very great advantage by aid of the impression which he states—and which indeed many of the facts he details prove—the Indians to have received of the formidable and commanding character of the Americans of the United States. He does not however pretend they are solely magnanimous qualities that the savages have learnt to attribute.

The present work will completely coalesce, in its effect, with such former representations of sensible, honest travellers as have brought into utter contempt the ravings of French philosophers, and the romancings of certain recent describers and historians of America among ourselves. To think what stuff we have read about the lofty virtues, the magnanimity, the generosity, the heroic patriotism, and the tender and ardent friendships of the American savages! of beings whose first grand business, the obtaining of a subsistence from the animal spoils of the wilderness, can admit but of a second, that of destroying one another in a perpetual contest respecting the extent to which the several tribes may range after their prey.

It is curious especially, and has struck us very forcibly, to observe how much the aboriginal character, when we are compelled to forego the advantage of beholding it through the medium of philosophical theory, of infidelity, or of poetry, is denuded of that sort of investing shade of gloomy sublimity, which used at once to darken and enlarge its features; to observe what plain, coarse, vulgar things, an Indian's selfish policy, his flattery, roguery, debauchery, or cruelty, come to appear, when described by an honest, straightforward story-teller like our author. A number of what are called fine writers had contrived to bring the American character to our view, as a kind of portentous spectral form, seen in the twilight a little way backward from the opening of a cavern,—so seen as to give the imagination more power than the eyes. A man like the Major makes the spectre come out at the word

of command, as he would one of his soldiers from a sentry-box, and we see the figure with benefit of sunshine, reduced to the vulgar dimensions and attributes of man, and only in a certain assignable degree more ignorant, more revengeful, and more abhorrent of control, than the men of our English shops, farms, and colleges. It is true, at the same time, that the intercourse which the Indians have now for so long a time held with the Europeans, and the European Americans, has somewhat modified the cast, though not the elements of the Indian character, through the partial adoption of some European arts, implements, wants, notions, and vices ; and thus has contributed to that vulgarization, so to call it, of which we speak. If a camp on the Mississippi could be repossessed by the identical band that encamped on the spot three hundred years since, a somewhat more discriminated and striking character would be presented to our contemplation ; but still the incitements and acts of hunting, juggling, and massacre, whatever wild and fearful circumstances might then have given them a striking peculiarity of *mode*, since lost, must have been in substance hugely similar to what they are now.

Our officer held several grand *talks*, in full diplomatic formality, with the chiefs of several tribes, in which he briefly, frankly, and boldly (herein deviating most unwarrantably from European precedent) explained the objects of his mission, and the wishes and intentions of his government ; and was answered, in several instances, in a style of much dignity and complaisance. One of the most important of these negotiations was at the Falls of St. Anthony, where, in an interview with a number of Sioux chiefs, he urged them to a peace with their great rivals the Chippeways. They answered doubtfully, like accomplished statesmen ; but readily acceded to his request of a grant of land to the amount of about 100,000 acres, for an establishment for the United States. When their signatures were requested to his grant, they demurred, on a principle of honour, as thinking their word ought to be enough ; till our author convinced them "it was not on their account but his own that he wished their signatures."

The second journey or voyage (it was partly one and partly the other) was among the imperfectly known tracts

and rivers of the extensive territory denominated Louisiana, lying between the lower part of the Mississippi and Mexico, and recently acquired by the United States. The first thing in his commission was to convey home about fifty Osage and Pawnee Indians, most of whom had been recently redeemed, by the Americans, from captivity among the Potowatomies. In the execution of this charge, he was sometimes considerably incommoded by perverse dispositions and movements among those gentlefolk, who could not indeed be expected, under any circumstances, to be completely divested of the Indian characteristics—insubordination, fickleness, quarrelsomeness, suspicion, and a propensity to theft.

The further objects to which our author had been ordered to direct his attention, were to effect something towards a permanent peace between the Osages and the Kanzas, a small but exceedingly brave and warlike tribe in their vicinity ; to advance forward to the west, endeavouring to establish a good understanding between these and other tribes ; to proceed even as far as the country of the Ictans or Camanches, a powerful nation not far from the confines of New Spain ; to open, if possible, a communication between this tribe and the government of the United States ; to explore the tracts about the head branches of the Arkansaw and Red rivers ; and, in short, to make all kinds of observations on all parts of the traversed country.

It is exceedingly striking to contemplate the confirmations, supplied by this volume, to the observation, that human nature is everywhere the same. These American tribes are kept by their mutual spirit of hostility in continual and most anxious alarm for their lives and families, and some of them are perishing down very near to extinction ; and yet any measures for establishing and consolidating peace seem the very last thing to occur to their thoughts. To destroy, is a luxury worth retaining at the price of being in constant danger of being destroyed. The Osages have made that one remove from the purely savage life, which places them morally in a worse state, while it shall last, than the purely savage state itself. They make their women raise considerable quantities of corn, beans, and pumpkins. Corn is cultivated also by some of

the Indians of the Mississippi ; but many of the tribes remain merely hunters.

On the 14th of November, they came in sight of one of the snowy mountains of Mexico, so high that it remained in sight during all their marches, except when in valleys, till the 27th of January. Reaching at length a river, which they judged to be the head stream of the Red river, and therefore still within the territories claimed by the United States, the Major determined to erect a temporary fort, and remain there part of the winter. While thus employed, they received a visit from a Spanish officer, with a strong military party, who surprised our author by the information that the river on which he had erected his fort and set up the American flag, was no other than the Rio del Norte, confessedly within the Spanish territories. He was informed too, but with the greatest politeness, that it was desirable for him and his party to proceed to the capital of the province, and he knew it was useless to decline the invitation. We only need to add, that he was conducted a long journey from the subordinate station of Santa Fé, to the superior one of Chihuahua ; that he underwent many formal, and not a few insidious examinations ; that he was obliged to surrender some of his papers ; that he maintained a high, rather a haughty, style of deportment ; that he and his associates experienced on the whole a very great share of politeness and respect ; and that, finally, he was conducted by a southern route, under the escort of a military party commanded by officers with whose manners he had great reason to be pleased, to the neighbourhood of the American station of Natchitoches.

NEPAUL AND THE CHINESE.*

It seems this "kingdom" (the whole annual revenue of which may be a sum equal to that which the royal quarto accounts of it now published, and to be published within a few years, will cost us here in England) had been detected in a valley, or rather plain, surrounded by hills, between Bengal and Tibet; and indeed bordering so nearly on this latter country, now no better than a dependency of China, that the emperor, or at least the governor of the nearest province, had cast a look towards it as an article which there could be no harm in picking up, to make a trifling addition to the imperial dominions. As this, however, was a kind of amusement for which another great empire in Asia had acquired a very particular taste, it was natural that any outcry, however feeble, that might be made by the state about to be absorbed, would be listened to with all due interest at Calcutta. It was certainly very undesirable that our worthy neighbour Kien-Long, or whatever was his name, should pre-occupy a neat piece of ground, which, otherwise, might at some not very distant future time become (consistently, we mean, with all proper regard had to justice and moderation) a commodious outlet and extension to our too confined frontier. And besides, it was apprehended that that frontier might be in danger of becoming still more confined, if the redoubtable Kien-Long should be allowed to extend his royal domain to the foot of those hills, from the top of which his martial mandarins might almost see the sparkling of the sunshine on the Ganges. Yet the Indian Government felt considerable embarrassment in deliberating on the proper reply to the application made from the royal court of Nepaul, for nothing less than military aid against a Chinese army; an army which, commanded by a kinsman of the emperor, had advanced near the capital, under pretence of vindicating the emperor's friend, or rather subject, the Lama of Tibet, whose rights were alleged to have been violated by the government of Nepaul. There was no doubt that the ap-

* An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul in 1798. By Col. Kirkpatrick. Royal 4to. 1811.

pearance of two or three dozen English with firelocks, or even sticks, would drive back these formidable legions five times faster than they came ; but it would also have the effect of demolishing the frail, the truly porcelain commercial arrangements, between the Chinese and the East India Company. Any interference of this kind was therefore steadily refused ; while an offer was made, and, as better than nothing, accepted, of a deputation to proceed to Nepaul, to mediate between its government and the representative of the greatest of monarchs. The opportunity of getting a look at this shy people, in this secluded and well-protected valley, which no Englishman had ever yet entered, or at least returned to describe, was gladly seized by the masters of Bengal, who had for a good while been desirous of accomplishing some such survey, and turning it to some good account. It was, therefore, no doubt, with the most exemplary despatch that Captain Kirkpatrick, with a proper suite, was forwarded to Patna, there to be met, in order to be conducted to the place of destination, by a deputation from Nepaul. The deputation, arrived in proper place and time, informed him that the business had been compromised with his imperial highness the Chinese general, on terms which implied no small fear either of his invincible arms, or of British authoritative interference. For the sake of politeness, however, the envoy was invited to proceed, and finish as a matter of ceremony what had been undertaken as a matter of importance. Under this royal and flattering sanction, the party advanced through a wild country, intersected by numerous streams, and often broken into hills, precipices, and glens, with here and there an insignificant village or fort, and a patch of cultivation, till they came to the great forest, which forms a deep frontier to a very large proportion of the Nepaul territory, and which would evidently be capable of the most important service in its defence. The chief actual benefit it affords is from a traffic in timber, of which large quantities are sent down by the rivers to the more southern country, under a heavy duty to the Nepaul government.

At the foot of the Cheesapany mountain, they passed so close as to hear (for it does not seem they had the privilege of seeing) a cataract of fifty feet perpendicular ; and pro-

ceeded through a remarkable glen, without enjoying a luxury reserved for more lucky travellers. "I am assured," says Colonel Kirkpatrick, "that this spot is extremely subject to violent gusts of wind, which, rushing from the intervals of the mountains, and carrying with them innumerable pebbles, render it a very unpleasant stage for travellers, on whom these scattered fragments sometimes descend with the impetuosity of a hailstorm." Through whatever perversity of our nature it may happen, it certainly is a fact, that, to the reader, it is much more agreeable that the traveller should have been in pains and perils, than that he should have gone on altogether commodiously. We acknowledge we had a very strong sensation of disappointment at seeing him get all the way through the border forest without any obstruction from the wild elephants, and without so much as once seeing a tiger, or any other formidable animal. And here, in this glen, we should have been gratified to have found the winds in proper action for a *moderate* pebble-shower. This deficiency of stimulus, however, is a little compensated in seeing him, a few stages farther on, in a situation in which it would evidently have been difficult to fall asleep in the softest hammock:—

"The path winds round the east face of the hill of Ekdunta, at no great distance from its brow, and is the most alarming, if not the most dangerous passage, that occurred in our whole journey. The breadth of it nowhere exceeds two feet, and it is in some places not so much. On one hand is the side of the hill, which, contrary to the general nature of these mountains, is here quite bare, affording neither shrub nor stone capable of sustaining the stumbling traveller, on whose other hand is a perpendicular precipice some hundred feet deep, at the bottom of which the Markoo-kola rushes impetuously over its rocky bed. When I perceived the situation I was in, I should have been very well pleased to have got on my legs: though, probably, so sure-footed are the bearers, I was better in my hammock, where, at all events, I was under the necessity of remaining, as the narrowness of the road did not allow of my quitting it with safety."

As a great proportion of the surface of this country necessarily confines cultivation to the sides of the hills, it is also necessary that the cultivated ground should be laid out in

terraces, which being seen on all sides, form a striking feature in the landscape of the country.

The Purbutties, or peasantry of the mountainous country, are divided into four classes, distinguished by denominations denoting first, second, third, and fourth. "The Owals (or first class) are those who possess five ploughs and upwards; the Doems such as have from one to five; the Seooms are those who, without being proprietors of ploughs, are considered to be at the head of a few or more labourers; the Chaurems are the mere labourers." The other peasantry, the Ryots, are of two classes, the one liable to a few specified, and the other to many arbitrary, claims of extra service from the prince and the Jaghiredar.

The expenses of the military establishments are, for the most part, discharged by assignments on land; though, in some instances, the soldier receives his pay from the treasury or from the granary. Portions of land are much preferred by the troops. The government, in assigning lands to its civil and military servants, considerably takes account of the respective numbers of their families; and is "particularly indulgent to the widows, orphans, and other destitute branches of them." The persons to whom villages are assigned, receive part of their revenue in fines for several classes of crimes; and can hardly fail to take the most laudable pains for the enlargement of this source of their income.

In the progress towards the metropolis, our author passed sundry temples of Bhowani, to whom, he says, "in her character of universal mother, or, in other words, Nature," many buffaloes are offered, on which the priests make no scruple to gormandize; having, a few years ago, received the goddess's permission to do so, by a "special revelation of her divine will," in contradiction to the established Brahminical law.

There are several considerable towns in the valley of Nepaul. Khatmanda is computed or guessed to contain 50,000 inhabitants. The houses are mean almost universally, not excepting that of the rajah; the streets are filthy and excessively narrow. Patna, the town of next importance, is a neater place. Bhatgong is more respectable than either of them, and is the favourite residence of the Brahmins. These places were the capitals of small distinct states previously to

the conquest of the whole valley by Purthi Nerain, the grandfather of the present rajah. A fourth town is mentioned as having cost this great hero so much trouble to reduce it, that when the place at last surrendered, he, in revenge, cut off the noses of all the males. Our author saw a great number of the persons who had been the subjects of this violence.

A peaceable, industrious, and even ingenious race of people, called Newars, constitute a considerable minority of the inhabitants of the valley, and are its only artisans. They are of a character very distinct from that of the Hindoos, appear to entertain the superstition of Buddha, had once their dynasty, and bear with a tolerably good grace their present state of subjection, which indeed the government does not render very oppressive or degrading.

As to the Hindoos, considering in how great a degree they have always, in this valley, been secluded from intercourse with the rest of India, and also that this is almost the only part of the country that has never felt the effects of Mahometan power, he was surprised to find so strong a similarity between these people and the inhabitants of Hindostan.

HINDOO MYTHOLOGY.*

THE poem has a fair proportion of picturesque description, and sprightly, sometimes elegant, versification; in which considerable dexterity is shown, in making a good number of Indian names glide down in tolerable amity with our vulgar English, with which their high and sacred caste makes them generally so reluctant to mingle. Whether this unwonted complaisance of the Brahminical terms be through any favour and inspiration of the heathen gods, gratified to have their names celebrated by a Christian divine, is more than we ought to pretend to know, but certainly it would ill comport with any of our ideas of condescension, or even justice, that

* The Metamorphosis of Sona, a Hindoo Tale. With a Glossary descriptive of the Mythology of the Shastras. By the Rev. John Dudley. 12mo. 1810.

they should refuse their assistance to a clergyman, who, having performed due praises to Jehovah and Jesus Christ on a Sunday, is so delighted to join the work of Ganesa, Bhavani, &c., on the Monday.

“Honour to thee, Ganesa, sapient lord—
But next be thou, Bhavani, most ador'd.
Or if Nerbudda's name thou deign'st to bear,
Nerbudda's praises gladly we declare,” &c.

These are the first lines of the poem, and will certainly excuse us from any further quotation. To us, we will confess, it is not less astonishing than it is melancholy, to see a preacher of Christianity, who may be presumed to study the Bible with solemn attention,—who has reverently subscribed the religious articles of an institution expressly designed to preserve the authority and purity of Christian worship and doctrine,—and who is in the specific charge of the souls of a considerable number of his fellow-mortals,—thus formally and publicly bending at the altars of heathenism, and seriously uttering a language of adoration so explicit, that it would be impossible for a Brahmin to doubt whether the person uttering it meant to join him in his devotions. And on what ground, it may very fairly be asked, can it be doubted, whether a person who will write such language *would* join in the devotions of an Indian temple? Indeed *why* should he decline to do so? As far as the *verbal* ritual is concerned, what would he need to say *more* than such words as those we have quoted, to which we might have made many additions, from the poem? And what material difference, therefore, is there between uttering such ascriptions within certain walls, or without them—or on this side of the Indian ocean or the other? How could such explicit phrases have any different meaning from that which they now expressly bear, if, being in India, our author were to utter them as the vocal service, added to finish those more substantial aids which Major Scott Waring has applauded our Indian government for granting to the pagan abominations?

In fixing this censure so seriously on Mr. Dudley, it would be unjust to decline noticing that the example was set him by a very distinguished culprit. We can yield to no man in the degree of our admiration of Sir W. Jones; and it is

therefore the more painful to behold the splendour of his character and attainments suffering on one side an eternal eclipse. We can never deem it otherwise than a most eminently criminal violation of the laws inseparable from the true religion, to write hymns to Ganga, Bhavani, Durga, and a number more of the pagan divinities. As to the effect, however, the consolation is that the mischief is small. Very few persons, probably, ever did, or ever will read through these compositions, except such as were formally in quest of mere knowledge; and nobody will read, with the slightest interest, Mr. Dudley's poem.

SURINAM.*

THE author left Madeira in January. 1805, in an English merchantman called the *Jason*, sailing in company with another vessel, for the sake of a double show of wooden cannon for the distant amusement of any French or Spanish privateers that might be tired of seeing nothing but porpoises or dolphins. But to avoid rendering this formidable show too common and vulgar, they make a circuitous route to keep out of sight of some inquisitive Spaniards, and thus denied our author the gratification of seeing the Peak of Teneriffe. They got into the trade winds, had delightful weather, which left the sailors at leisure for mechanical employments, and were entertained with the sight of water-spouts, flying fishes, and sharks. In mentioning the last, he very reasonably dissents from Mr. Pennant's belief, that one species of them defends its young by taking them down its throat. The dolphins, in "their brilliant colours of green, gold, and purple," must have been a most beautiful sight—and never had a worthier spectator, if we may judge from the rich rays of sentiment and poetry in which that beauty is reflected by our author's imagination.

MARTINIQUE.

The island of Martinique is so frightfully infested with venomous reptiles, especially vipers, that it appears to be a

* Narrative of a Voyage to Surinam, and of a Residence there during 1805, 1806, and 1807. By Baron Albert Von Sack. 4to. 1810.

matter of danger to stroll half a mile in the country, to turn out the children to play round the house, or even to go about the house itself without some degree of caution. It often happens to children, he says, that playing near the dwelling-houses in perfect health, they are the next moment "brought home to their parents in the most tormenting agonies of inevitable death;" that the people of Martinique have so long endured these venomous companions, as to have acquired a kind of feeling as if the vipers came on the authority of invincible fate, with as good a right to bite the people as the people have to inhabit the country. The Baron, however, wants to inspirit the good people to contest this claim; and proposes, as one expedient, the offer of considerable rewards to induce a number of the free negroes to employ themselves in searching out and destroying the reptiles, and as another, the introduction of some of the ichneumon tribe from Egypt. If we recollect, the ichneumon *eats* the serpent.

PARAMARIBO.

Our author next describes the size, site, streets, squares, remarkable buildings, and variegated sorts of inhabitants, of the capital of Surinam, Paramaribo, which contains twenty thousand people, consisting of about two thousand Dutch, German, English, and French—three thousand German and Portuguese Jews—four thousand free negroes and people of colour—and eleven thousand slaves. He tells us of the canals in the streets, where the Indians come in their canoes, exhibiting many curious articles for sale; of the rows of tamarind and orange trees in front of the houses; of the Goda bird, a kind of nightingale, which often enters voluntarily into the house to sing, in notes of exquisite sweetness; and of the gardens and public walks. As he always carries with him a good share of the spirit of a reformist and projector, it is not long before he finds out what a commodious thing it would be for the inhabitants to have some grand asylum from the "intense rays of the sun, where they might pleasantly keep their vital systems in order by gentle exercise;" and proposes a plantation of palm-trees, so disposed as to form a grand hall or temple.

The condition of things at Paramaribo is somewhat less than the very best possible, — so much less as may be

deducted by the neighbourhood and the habitual dread of the revolted or bush negroes; by the necessity, in one district, of drinking brackish water, which produces "ulcers and scorbutic complaints;" by the ague arising from the low marshy land in another plantation, by the difficulty, on another, of raising the kind of vegetables most serviceable for the sustenance of the negroes; by the rude construction of the cotton mills, which occasion to the negroes a needless measure of painful labour; by a voracious insect which sometimes causes a failure in the crop of cotton; and by the more ambitious voracity of the sea, which is taking advantage of the numerous canals opening into it, to demolish the basis of all plantation, the land itself. He never beholds a grievance, however, without looking about for a remedy. With the destructive insect he is prepared to deal equally by fair means or foul; offering, as appears, to the enemy's choice, either to be attracted from the cotton bud to some still more delicious vegetable (recommended to be planted close by the cotton for this purpose), or to be sent into non-existence by a pair of bellows, of which the tube is to pass through, and communicate with a small hollow globe, containing burning coals and tobacco.

Our author furnishes us with a short but entertaining account of the mode of celebrating, at Paramaribo, the two great festival days, the first of the year, and the fourth of June. There is on the latter of these days, a grand ball, for the better sort. The free negroes have their ball, too, at which the musicians themselves are almost as much in motion as the dancers, while "those negroes who cannot get partners, will dance round a tree, or even to their own shadow." A dance is also given to the negro slaves; and the ladies are fond of seeing the females well dressed at this assembly. The males make a motley and grotesque appearance in the cast-off clothes of their masters, of all the different fashions of half a century.

DUTCH COLONIAL POLICY.

Some retrospective observations are next 'made on the line of policy which has been pursued with regard to this colony by its late Dutch masters. And it is stated, that the imposition of injudicious taxes and commercial restrictions,

and the opening of a kind of banks to afford the temporary means of rash and extravagant speculation, had so powerfully countervailed the fertility of the soil and the industry of the colonists, as to keep the interests of the settlement in a very dubious condition, previously to the revolt of the negroes, which threatened the total ruin of the colony, and actually reduced it to a state from which it has not even yet recovered to anything like that very moderate pitch of prosperity which it had at one time attained. The form of government, the Baron says, has not been materially altered since the English obtained possession of the country.

SEA COW AND OTHER NORTH AMERICAN LUXURIES.

In glancing back from Paramaribo on the agreeable circumstances of this entertaining excursion, the Baron adverts briefly to a subject, for some formal notice of which several of the graver part of his readers will have been waiting with much impatience, and will wonder exceedingly to find him making a kind of apology to his correspondent for adverting to it at all. But they will soon forget to marvel at his philosophical or affected indifference to such a subject, in the eager interest which will absorb them while he is recounting, what—if they had been happy enough to share with him the plantation hospitalities—they might have eaten; *sea-cow*, which is “neither flesh nor fish;” *tapir*, an animal partly resembling a hog and partly a rhinoceros; fricasees and pies made of the *equanna*, a beautiful kind of “lizard” which lives solely on flowers and blossoms; “*palm-worm*,” a caterpillar about a finger’s length, and of the same thickness; *parrot broth*, *Muscovy ducks*, *pine apples* which grow in the hedges, *sapadilla apple*,” &c., &c. It may, however, somewhat soothe the vexation of such readers to find, that several of these delicacies are not the every-day regale of even the luxurious planters themselves; who really condescend to use beef, goat’s meat, and the like for their ordinary course of fattening, and exhibit such refined varieties as we have mentioned, on the high occasions when they have to saturate their genteel high-fed friends, or such respectable strangers as our author.

LONGEVITY OF THE LADIES IN SURINAM.

In laudable gratitude to a climate which contributed so

much to the restoration of his health, he is zealous to maintain that, with judicious care, a person may, in Surinam, live as long as anybody ought to desire. He mentions several instances of extreme longevity, reaching no less than 120 or 130 years. He brings his praises of the country to a climax, which will be irresistible with all his male and gallant readers: the climate is so "favourable to the ladies," he says, "that instances are not rare when they enter into the third or fourth marriage." It is, at the same time, acknowledged to be partly by their temperate mode of living that the climate is rendered so propitious to their longevity and conquests. As we are not informed respecting the proportionate numbers of the male and female inhabitants, we do not know whence the surplus quantity of husbands is obtained for so rapid a consumption.

SLAVERY IN SURINAM.

With respect to the negroes, and the slave-trade, the Baron cannot bring himself to go all lengths with our English abolitionists. He acknowledges and deploras some of the enormities which have attended that traffic; but seems to assert, that its complete cessation will be the ruin of the Surinam plantations, because the increase of the negroes in the colony will not be at all adequate to their cultivation, owing, he says, to the great disproportion between the numbers of the present black men and women. It is but very little interest that, at this time of day, an English philanthropist can take in an argument on such a point. If it were really true that this colony must either return to the slave-trade, or to a wilderness, why, *let it return to a wilderness*. But it stands in no such alternative. The Baron brings no proof of any great inequality of numbers between the male and female negroes, taking the whole colony into the account. He only shows that in *particular parts* of the plantation service, the men greatly outnumber the women; and, at the same time, he declines to controvert Captain Steadman's statement, that the plantation service, in its strictest sense, occupies only about one-fourth of the number of negroes, including all ages, in the colony. It is evident too that in the more domestic part of the service, the women are full as many as the men. It is therefore, evident that

the births will bear a good proportion to the whole number of the black population, though not exactly the same proportion as it would, if the service admitted an equal distribution of the men and women throughout all its departments. Besides, the distribution will undergo a continual modification, in consequence of that rapid progress towards an equality of numbers between the series, which is inevitable after importation has ceased. When there shall be as many females in the colony as males, which will come to be the case in a comparatively short term of years, it will prove, either something injudicious in the arrangements of the planters, or something radically and essentially bad in the whole colonial system in America, if the progress of negro population be not as considerable as that of other tribes of mankind who are placed under favourable circumstances.

Our author, however, insists on a continued importation from Africa; but then the whole method of procuring them there is to be so discreet, so generous, so humane, so free from all low pecuniary interest! All our agents in Africa are to be so kind, so conscientious, so incorruptible! The slaves are to be bought from the chiefs who have taken them captives in war; but the war is never, in the very slightest degree, to originate in, or be encouraged by, the certainty that we are ready to purchase the captives! and so forth. The whole scheme is as egregious a piece of folly, as ever a sensible and worthy man was forced upon by adopting a bad cause.

From both the assertions and descriptions of our author we must believe, that the state of the slaves in Surinam is, on the whole, a very favourable specimen of the treatment of that race; and that it is very much mended since the time of Captain Steadman's residence in the colony. This is probably, in part, the natural result of the establishment of an English government, but much of it is through the mere policy which is dictated imperatively to the governors and planters by the fear of the *bush* gentry, with whom, however, it is probable no policy will avail to prevent the general body of the negroes from ultimately forming a junction—except the policy of training them to knowledge and the Christian religion, relaxing the rigours of their servitude, and finally setting them free.

THE CHURCH AND THE MISSIONARIES.*

THE work begins with some notices of the College of Fort William, which was founded, May, 1800, began its literary operations with great activity, and prosecuted them on a wide and still widening scale till 1806 ; at the end of which year the India Directors, alarmed at the great expense of the institution, reduced it within much narrower limits,—incompatible with those extensive schemes of biblical translation, in the execution of which it had been for some time co-operating with the missionaries at Serampore. The College, our author informs us, is restored to a “flourishing state, and has received the final sanction and patronage of the East India Company ;” but he does not state, whether its now consolidated constitution and means are such, as to enable it to resume its former designs in their whole extent. He seems, however, to have no doubt of its effectual acceptance of Dr. Leyden’s late offer to “superintend the translation of the Scriptures into *seven* languages, hitherto but little cultivated in India ; viz. Affghan, Cashmirian, Jaghatai, Siamese, Bugis, Macassar, and Maldivinian.

All good men, and indeed some who are not good, but who are not therefore incapable of admiring magnificence of enterprise, will join our author in his animated applause of this perfectly heroic project ; a project at the same time quite clear of presumption, in a man possessing the talents and acquirements which we have observed to be unanimously attributed to Dr. Leyden, by his learned Oriental contemporaries. It presents a striking view of the difference of employment among human beings, that, while there are some men of powerful mind tracing on the map, perhaps at this very hour, the utmost limit to which they can venture to assume the possibility of extending conquest and desolation, and feeling a most lofty exultation in the consciousness of being the presiding and directing spirits of the design, there should be others who are daring to project a still more

* Christian Researches in Asia ; with Notices of the Translation of the Scriptures into Oriental Languages. By the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, D.D., late Vice-Provost of the College of Fort William in Bengal. 8vo. 1811.]

ambitious sweep of enterprise, against everything which revealed religion can find to give battle to, within the compass of a million of square miles. It is little less striking to consider, that the former class of heroes regard the projects of the latter as, compared with their own, insignificant and contemptible; and that poets and historians, who are among the most effectual moral teachers, are sure to do all they can to give confirmation and popularity to this estimate.

The manner in which Dr. Buchanan alludes to the Baptist missionaries, calls for a slight notice, in passing. If the epithet "*humble*" were a word of perfectly unequivocal meaning, synonymous with modest, or unassuming; if it were expressive simply of the reverse of ostentation and arrogance, and competently descriptive of the character of persons who, while they should be accomplishing great things, should speak of them in a language of the utmost moderation,—then, no epithet was ever more properly applied than this would be in the above passage. But it is needless to say, that the word is often employed in a very different sense; and whoever observes the cautious parsimony of our author's allusions to the missionaries,—the coolness of his style when the mention of them is unavoidable,—and the management to place them in the back-ground, when their labours are to be mentioned in connexion with those of other distinguished Oriental scholars,—will be inclined to admit the suspicion, that the epithet "*humble*" is here applied in that sense, in which it intimates a certain degree of disparagement. Nor will this suspicion be lessened, by the reader's observing what immense importance Dr. Buchanan constantly attaches to the point of securing an active and engrossing predominance to our Established Church and its members, in the whole economy of Indian Christianity,—especially if, in addition, this reader should have heard of some circumstances in the intercourse of the reverend author with the missionaries. Should it be a correct surmise, that the expression in question conveys some sentiment of undervaluation and supercilious condescension, it will not be worth while to remark on the want of *equity* betrayed in such a sentiment; since this defect of justice will be perfectly harmless to the feelings and the inter-

ests of the missionaries. But it *may* be worth while, we should think, as regarding Dr. Buchanan himself, to caution him against the *impolicy* of employing, relative to these men, and their operations, a diction tending to convey any other estimate, than that which will be fixed in the permanent award of learning and Christianity ; and that history, in describing, among the great modern novelties, the scheme of Asiatic biblical translation, which is now becoming so magnificent both in its practical progress and in its promises, will have to record, that with these men the attempt began ; insomuch that, in all human probability, the Bible would not, but for them, have been accessible to one man of numerous millions, to whom it will be accessible before the termination of the lives of these identical missionaries. The history will at the same time state, and cannot avoid the necessity of stating, that this great design was not, as many other great designs have been, much more indebted for its efficacy and execution to other agents, subsequently drawn into the employment, than to the originators themselves ; but that those who formed it, began and prosecuted its execution on an extent, and with a rapidity, evincing that they were likely (a moderate prolongation of life being granted) to accomplish the greater part of the project, even though they should have no coadjutors or successors. Nor will the account stop here ; but go on to relate, that they continued to be the active leaders through all the stages of the progress thus far, and, very probably, that this precedency devolved, after their decease, to their sons, who are likely to have no superiors in the qualifications for carrying forward the great work. The history will assign to the names of these missionaries, that high and perpetual distinction always conceded as due to those, who accomplish the first successful achievement in a new province. The increasing knowledge and accuracy of the Indian school will progressively supply valuable means, for adding the last improvements to these works ; but to have been the first to undertake and finish such important labours in several languages, is to have pre-occupied the highest ground. We will just add, that history will also testify that these men, while gladly acceding to all liberal plans of co-operation, and accepting every kind of assistance with all thankfulness, and even "humility," did,

notwithstanding, maintain a very dignified spirit of independence, and rejected instantly any proposals of such modes of coalition with the projects of other Europeans, as would have merged their well-organized system, and controlled their operations.

We are not to be understood as implying, in this cautionary hint to the Doctor, that he has used with respect to the missionaries, in this or his other works, any terms of a directly depreciating nature, excepting so far as the one we have particularly noted is such. But we read with a very perverted apprehension, if there is not a systematical avoidance to give due prominence of representation to their energy, their talents, and their performances; if there is not an obvious disposition to throw a fuller, richer light on the exertions—even the much more limited and less important exertions—of other scholars; if there are not, in short, some indications of a sectarian feeling, that is far from pleased that persons not connected with the Church of England should have obtained a precedence, from which they can never be displaced, in the biblical literature of the East. Even the formal expressions of applause have certain qualified turns and touches, that will not escape the attention of a reader whose vigilance is a little excited. Mentioning Dr. Carey and Mr. Marshman, Dr. Buchanan says, “two men whose names will *probably* go down to the latest posterity in India, as faithful translators of the Holy Scriptures.” The adverb of uncertainty might as pertinently have been introduced, we suppose, into an assertion of the perpetuity of the fame of Wickliffe, Tindal, Luther, and so forth in Europe. And it is curious to compare this with the full, broad, and half-poetical terms in which, in the passage we have extracted, the everlasting remembrance is assured to Mr. Colebrooke, on the condition of his translating the Pentateuch into Sanscrit, after, and even at any distance after, the missionaries have translated the New Testament into that language; “his name, as a Sanscrit scholar would then, indeed, live for ever.” We are far from wishing to press this point unfairly; but, viewing the subject in the most impartial light, we are compelled to think, that our author assigns but a scanty tribute of applause to men whose names will be classed throughout all ages with the world’s best benefactors; men whose works

·speak for them in candid ears, with an energy that will bear them up, whatever means of diminishment may be employed by those, to whom we may devoutly wish a larger portion of magnanimity.

TEMPLE OF JUGGERNAUT.

Our attention is next directed to the Hindoos, whose moral and religious condition the Doctor proposes to place in contrast with that of the native Christians, in the southern part of the peninsula. And certainly he could not have taken a more effectual way to qualify himself for exhibiting the first of the two pictures, than to visit the grand metropolitan temple of Juggernaut in Orissa, at the time of the great annual festival, — celebrated by an assemblage of many hundreds of thousands of persons of both sexes, and all ages and castes, drawn from all parts of India. He gives from his journal a selection of most striking descriptions ; from which our room, however, will not admit of considerable extract, and of which the whole is compressed, and every part so essential, as to preclude the possibility of any satisfactory abridgment. The series of description begins at a station called Buddruck :—

“ We know that we are approaching Juggernaut, and yet we are more than fifty miles from it, by the human bones which we have seen for some days strewed by the way. At this place we have been joined by several large bodies of pilgrims, perhaps 2,000 in number, who have come from various parts of Northern India. Some of them, with whom I have conversed, say that they have been two months on their march, travelling slowly in the hottest season of the year, with their wives and children. Some old persons are among them who wish to die at Juggernaut. Numbers of pilgrims die on the road ; and their bodies generally remain unburied. On a plain, by the river, near the pilgrims' caravansera, at this place, there are more than a hundred skulls. The dogs, jackals, and vultures, seem to live here on human prey. The vultures exhibit a shocking *tameness*. The obscene animals will not leave the body sometimes till we come close to them. This Buddruck is a horrid place. Wherever I turn my eyes, I meet death in some shape or other. Surely Juggernaut cannot be worse than Buddruck.”

The next extract purports to have been written some hours after coming in sight of the hideous place of destination :—

"Many thousands of pilgrims have accompanied us for some days past. They cover the roads before and behind as far as the eye can reach. At nine o'clock this morning, the temple appeared in view at a great distance. When the multitude first saw it, they gave a shout, and fell to the ground and worshipped. I have heard nothing to-day but shouts and acclamations by the successive bodies of pilgrims. From the place where I now stand, I have a view of a host of people, like an army, encamped at the outer gate of the town of Juggernaut; where a guard of soldiers is posted to prevent their entering the town until they have paid the pilgrims' tax. I passed a devotee to-day who laid himself down at every step, measuring the road to Juggernaut, by the *length of his body*, as a penance of merit to please the god."

When our author advanced with the crowd toward the outer gate of the Juggernaut, a great number of the pilgrims pushed tumultuously round him, in order to enter by force, without paying the appointed tax, when the gate should be opened for him by the guard of soldiers stationed on the inside. He was warned of the danger too late for him to displace himself from the head of this dense and impetuous column; which rushed irresistibly forward on the opening of the gate, impelling him violently before it, and choking up the entrance in such a manner, that he believed numbers would have been crushed to death if one of the wooden posts had not given way and fallen to the ground. The British superintendent sent additional soldiers to guard the inner gate, and afterwards informed our author that such tumultuous irruptions were no novelty to him, and that numbers had been crushed to death on such occasions. And, assuredly, there is not another scene on earth, where a spectator would be so likely to regard fatal accidents as of trivial account. The multitude of human beings, or rather, waste quantity of human being,—the inexpressible debasement in which, in point of reason and moral sentiment, they are all sunk and equalized,—the perfect indifference about one another's life or death, prevailing to the exclusion of all the combining sympathies of charity throughout so vast and condensed an assemblage, and letting the individual atoms appear, by this selfish disjunction, in a littleness and insignificance exactly in inverse proportion to the vastness of the mass;—the indifference, too, which many of them show as

to their own lives,—the immense quantity of useless and vile action brought into one view, by the convention of so many myriads of befooled living creatures,—the personal squalidness of a large proportion of them,—and the offensiveness of the place to all the senses ;—all this together must, beyond any other exhibition within the reach of even Satanic contrivance, tend to make human nature (at least the Hindoo portion of it) both in its physical and moral part, appear a worthless thing, little better than a nuisance in the creation. A cultivated, but irreligious European, obliged to behold this spectacle a few years successively, would come to regard the bodies and souls of such people as of little more value than the weeds and shell-fish thrown on the beach, near which this hideous fane is built ; and the estimate of the most pious one would involuntarily and perpetually utter itself in the expression, “ Hast thou made all men in vain ? ”

Two days later, our author writes :—

“ I have seen Juggernaut.” “ No record of ancient or modern history can give, I think, an adequate idea of this valley of death.” “ The idol called Juggernaut has been considered as the Moloch of the present age ; and is justly so named, for the sacrifices offered up to him by self-devotement, are not less criminal, perhaps not less numerous, than those recorded of the the Moloch of Canaan. Two other idols accompany Juggernaut, namely Boloran and Shubudra, his brother and sister.” “ They receive equal adoration, and sit on thrones of nearly equal height.”

“ This morning I visited the temple ; a stupendous fabric, and truly commensurate with the extensive sway of the ‘ horrid king.’ As other temples are usually adorned with figures, emblematical of their religion, so Juggernaut has representations (numerous and various) of that vice which constitutes the essence of *his* worship. The walls and gates are covered with indecent emblems, in massive and durable sculpture. I have also visited the sand plains by the sea, in some places whitened by the bones of the pilgrims ; and another place a little way out of the town, called by the English the Golgotha, where the dead bodies are usually cast forth ; and where dogs and vultures are ever seen. The vultures generally find out the prey first, and begin with the intestines ; for the flesh of the body is too firm for their beaks immediately after death. But the dogs soon receive notice of the circumstance, generally from seeing the *Hurries*, or corpse-carriers, returning from the place. On the approach of the dogs,

the vultures retire a few yards, and wait till the body be sufficiently torn for easy deglutition. The vultures and dogs often feed together, and sometimes begin their attacks before the pilgrim is quite dead. There are four animals which are sometimes seen about a carcase, the dog, the jackal, the vulture, and the *Hergeela*, or the Adjutant, called by Pennant, the Gigantic Crane."

The precincts of the god's habitation are so intolerably noisome, from filth, putrefaction, and various loathsome sights which our author briefly mentions, as to compel the English gentlemen who are stationed here, and whom he names, to reside on the shore, at the distance of more than a mile from the temple. Their refined society was peculiarly grateful to him, under the oppression of spirits caused by the scene. In this point, however, they had no sympathetic feeling. "I was surprised," he says, "to see how little they seemed to be moved by the scenes of Juggernaut. They said they were now so accustomed to them, that they thought little of them. They had almost forgotten their first impressions."

The 18th of June was the grand day: "At twelve o'clock this day, the Moloch of Hindostan was brought out of his temple amidst the acclamations of hundreds of thousands of his worshippers. When the idol was placed on his throne, a shout was raised by the multitude, such as I had never heard before. It continued equable for a few minutes, and then gradually died away." After an act of worship by a party of men who presented themselves before the idol with green branches, there was another prodigious shout, or rather, as our author says, "yell of approbation, united with a kind of *hissing*." This latter part of the sound was made by the women, "with the lips circular, and the tongue vibrating, as if a serpent would speak by their organs."

And what, at last, is that transcendent object which can attract rational beings from all parts of a vast region, bring them to a concentrated mass of many hundreds of thousands, and, by presenting itself to their sight, elevate their spirits to a most ardent universal frenzy, in spite of the exhaustion from their toilsome pilgrimages, and of the famine and death prevailing with hourly aggravation among them? Probably the whole creation may not contain, on so prodigious a scale in point of numbers, within such narrow local limits, another instance of such a power of delusion—of such perversity of

intellectual natures. The object which excites to delirium more, perhaps, than half a million of minds at one moment in one place, is—a clumsily carved log of wood! While, however, the god, taken distinctly, seems formed in defiance of all the principles according to which we should calculate on a grand and irresistible impression on the imagination, it must be acknowledged that some of the secondary parts of the exhibition are tolerably well adapted to command at least a Hindoo's imagination, to which nothing is so sublime as huge bulk. It is with great propriety, that this "lord of the world" comes out on a chariot which fairly beats out of comparison the state coaches of all other gods and potentates :—

"The throne of the idol was placed on a stupendous car or tower about *sixty feet in height*, resting on wheels which indented the ground deeply, as they turned slowly under the ponderous machine. Attached to it were six cables, of the size and length of a ship's cable, by which the people drew it along. Upon the tower were the priests and satellites of the idol, surrounding his throne. The idol is a block of wood, having a frightful visage painted black, with a distended mouth of a bloody colour. His arms are of gold, and he is dressed in gorgeous apparel. The other two idols are of a white and yellow colour. Five elephants preceded the three towers, bearing towering flags, dressed in crimson caparisons, and having bells hanging to their caparisons, which sounded musically as they moved."

As the idol advanced, Dr. Buchanan moved on with the crowd, under an impression of horror at the diabolical character of the scene. The car repeatedly stopped, to allow an interval for the priests and other ministers of the god, stationed aloft near his throne, to recite verses and perform rites, the nature of which our author could not do more than hint in general language. He felt, he says, some degree of guilt in continuing a spectator. There will probably appear no just cause for this sentiment, when the importance is considered of our having an intelligent *Christian* evidence to the real and exact nature of this "religion," the projects for attempting to enlighten and withdraw the votaries of which, have recently excited such a burst of rage in this country,—a rage that has left all its malice still smouldering, amidst the mortification from defeated effort and falsified

prediction. A partial and temporary suspension of the customary laws of decorum, both in beholding and relating, if ever permissible, would have been so—for the purpose of placing in broad European daylight, that which is, confessedly, the most “sacred” and triumphant exhibition, within the whole compass of a system, which has obtained among us so many avowals of veneration, and for applying to which even the plain scriptural terms concerning idolatry, Christian missionaries have been called bigots and madmen. But the propriety of having a witness, who has qualified himself by a full and recent inspection, will be still more obvious, when a fact is mentioned which Dr. Buchanan states most explicitly at the close of this account of Juggernaut, and which we shall take a future occasion to remark upon.

The impression of horror, and the sense of guilt, grew so strong on our observer, that he was on the point of getting away, when he was arrested and detained by a new turn in the worship :—

“After the tower had proceeded some way, a pilgrim announced that he was ready to offer himself a sacrifice to the idol. He laid himself down in the road before the tower as it was moving along, lying on his face, with his arms stretched forwards. The multitude passed round him, leaving the space clear, and he was crushed to death by the wheels of the tower. A shout of joy was raised to the god. He is said to *smile* when the libation of the blood is made. The people threw cowries, or small money, on the body of the victim, in approbation of the deed. He was left to view a considerable time, and was then carried by the *Hurries* to the Golgotha. How much I wished that the proprietors of India Stock could have attended the wheels of Juggernaut, and seen this peculiar source of their revenue.”

Dr. Buchanan, who stayed only part of the time of the anniversary, recounts only this instance and another,—that of a woman who placed herself under the wheels the following day; in so ill-adjusted a manner, that she was but partially crushed, and continued alive several hours. Nothing but her bones remained next morning, when Dr. Buchanan passed the receiving place for the dead. The same place the next day presented another spectacle :—

“I beheld another distressing scene this morning at the ‘Place of Skulls ;’ a poor woman lying dead, or nearly dead, and her

two children by her looking at the dogs and vultures which were near. The people passed without noticing the children. I asked them where was their home. They said 'they had no home but where their mother was.'"

It is probable that this spectacle, multiplied a hundred or a thousand fold, would not have excited the smallest emotion of compassion in the infinite host of demoniacs. And this perfect abhorrence of the kinder sympathies, taken in connexion with that ardent delight with which our author says they beheld the most indecent rites of the idolatry, may be, as he partly remarks, very fairly assumed as a correct illustration of the state of their "private manners, and their moral principles,"—and we will add, a correct illustration, we do not say of the manners, but certainly of the moral principles, of those persons in Europe, who, while knowing the actual practice at the temples, and among the people of India, have vociferated, in a strain perfectly accordant to the hideous noise at Juggernaut, against the mischief that was attempting to be inflicted on the gentle, the amiable, the virtuous Hindoos, by means of missionaries and Bibles.

Dr. Buchanan declines making a conjecture of the number of people assembled, but mentions the saying of the natives that a "*lack* of the people (100,000) would not be missed." A Brahmin, of whom he inquired on the subject, professed his total inability to judge. But surely the British collector, who receives the aggregate of the payments for entrance through the gates, could at least give some reasonable guess.

The very remarkable fact of the abrogation or suspension, at this place, during the festival, of the otherwise insuperable distinction of castes, by virtue of such a sovereign greatness in the god as to reduce all things to a level before him, was particularly observed by our author, who saw "the Brahmins with their heads uncovered in the open plain, falling down, in the midst of the *Sooders*, before the 'horrid shape,' and mingling complacently with that polluted caste." He should have asked some of the Brahmins, whether this god is really a favourite with them; for if he is, it is one of the strongest illustrations ever recorded of the power of superstition to reverse the natural laws of human feeling.

"The temple of Juggernaut is under the immediate control of the English Government, who levy a tax on pilgrims as a source of revenue. See 'A Regulation (by the Bengal Government) for levying a Tax on Pilgrims resorting to the Temple of Juggernaut, and for the Superintendence and Management of the Temple. Passed April 3, 1806.'

"The province of Orissa first became subject to the British Empire under the administration of the Marquis Wellesley, who permitted the pilgrims at first to visit Juggernaut without paying tribute. It was proposed to his Lordship, soon after, to pass the above regulation for the management of the temple, and levying the tax; but he did not approve of it, and actually left the government without giving his sanction to the opprobrious law. When the measure was discussed by the succeeding Government, it was resisted by George Udny, Esq., one of the members of the Supreme Council, who recorded his solemn dissent on the proceedings of Government for transmission to England. The other members considered Juggernaut to be a legitimate source of revenue, on the principle that money from other temples in Hindostan had long been brought into the treasury."

For a considerable time past, the attention of the reflecting part of our countrymen has been excited by certain hints, gradually enlarging into something like distinct information, that the Government has made itself a direct party to Indian paganism.* It was with great difficulty, at first, that the reports on this subject obtained belief with some worthy people, in whose minds the kind of religious reverence they had been early taught, and long accustomed to feel, for the authorities that preside over the affairs of nations, was incompatible with the idea of the possibility of a *Christian* Govern-

* Annual Expenses of the Idol Juggernaut, presented to the English Government. [Extracted from the Official Accounts.]

	Rupees.	£ ster.
1. Expenses attending the table of the idol . .	36,115	or 4,514
2. Ditto of his dress or wearing apparel . .	2,712	" 339
3. Ditto of the wages of his servants	10,057	" 1,259
4. Ditto of contingent expenses at the different seasons of pilgrimage	10,989	" 1,373
5. Ditto of his elephants and horses	3,030	" 378
6. Ditto of his rutt or annual state carriage . .	6,713	" 839

Rupees 69,616 £8,702

In item third, "the wages of his servants," are included the wages of the *courtesans*, who are kept for the service of the temple. These facts speak a language that cannot be misunderstood.

ment taking under its express sanction and management a system of idolatrous practices—practices congenial with those which had excited their abhorrence in reading the Old Testament, and constrained their acquiescence in the justice which visited them on the nations with dreadful calamities, or with extermination. What! they said, the Government of a Christian nation, which maintains a large and splendid establishment to promote and perpetuate the knowledge and worship of the one Almighty Being—which sanctifies even its civil institutions with Christian rites—which thinks it necessary to adjure the consciences of its very excisemen by the living God,—and which appoints yearly, general fasts or thanksgivings,—such a government formally sanction and superintend a worship of the same atrocious nature as that of Baal and Moloch, and greatly more diversified and multiplied in order to meet the demands and peculiarities of a countless legion of demon gods!

ENGLISH SANCTION OF IDOLATRY.

These idolatrous abominations are legislatively sanctioned by an adoption into the regular arrangements of the English Government, and made almost as formally a part of the system of state as the established church in this country, by the appointment of persons of talents and consideration (such as the British superintendent of Juggernaut), to inspect and manage the business of the temples, and take accounts of the dresses and carriages of the idol, nay even of the keeping of the companies of wretched females devoted from their childhood to the pollutions of these infernal dens. To show with what a perfect knowledge of the nature of these rites, the Government has thought proper thus to sanction them, Dr. Buchanan states, that the appropriate services to Juggernaut are solemnized “at the very doors of the English, almost under the eye of the supreme government.” “Close to Ishera, a beautiful villa on the river’s side, about eight miles from Calcutta, once the residence of Governor Hastings, and within view of the present Governor-General’s country-house, there is a temple of this idol, which is often stained with human blood.” The author visited it at the grand festival

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in May, 1807, celebrated by a concourse of about a hundred thousand persons, and gives an extract from his journal descriptive of the orgies, which were exactly of the same quality as those at the grand temple in Orissa.

THE FUNERAL PILE.

From the performances of the temple, Dr. Buchanan passes to those of the funeral pile ; and adds one more to the many descriptions which have not even yet, by familiarity with the subject, cured us of wonder:—

“ A horrid tragedy was acted, on the 12th instant (September, 1807) near Barragore, a place about three miles from Calcutta, A Koolin Brahmin died at the advanced age of ninety-two. He had twelve wives ; and three of them were burned alive with his dead body. Of these three, one was a venerable lady, having white locks, who had been long known in the neighbourhood. Not being able to walk, she was carried in a palanquin to the place burning ; and was then placed by the Brahmins on the funeral pile. The two other ladies were younger ; one of them was of a very pleasing and interesting countenance. The old lady was placed on one side of the dead husband, and the two other wives laid themselves down on the other side ; and then an old Brahmin, the eldest son of the deceased, applied his torch to the pile, with unaverted face. The pile suddenly blazed, for it was covered with combustibles ; and this human sacrifice was complete, amidst the din of drums and cymbals, and the shouts of Brahmins.”

THE FIRST PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES.

From these abominations, our author turns gladly to contemplate the moral condition of a favoured portion of the same race in the southern parts of the peninsula.— At Tranquebar he indulged the pensive, but elevating emotions which every man of high Christian ambition would feel at beholding, placed near together in one church, the sepulchres of the first Protestant missionaries, Ziegenbalg and Grundler. A few days after he entered Tanjore, he heard for the first time the name of Swartz pronounced by a Hindoo ; and was received with friendly politeness by the Rajah,—a considerably intelligent man,

as it should seem, but a melancholy illustration of human nature and of the power of error: for neither a long friendly intercourse with Swartz, nor a deep veneration for his memory, have availed to withdraw him from the worship of an object which Dr. Buchanan thus describes:—

“On the following day, I went to view the Hindoo Temples, and saw the great BLACK BULL of Tanjore. It is said to be of one stone, hewn out of a rock of granite; and so large that the temple was built around it. While I surveyed it, I reflected on the multitude of natives who, during the last hundred years, have worshipped this idol.”

Dr. Buchanan preached, in English, in Swartz's pulpit:—

“After this service was ended, the congregation of Hindoos assembled in the same church, and filled the aisles and porches. The Tamul service commenced with some forms of prayer, in which all the congregation join with loud fervour. A chapter of the Bible was then read, and a hymn of Luther's sung. After a short extempore prayer, during which the whole congregation knelt on the floor, the Rev. Dr. John delivered an animated discourse in the Tamuel tongue. Many persons had the *Ollas* in their hands, writing the sermon in the Tamuel short-hand. Mr. Cohloff assured me, that some of the elder students and catechists would not lose a word of the preacher, if he spoke deliberately.”

The contrast between this and the scene at Juggernaut is more consummately perfect than anything the powers of fiction could have created. And this is the difference at two points on the same line of coast, effected among a people substantially alike at the beginning of that century, at the close of which there has been, among pretended Christians in England, a loud and prolonged cry for the suppression of the peaceful efforts for converting more of such people as those at Juggernaut, into such people as these in Tanjore. The author was gratified by everything he saw and heard among this pure and amiable section from the vast and degraded population of India—excepting their distress from the insufficient supply of teachers and bibles, and the deficiency of pecuniary means for extending Christian knowledge, through the medium of schools and other modes of instruction, further into the country. Mr. Kohloff stated,

that there were "upwards of ten thousand Protestant Christians belonging to Tanjore and Tinavelly districts alone, who had not among them one complete copy of the bible ; and that not one Christian perhaps in a hundred had a New Testament; and yet there are some copies of the Tamul Scriptures still to be sold at Tranquebar; but the poor natives cannot afford to purchase them."

THE MALAYAN ARCHIPELAGO.

Our author's observations are directed, in the next place, to the grand field opening to Christian enterprise and hope in the Malayan Archipelago, where, in consequence of our recent successes against the Dutch, the great islands, Sumatra, Borneo, Java, Celebes, with various inferior ones, and also the peninsula of Malacca, have acquired a claim to receive from English intelligence and Christianity the illumination to which, it may be hoped, the knowledge already imparted by the Dutch is but the dawn.

"What a noble field here opens to the view of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and of the Bible Society ! 'One hundred thousand Malay Bibles will not suffice to supply the Malay Christians.'"

PARENTS EATEN BY THEIR CHILDREN.

It is to be understood that the Christianized Malays constitute but a diminutive proportion of the population of this Archipelago, and the author dwells strongly on the almost incredible barbarism of the nations in the interior of these islands—citing Dr. Leyden's account, that among the Batta tribes in Sumatra it is an approved custom, that "When a man becomes infirm and weary of the world, he invites his own children to eat him, in the season when salt and limes are cheapest. He then ascends a tree, round which his friends and offspring assemble, and, as they shake the tree, join in a funeral dirge, the import of which is 'The season is come—the fruit is ripe—and it must descend.' The victim descends, and those who are nearest and dearest

to him deprive him of life, and devour his remains in a solemn banquet."

THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS.

The Syrian Christians of Malayala,* are the subject of a large and very interesting portion of the volume. When the Portuguese, about three centuries since, reached India, they were surprised and pleased at finding more than a hundred Christian Churches on the Malabar coast. But their pleasure was turned into indignation, on discovering that these Christians were desperate schismatics and heretics, being entirely ignorant of the Pope, and refusing to acknowledge him after this ignorance had been kindly removed by their European brethren. They had "For 1,300 years past enjoyed a succession of Bishops appointed by the Patriarch of Antioch. 'We,' said they, 'are of the true faith, whatever you from the West may be; for we come from the place where the followers of Christ were first called Christians.'" Their simplicity and obstinacy, however, underwent the discipline of the Inquisition—its fires not omitted—as soon as the Portuguese had gained sufficient strength to establish it at Goa. This rigour failing to effect the object, was, after a while, tempered down into a sort of conciliation, which condescended to a compromise by which the sovereignty of the Pope was acknowledged, and a portion of the Romish ritual admitted, but the ancient liturgy of the Syrians retained, and in the native language—though with very great difficulty, and not without a purgation of its errors by a popish archbishop. The posterity of these Christians are the present Roman Catholics of Malabar.

But no art or force availed to reduce to this subjection the Christians residing at a distance from the coast. They preferred even abandoning their homes, taking refuge among the mountains, and throwing themselves on the protection of the native heathen princes. Their descendants have remained chiefly in the most secluded districts of the country, and have been so little heard of for two hundred years,

* "Malay-ala is the proper name for the whole country of Travancore and Malabar, comprehending the territory between the mountains and the sea, from Cape Comorin to Cape Illi or Dilly. The language of these extensive regions is called Malayalim, and sometimes Malabar."

that even the existence of such a people has been sometimes called in question. Dr. Buchanan resolved to find them out, investigate their literature and history, collect some of their biblical manuscripts, and endeavour to engage them in translations. This journey was permitted by the Rajah of Travancore, in whose dominions they reside. There is no attempting any abstract of the relation of the Doctor's visits to a considerable number of the churches, his conversations with their clergy, and his inspection of their books. It abounds throughout with the most curious particulars. At the first church, which is in the vicinity of the Romish Christians, and in which he found some defect of simplicity owing to that circumstance, he was received with a degree of suspicion, from the recollection of the visits they had often received from popish emissaries, on purposes appropriate to that character—and, from a strange persuasion, the Doctor says, that the English, too, are of the popish church. They were reconciled after a little intercourse, and an amicable debate with the priests ensued, on the question whether the Gospels were first written in Syriac, of which they maintained the affirmative. At the next church, that of Chinganoor, he was struck with the appearance of one of the strongest practical effects of Christianity, the free condition and unaffected dignity of the women. The general air of poverty and depression was explained by complaints of the tyranny of the native princes, and of the extinction of the former glory of the Syrian church. He answered with a consolatory assurance that "the glory of a Church could never die if it preserved the Bible." At Cande-nad, Dr. Buchanan was introduced to Mar Dionysius, the Metropolitan of the Syrian Church; with whom he had several interesting conversations, in which they discussed a topic of no small delicacy, the advantages of some kind of union between the English and Syrian episcopacy. This discussion had been preceded by one with several priests, who reported the argument to the bishop, on the still more delicate question of the channel through which the English Church has derived from the Apostles the power of Ordination. It appears to have been with a considerable effort of resolution that he plainly acknowledged that channel to be, that very Church which had sent to these Malabar Christians

all the charities of the Inquisition. The possible advantages of the supposed union were represented to the bishop ; who at length expressed in a sort of polite general way, his willingness to assent to such a project, provided—various conditionalities, which it would take more than his and his successor's life to adjust to the mutual satisfaction of the contracting parties.

THE INQUISITION AT GOA.

But the most curious part of the book, is an account of the Doctor's visit to the Inquisition at Goa. So widely is the English name accompanied by a formidable idea of power, that he could divest himself of any oppressive sense of danger, in entering within the gates of a mansion unspeakably more horrid than the temple of Juggernaut—supping with an Inquisitor, disputing with him on heretical tenets, questioning him relative to the “secrets of the prison-house”—and sleeping under a roof which extended also over the “Chamber of Torture.” Nor was this edifice a mere monument of former iniquities. The execrable Court continues in full power and activity, the only restraint that has been imposed on its operations being that its executions, instead of their former publicity, are to be perpetrated within its walls ; by which regulation a still more dark and deadly character is given to its economy. The Doctor made at last the daring and repeated and urgent request, to be suffered to see the reported two hundred cells of the dungeons, and to examine some of their inhabitants. He was refused in a manner that left him no doubt of its being time for him to take his departure. One plea on which he urged his claim for information was that this Court maintains a cognizance over considerable portions of a territory, now placed within the line of the British Indian empire ; and, therefore, for anything that can be known to the contrary, there be on the rack, at this very hour, persons taken from among the population over which we boast of having extended our protection.

It is on this special ground—that the boundary of the sphere of the Inquisition presumes to intersect that of the British dominion,—a line which ought to be fortified against any such violation with as many terrors as array themselves

on the limit of the enchanted grove in the "Jerusalem Delivered,"—that Dr. Buchanan ventures a submissive and almost plaintive hint of a question, Whether the English nation might not be authorized to make some kind of remonstrance to the Portuguese government, relative to the powers and proceedings of this infernal Holy Office at Goa.

Are we to go on exerting and consuming our utmost strength, fattening the very soil of Portugal with successive thousands of the dead bodies of our Protestant countrymen, to restore or establish a government, the first independent act of which, for anything we dare think of stipulating to the contrary, may be the re-erection of the Inquisition in that country, and to which, in the meantime, we must not presume to address one word, in the tone of authority, relative to the cognizance exercised at the present time by its Inquisition at Goa over our own Indian subjects. Were there not something very melancholy in the fact, that a nation mighty for schemes of war, should, from a moral cause, be pitifully imbecile for purposes of reformation in society, it would be irresistibly ludicrous to hear this timid submissive kind of language, respecting our power or our right to mend the Portuguese government, by just so much as it would be practically the better for being made to abolish its Inquisition in India ;* a government the continuance of any shadow of which in Europe depends so wholly on the positions of our army in Portugal, that our commander might measure and limit its duration to an hour by his pocket-watch. Is this language of timid submitting suggestion employed from some idea that the principle of the injustice of interfering with the institutions of the governments of neighbouring states, on which we began to act so punctiliously about twenty years since, may perhaps, on serious consideration, be judged to require an abstinence from all mandatory measures, in prevention of even the most atrocious parts of the policy of a petty ally ?—provided, that is to say, that he is guilty of no improper proceedings in the matter of traffic in coffee and sugar. Or is it that the sacrifice of so many

* We have heard the same kind of language employed, in expressing an earnest wish and a doubtful hope, as to the possibility of persuading the Portuguese government to reduce, if not to relinquish its slave-trade.

thousands of men and millions of money, with the addition of individual contributions to relieve national distress, could carry no authentic sign of generosity, if all this should be accompanied by a decisive interdiction of the racking and burning of our innocent subjects on the Malabar coast? Or is it that it may be questionable whether dungeons and tortures, and Autos da Fé, are quite so detestable in a government which is at war with the French? Or is it to be apprehended that a remonstrance to the Portuguese government in too dictatorial a tone, might lead to the humiliation of hearing some such reply as this: Abolish first that part of your own system, which formally patronizes Juggernaut and his whole crew.

It appears to us, that the Inquisition is one of those things against which, as in the case of a pirate or a den of murderers, power is enough to constitute right. If the commander of a stout battalion of English soldiers, happening to be encamped near Goa, were to receive information that several meritorious persons, perhaps for renouncing Popery, from the conviction forced on them in reading a Bible which had found its way to them, were on the rack, and that in a few days, if they maintained their fidelity, they would infallibly be burnt alive—whatever departure it would be from official propriety, we suppose he would obtain the applause of all generous Protestants, if he instantly summoned the infernal fortress, and, on being refused entrance, forced the gates with his cannon, rescued all the victims, drove out the judges and torturers, and laid the whole edifice in ashes. In justifying such an act, it is perhaps a requisite proviso, that the power that will deem itself aggrieved, is such as not to have the means of doing any very serious mischief in revenge.

BRITISH OCCUPATION OF INDIA.*

THE bulk of the nation has never really attached any great importance to India as the field of British exploits. Our high-sounding victories there—the train of which began about the middle of last century—after their temporary *éclat* was past, were estimated, rather according to the mental and bodily imbecility of the undisciplined crowds, that three or four hundred English could so soon drive into rivers and bogs, than according to the prodigious disproportion of numbers. The impression soon came to be, that if five hundred could beat five thousand, they might just as well beat ten, or twenty thousand. We acquired such a contemptuous idea of the native armies, that we were but barely just to the very distinguished talent and valour by which they were dispersed; and what we mainly applauded our troops for, was their patience of heat, and mosquitoes, and rains, and bog-vapours.

Nor was the contempt entertained for the Asiatics as enemies averted from them by their becoming subjects. When, towards the latter part of the century, we heard of so many millions, and only the next year so many millions more, having come under the British dominion, there was but a very slight and very brief elation felt by any one who was clear of all connexion with the Government and the Company. It was hardly thought an excessive strain of carping to ask, Why do you not also reckon into the account the idols and the cows which these millions of your subjects acknowledge as their betters? The incessant rapid augmentation of the number has not raised the estimate, any more than in the case of bank-notes: and, in effect, they are very tolerably parallel, as subjects, to the paper-currency as money,—the more of them and the worse. So that now, none but the most ignorant or interested can hear of our “vast and growing empire in Asia,”—or fifty, sixty, or as

* Select Letters of Tippoo Sultan to various Public Functionaries: including his principal Military Commanders, &c. By Colonel William Kirkpatrick. 4to. 1811.

some must have it, seventy millions of oriental subjects, without a sensation of disgust that asks, What is the use to us of all this empire and these subjects?

DOUBTFUL VALUE OF BRITISH INDIA.

We know in the abstract, that things of real value are not gained at such a prodigious rate; and we are made to know, as a matter of fact, that our great Indian empire has been a heavy and increasing load on our comparatively little English nation. The state establishment that presides over this little, and that vast empire, is something like an Indian Rajah, who should be found making a grand military or civil progress, with a due complement, indeed, of ordinary cattle, such as horses and bullocks, in his train, but also with a monstrous pair of elephants—the elephants, however, being dead, but, to please the rajah, being ordered to be drawn along by the other tired beasts, which have all the while their own burdens on their backs. We need not suggest that, in addition, the elephants may be in a state to convey infection and putridity all around them.

But even if this immense population, instead of the debility for which we so soon learnt to hold them light, had been distinguished by a character as lofty as that of the old Greeks or Romans—the pride of having brought such a people under our dominion, must, in a nation hopelessly sinking every year deeper in debt and taxes, have given place by degrees to a bitter mortification, on finding, in process of time, that this vast oriental empire not only yielded no revenue in aid and relief of our domestic and European expenses and distresses, but was obstinately drawing away a very material portion of our resources, and at every new acquisition of territory leaving still less hope of revenue, or of even bare repayment.

FALSE NOTIONS OF INDIAN GRANDEUR.

For centuries, the people of this part of the world have been taught to associate magnificent ideas with India. Old travellers had given us the most delectable romances about palaces and temples as large as towns, pearl-bedecked monarchs and

golden gods, elephants carrying marquees of princes and princesses, armies counted by the myriad, rivers with yellow sands, and gales fragrant with spices. And the poets and orators, when anything surpassingly grand and sumptuous was to be figured to the imagination, have always had recourse to this magnificent region ; "richer than the Indies," being the most approved commonplace of proud comparison, and the last towering superlative being an allusion to the "mines of Golconda." Now, when it has been found that very considerable territorial acquisitions in this most gorgeous portion of the mundane system, brought us not a pennyworth of ascertainable advantage ; that each announcement of still ampler acquisitions has been virtually an edict for the imposition of new taxes in England ; that the ultimate enlargement of the Indian state into imperial bulk, has but created a more devouring monster than any that gorges whole cities and camps in the mythology of that country ; it is no wonder if modern India is become to this nation the most nauseous of all historical subjects.

The mortification thus attending a possession which, under the mock superficial show of everything splendid and prosperous, is making itself felt as a deadly grievance, receives no alleviation from the nation's *moral* self-complacency. Nobody has ever been struck with the parallel between our wars in Hindoostan and the wars of the Maccabees. It was beyond any one's gravity to vapour about "altars and firesides," in explanation of our reasons for quarrelling and fighting with Subahs and Sultans, several thousand miles on the other side the Cape of Good Hope. And even after making an allowance, very far beyond the laws of Christian morality, for what would be called "generous ambition," "honourable aggrandizement," and so forth ; and after disclaiming, as relative to the Eastern sovereigns, the doctrine of divine right, in a much greater degree than it has recently been the fashion to do respecting the old occupants of Western *musnuds* ; still the national conscience (if we may be allowed such a phrase) has not been so exactly on a bed of roses as to enjoy with unmingled delight the serenade of victory. The nation has at no time clearly understood, or cared to understand, the principles of Anglo-Indian policy ; but it has had one constant persuasion of their being

such as no man could venture to defend in a practical exemplification, on a reduced scale, in the transactions immediately within our cognizance and experience. And besides the exceptionable quality of the general system, there have been, during the course of our triumphs and acquisitions, a vast number of reports, more or less distinct, of flagrant acts of rapacity and cruelty committed, and with impunity, by individuals; and yet so effectually kept back from full exposure, so dubiously given to view through alternate gleams and shadows, as to excite a suspicion that, in a region where there are the means of so perplexing and darkening evidence,—there may be a sufficient darkness for the workers of iniquity to hide themselves,—there may be, consequently, a mass of unknown iniquity perpetrated. And this suspicion will rest, permanently, on some of the earlier periods of our progress in India, whatever may be our conviction of the amended morality, or more effectual responsibility of our later agents in that country. The amendment, supposing it ever so great, has not yet prevailed long enough, nor made its effects sufficiently notorious, to modify materially the collective character of our Indian history, which is not looked back upon by the more conscientious part of the nation, without some invincible sentiment much of the nature of shame.

CHARACTER OF TIPPOO SAIB.

The most prominent characteristic displayed in these oriental letters, is a total abdication of all morality. The illustrious writer made not the least scruple, as his editor observes, to avow the most flagitious principles to his generals and ministers, and frequently to found his orders to them on those principles. With perfect coolness he directs them to practise the basest forms of falsehood, treachery, or cruelty; and it is in the point of fertility of villanous expedients, that he comes nearest to redeeming himself from the Colonel's imputation of want of talent. He really shines out a genius on this side.

Zealous Mahometanism is another strong feature. He displays an active unremitting hatred, or, as he himself

expresses it, a "zeal boiling over," against all dissentients from the church of the prophet, whether pagan idolaters or Nazarenes—but especially the latter, to whom he never alludes without some genuine cordial expression of rancour. He valued himself highly on having formed a corps of proselytes to the faith, some of them made so by tempting promises, and some by threats and actual violence. In his memoirs he relates with great exultation the origin of this division of his army, which was first formed of the most serviceable portion of 60,000 Christians, whom he laid a successful plan to seize, all in one hour, men, women, and children, when assembled in their places of worship, in the country about Goa, and of whom the greatest number commuted their religion probably for their lives. His self-applause, however, does not, here or elsewhere, put out his devotion. The previous capture of a town which facilitated the execution of this plan, was "by the divine favour, and through the aid of the asylum of prophecy [Mahomet], and with the help of the conquering lion of God [the Caliph Ali]."

Of all his opponents the English were the objects of his extremest hatred; and in his earnestness to destroy them, he was capable of foregoing, in a considerable degree, his resentments and revenge against the rest. Their total extermination, for effecting which any and all means were accounted right, is proved by these letters to have been the grand object of his life,—an object that stimulated him so fiercely, as to deprive him of much of the caution which he should have observed with respect to the avowal.

SIR JOHN CARR.*

AN old acquaintance of the most renowned of all English knights, seeing him lying in the counterfeited semblance of death in the field of Shrewsbury, is represented to have said, that he could "better have spared a better man." The gallant and facetious personage whose *sixth* travelling adventure is here narrated, is grown into such familiarity, and, as it should seem, favour, with the public, that though he is by no means held the foremost man of his class,—though great liberties have been taken with his literary character, in courts of law and courts of criticism,—though good plenty of jeers and sarcasms have been expended on him from much less dignified and authoritative quarters,—and though he constantly exacts largely on the purses of those who wish to know what he has been about,—yet he is more in request than divers of his contemporaries, who at less expense would instruct us more, and therefore ought not to please us less.

THE MAID OF SARAGOSSA.

A variety of amusing description and anecdote, 'about smoking, treating in ice-houses, dancing, and evening parties, is followed by an account of our knight's being introduced to the company of Augustina, the celebrated amazon of Saragossa; and we might give credit to a spirit less prompt to brisk fermentation than Sir John's, for the sentiments with which he professes to have seen and heard her. We may as well transcribe part of his description:

"Augustina appeared to be of the age about twenty-three when I saw her. She was neatly dressed in the black mantilla. Her complexion was a light olive, her countenance soft and pleasing, and her manners, which were perfectly feminine, were

* Descriptive Travels in the Southern and Eastern Parts of Spain, and the Balearic Isles, in the year 1809. By Sir John Carr, K.C. 4to. 1811.

easy and engaging. Upon the sleeve of one of her arms she wore three embroidered badges of distinction, commemorative of three distinguished acts of her intrepidity. General Doyle told me that she never talked of her own brilliant exploits, but always spoke with animation of those she saw displayed by others in those memorable sieges. The day before I was introduced to this extraordinary female, she had been entertained at a dinner given by Admiral Purvis on board his flag ship. The particulars I received from an officer who was present. As she received a pension from government, and also the pay of an artilleryman, the Admiral considered her as a military character, and, much to his credit received her with the honours of that profession. Upon her reaching the deck, the marines were drawn up and manœuvred before her: she appeared quite at home, regarded them with a steady eye, and spoke in terms of admiration of their neatness and soldier-like appearance. Upon examining the guns she observed one of them, with the satisfaction with which other women would speak of a cap, 'my gun,' alluding to one with which she had effected considerable havoc among the French at Saragossa, 'was not so nice and clean as this.' She was drinking her coffee when the evening gun was fired: its discharge seemed to electrify her with delight: she sprang out of the cabin upon the deck and attentively listened to the reverberation of its sound. In the evening she joined in the dance with the rest of the company, and displayed a good ear for music, and considerable natural gracefulness. The sailors, as it may be supposed, were uncommonly pleased with her. Some were heard to say, with a hearty oath, 'I hope they will do something for her, she ought to have plenty of prize money; she is of the right sort.'"

General Doyle read to her, while Sir John was present, several letters written to him under great emergency and distress by General Palafox, her former commander: the effect is thus described.

"The face of Augustina, which, as I have observed, is remarkable for its sweetness, assumed a mingled expression of commiseration for her hero, and revenge against his enemies. Her eyes, naturally soft, flashed with peculiar fire and animation: tears rolled down her cheeks; and clasping her hands as the last word 'adieu' was repeated, she exclaimed, 'Oh those base invaders of my country, those oppressors of its best of patriots; should the fate of war place any of them within my power, I will instantly deliver up their throats to the knife.' General Doyle was much impressed with the manner in which she uttered this fierce denunciation, a manner that can leave but

little doubt of her carrying it into execution, should an opportunity offer. Soon after the husband of Augustina entered," &c.

"Augustina calls herself the *Woman of Zaragoza*; she occasionally wears the dress of the service into which she has entered, the artillery, but modestly preserves the petticoat. One evening, as she was walking alone in this habit in one of the streets of Cadiz, with her sabre by her side, a man, attracted by her beauty, followed her a considerable way; upon which, offended at his impertinence, she turned round, and drawing her sabre, with great calmness but determination, told him, that if he followed her another step, she would cut him down. The gay but not gallant Lothario fled as fast as his legs could carry him."

SPANISH BULL FIGHT.

Sir John, with the view of seeing a bull-fight, went over to Port St. Mary's. It seems, this detestable amusement was not permitted in any other part of Spain, and was permitted here only by a disgraceful suspension of the law :—

"Many of the low Spaniards believe that the cause of the royal abolition of this their favourite pastime, arose from an objection entertained by the queen to the people assembling in large bodies, but this is not the fact; more rational and provident reasons suggested it, in 1805, to Charles IV. or his ministers. This cruel exhibition embrutes the disposition of the people; if the day on which it happens be not a Sunday, a day is lost to labour; the poorest people will sell their very beds to raise money to attend their popular spectacle; and agriculture and the army suffer by the extraordinary havoc which was formerly made among the horses and oxen, to an amount which is almost incredible. I found by what took place, that the bull-fight at the Port was as much interdicted as in every town in Spain, but as a convenient boon to the people the Governor was permitted by the Supreme Junta indirectly to concede it to them."

Our author has given a very clear, concise, and striking account of this exhibition, which he witnessed in a theatre containing, probably, not much less than 10,000 persons. "The number of men and women," he says, "appeared nearly equal; and among the latter were several females of distinction, and many of great respectability." Vast numbers of people had come from Cadiz, which is, as to its inhabitants, confessedly one of the most respectable cities

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in the kingdom. So that this great assembly might justly be taken as fairly representative of the national character, in point of what is called, by a sufficiently gross misnomer, humanity. Let then a cultivated reflective man, just moderately endowed with that quality, and without pretending to anything exquisite in sensibility, turn himself to the spectacle in the arena, and take on his mind the right impression of the scene; in which he would behold, according to our author's description, horses literally torn open, with their "entrails hanging down like ribbons, streaming with blood," and the intended victims of the game, the bulls, with their necks bristled with barbed darts stuck in their flesh, on some of which darts gunpowder crackers are fixed, and, as it should seem, lighted the instant before the darts are stuck into the animal, so as to explode speedily afterwards. The human operators too in the performance (but this, we confess, is really a trifling circumstance) are in great peril, and not unfrequently wounded. Let this humane spectator then turn toward the vast assembly, and take his impression of the national character from the appearance of intense, of almost ecstatic delight in viewing the most miserable and horrid parts of this exhibition. Now, to complete the complacency and harmony of this man's ideas and sensations, we want him but to turn to one side more, and take the third impression—the correct impression of the *sense* of those persons, who have poured out on such a nation unbounded eulogies, in a strain composed of all the epithets importing any thing related to generosity and magnanimity; and we may add, the impression of the *politics* of those who, in scouting all considerations of economy in the measures for assisting such a people, would equally reject all ideas of stipulating for any reformation in their barbarous national system. The most unequivocal proof of the thoroughly barbarous state of any people, is when the women are as much delighted with cruel spectacles and sports as the men. Sir John's professed gallantry does not withhold or modify this proof in the present instance. "Unless," he says, "several horses are killed, the fight is considered by the most delicate and refined female spectators as unsatisfactory." The interest is much increased by a man being now and then wounded.

The ladies have no very high idea of the bravery of a foreigner who exhibits any other sensations than those of gratification at these fights. "Oh, what merit has that fine young nobleman," said a pretty Spanish lady, "how beautifully did he kill the bull!" In describing the accommodations of the theatre, our author mentions that there is a room where a "priest attends with the host, in case of a fatal accident." The lacerated horses are left to die in protracted anguish, the pride of these barbarians deeming it below the Spanish dignity to stoop to so low an office as that of despatching horses! Wonderful dexterity and courage are displayed by the bull-fighters; and Sir John says, it is a well known fact that the men who most distinguished themselves in the battle of Baylen had been of this class.

SEVILLE.

It was time for our adventurer to proceed toward Seville. Some of the persons going the same road carried "boughs of the palm-tree, which, when blessed by the priest, become infallible charms against thunder, lightning, and the devil; on which account they are to be seen twisted round the grating of the balconies in numerous houses in Spain."

Arrived at Seville, he got with difficulty into the best inn, to which he solemnly avers, "the vilest hedge ale-house in England would have been infinitely preferable." It is, however, very evident the house must have been intended originally for his betters, we should guess for Askapart or St. Christopher, at the least, as he says, the "looking glasses are suspended about eleven feet from the ground."

ROAD-SIDE SCRIVENERS.

"A stranger will also not fail to be struck with the numerous *escribedores* or scriveners, who sit at their desks all day, in arched open recesses, on the basement floor of a street close to the cathedral. These functionaries are applied to, to draw up petty agreements, to adjust trifling accounts for the ignorant, and to write letters for those who cannot write themselves. They will also, I am informed, for a trifle, carry on a tender correspondence between two unlettered lovers. There are a great number of these ready-writers in Cadiz, and in all the principal towns of Spain."

ON THEATRICAL ENTERTAINMENTS.*

ALL authors intend, as all readers are apprized, the public good, as their first object. And such is confessedly the moral state of society, that the good intended must, in almost every particular instance, be of the nature of a corrective of some evil. Each book, therefore, may be regarded as a kind of medicinal preparation; and persons a little accustomed to inspect the practice in this department, can make a tolerable guess at the disease intended to be attacked, by a slight examination of what is prepared to be administered. Such an inspection of the present very costly composition, prepared in so large a quantity, leaves us no doubt of the apprehended prevalence of the disorder called Methodism. Some of the most efficacious sanatives and preservatives are, we believe, by many learned and many quack professors and practitioners against this melancholy distemper, reputed to be found in the theatrical part of the moral *Materia Medica*;—and here some of its most salutary powers are combined and exhibited in the vehicle of a thirty years' history of play-houses, and their players, and their plays.

But whatever may be the *preventive* operation of this laudable compound—and we will confess it is not ill adapted to have some effect in that way—we think it at least doubtful whether it will do much in the way of cure. As it would, too probably, be now in vain for us to pretend to have altogether escaped the contagion we have referred to, we have nothing to lose by confessing, that the result of the experiment on ourselves confirms our scepticism as to the remedial qualities of this work. We will own, that though comedies and farces, actors and actresses, *encores*, clappings, and benefit nights, should all seem to bear some very strict relation to gaiety, we have felt a prevailing melancholy sentiment in going through the story of a man, the main business of whose indefatigable life was to communicate to society as large a measure as possible of that kind of advantage which it derives from deputing a number of thousands of its least trusty members, to form, six nights a week, the grand congress of

* The Life of Arthur Murphy, Esq. By Jesse Foot, Esq., his Executor. 4to. 1811.

society and wisdom in a theatre. Through a gloomy perversion of feeling, incident to the complaint under which we labour—and which we humbly beg to plead, beforehand, in excuse for any puritanical hallucinations into which we may fall—the reflection would again and again come upon us, what a pitiful spectacle it is to see a man most earnestly bubbling his mind to make sentences to be conned and emitted, in the name of Timurkan, or Mandane, or Zenobia, or what not, by the tinselled profligate kings and queens of the green-room ;—what a number of important subjects must have been absent from his thoughts during that vast portion of time that his mind was filled with images of the stage, pit, and boxes ;—what a preparation for society in a more advanced stage of existence, was likely to be acquired in the company of Woodward, Foote, Shuter, or Garrick ; and what a balance he would have to strike, if he ever thought of such a matter between the possible scantling of good done by a little slight morality in his plays, and the mischief done, at the same time, by the prodigious concourse of courtezans,—or, to put this consideration at its lowest degree of force, the mischief done through those circumstances and influences, by which a theatre surpasses most other scenes of public resort, in aiding the designs and accumulating at once the crimes and miseries of this most wretched class of destroyers. But we will not open the way for the vast, the almost endless train of thoughts of the same gloomy kind, which would be suggested by the idea of the theatre, if seriously considered in all its connexions ; nor enlarge on such as unavoidably suggest themselves in looking over the life of a man that laboured more, probably, than any writer of the last century, to promote the popularity of this grand “national school of morals.”

Mr. Murphy wrote nearly as many, we should think, as twenty plays ; a considerable number of which, it seems, collected, amused, and, as his aged biographer would doubtless maintain, instructed, in the Drury Lane and Covent Garden houses, large crowds of people, blooming and withered, comely and haggard, stylish and vulgar, who are now distributed in the burying grounds of the metropolis and of various other places, and most of them forgotten by a race of later frequenters of those temples of wisdom,—some

of whom must have passed, on their way thither, close to the graves of their predecessors, to see the same imaginary characters personated, and to hear the same droll or stately dialogues recited, by a newer tribe of sham lovers, wits, and monarchs :—the *same* characters and dialogues ; for it appears that several of Mr. Murphy's plays have obtained a place in the permanent stock of the theatres, and are likely to keep him, for a good while to come, associated *there* with Shakspeare, Dryden, Otway, &c., though we have never understood that he is admitted into any such company in the *library* of literary persons. Without pretending to any sort of acquaintance with his dramatic productions beyond what we are introduced to by this two-guinea volume, we are quite satisfied, from the evidence to be found in it, and in such of his compositions as we have happened to peruse, that he could barely be in the front rank of even the third-rate dramatic writers ; his wit being of a much inferior order to that, for instance, of Congreve, and his sentiment and passion to those of Rowe. He appears, however, to have possessed a very considerable share of true genius, supported by uniform good sense, and working amidst the advantages of very ample knowledge, both of literature and of the manners that distinguish the classes of society.

LITERARY CHARACTER OF MURPHY.

Besides his dramatic pieces, he wrote the life of that man during whose abode in this favoured land it was seriously suspected, that Apollo's seat in the assembly on Olympus was vacant ; the man who has been the object of the same sentiments and epithets in one part of cultivated society as Luther in another—"the glorious innovator," "the immortal reformer," "the illustrious restorer of truth and nature," whose appearance "announced the commencement of a new era among mankind"—in short, Garrick. Of two other biographical works of Mr. Murphy, the present writer speaks in that kind of language which may safely be used in a panegyric on a friend, in which the excess is candidly set down to the account of affectionate partiality, or even of rhetorical ostentation, rather than of defective judgment : "If the lives of Fielding and Johnson had been his only works, his name would have

obtained a place among the first biographical writers of his country ; and he would have shared in the fame of the pre-eminent men whose characters he has so ably illustrated." It is, however, as the author of a good translation of Tacitus, that he has rendered by far the most service to his country, and done most to secure the permanence of his reputation.

THE RAMAYUNA AND SANSKRIT LITERATURE *

SOME time since, a number of our pages were occupied with an account of the first volume of this work,—and with a few observations relative to the quality of those accessions which our literature is beginning to derive by sluices from the vast reservoir of the Sanscrit,—where every fish is a god, every shell a shrine, and every group of weeds along the edge a sacred grove.† We took the opportunity, by the way, of congratulating those exalted and refined spirits who, sickening at the insipidity of all that has been supplied by European intellect and Christian revelation, had been confidently hoping for a renovation of life and joy, from quaffing, at last, these sacred waters.

It appears to be the settled intention of the missionaries, to bring the whole of this enormous poem within the confines of English literature, though no less than eight volumes must follow the present one to accomplish the purpose. And for such an intention, they may allege the reasons which are given for selecting the Ramayuna to be the first of a number of works to be translated in succession—that it exhibits a lively view of the manners, moral notions, and mythology of the Hindoos ; and that it has been held in the utmost reverence, over an immense space of country, and for a long series of ages. Indeed, it is striking to reflect, that the precise contents of this book,—that the extravagant fictions, the pictures of deities and heroes, and the moral

* The Ramayuna of Valmeeki ; with a Prose Translation and Explanatory Notes. By William Carey and Joshua Marshman. Vol. II., containing part of the Second Book. 4to. 1808.

† See an amusing article in *Critical Essays*, vol. i. p. 400.

maxims, now for the first time drawn out to view from within the darkness of these black and dense lines of Sanscrit characters, which occupy the upper part of the pages before us,—have been the subjects of reverential attention to hundreds of millions of the human race ; that the composing of these lines, by one particular mortal, whether in temple, bower, cave, or hut—whether in the hours of morning or evening, was an act which was to operate in creating the mental condition of a countless number of successive generations : that these very sentences, perpetuated in these very letters, have, with invariable power over faith and imagination, been perused and dwelt on in solemn thought as divine emanations, by the authoritative teachers of an immense people, during all the changes of European literature, polity, and religion, from remote ages to the present time. Regarded in this point of view, a performance still more destitute, if that be possible, of all marks of vigorous intellect, and, therefore, of all truly sublime or beautiful operations of fancy, than even the *Ramayuna*, might possibly claim to borrow the English language to interpret a portion of its puerility and raving to the readers of the Bible, and Milton, and Locke.

In this second stage, the narrative acquires a character somewhat different from that which is exhibited in the first book. Not that it becomes substantially much more rational ; but it is a good deal more tame. The manner in which it set off, as compared with that in which it is here proceeding, reminds the reader of his having sometimes seen a stage coach starting in the midst of a town, and dashing along the street with a most furious clatter, and shout, and blast of horn, all which impetuosity and uproar have declined into a comparatively sober and noiseless movement by the time the vehicle has got some little distance on the road. Or he may recollect having observed, on the evening of the fifth of November, the reduced spirits and vociferation of a company of imps, after they have expended all their squibs and rockets and have only a more ordinary kind of combustibles and blaze left to prolong their amusement.

[Carey and Marshman's translation of the *Ramayuna* was intended to consist of 9 vols., but it was discontinued with the 3rd.—ED.]

JAMES HERVEY AND HIS MEDITATIONS.*

THE editor should be prepared against feeling surprise, if he should find it to be rather a general opinion, that he has felicitated himself on bringing this series of Hervey's letters to light in terms fully strong enough for the occasion. There has been a time when the public sentiment would have been considerably more in sympathy with his own, than probably it may be at present. Among serious readers, the estimate of their most excellent author, on points far more important than those that relate to the art of authorship, has been, and will ever remain, invariable. There can be very few individuals, whose opinion would be worth hearing, that will not speak with delight of his exalted piety, of his zeal for such views of the Christian religion as animated our venerable and heroic Reformers, and the worthiest of their successors, and of the exemplary purity of his life. In addition to this, his writings manifest an understanding of a respectable order; and have been exceeded, we believe, by very few books in extent of beneficial influence. His "Meditations," especially, have contributed more, it is probable, than any other book, to the valuable object of prompting and guiding serious minds, of not the superior rank in point of taste, to draw materials of devotional thought from the scenery of nature. An immense number of persons, have been taught by him, to contemplate the vicissitude and phenomena of the seasons, the flowers of the earth, and the stars of heaven, with such pious and salutary associations, as would not otherwise have been suggested to their minds: and the value of these associations is incalculable, on the double ground of enlargement of thought, and devotional tendency. Hervey ranks, therefore, among the high benefactors of his age. But in turning to the more strictly literary estimate of his writings, there is no averting the heavy charges which critics, without one dissenting voice, bring against his style. No one qualified in the smallest degree to judge of good writing, ever attempts to controvert the justice with which they pronounce that style artificial,

* Letters of James Hervey, A.M., author of "Meditations," &c. 8vo. 1811.

tumid, and gaudy, loaded with an inanimate mass of epithets, and, in short, very fine, without being at all rich.

The letters before us, however, partake less of this fault, than his elaborate printed compositions. Here and there, indeed, the writer comes upon us with passages like this:—

“If these lines shall chance to find you expatiating in the fields, let them by no means stop or divert your walk. It is pleasing, it is healthy, to rove along the grassy carpet, delicately enamelled with white and yellow; to breathe the air perfumed with purest sweets; to hear the pretty songsters from the woods and hedges warbling out their unambitious notes; to feast the eyes with the various colours of nature, and the inimitably fine strokes of the Divine pencil. All this is delightful; and then to raise the mind to the great fountain of all-creating excellence,” &c.

But, for the most part, the writing is in a much plainer, and, therefore, in a much better style. At the same time, when the writer suffers himself to descend to the more simple mode of expression, and leaves undisturbed the wardrobe of artificial ornament, it appears very palpably that his imagination was intrinsically feeble. This forbearance of factitious magnificence, this abstinence from the storehouse of highly coloured phraseology, allows his faculties to stand out in their natural form and dimensions. And his mental properties, as displayed in this simple light, appear to be, clear sense, of moderate reach, religious and philanthropic affections of the most refined and elevated order, and a languid and ineffective imagination, the injudicious stimulating of which, in the author's elaborate works (where a motive of the most genuine and unmingled piety made him wish to recommend religious sentiment by embellishing it), resulted in swelling poetic diction, instead of brilliant conception. Not, indeed, that it is at all difficult to discern the real quality of this imagination through the artificial diction; but still it is curious, and may be instructive to those who are learning the art of composition, to see such a proof how completely it *was* artificial, as is afforded by a comparison between the author's finished writings, and such parts of these letters as were written without any rhetorical effort. We are not saying that even here the style is easy and varying. On the contrary, it appears in a considerable degree what we call

set ; but still it is tolerably plain, and keeps near the level of the thought. In those paragraphs, however, where an excursion of fancy is attempted, the reigning fault of his diction generally becomes again apparent. In some instances, also, an inconsistency or unfortunate arrangement of images, or a defect of taste in the selection and adaptation of them, will require the cultivated reader to recollect, that no sentences of private friendly communication were ever written in more perfect absence of any thought of the press.

It cannot be necessary, for us, we should hope, in the opinion of any one of our religious readers, to follow these few sentences of observation on Hervey's distinguishing style of authorship, with an averment—that not one of those readers can entertain a more cordial veneration for that most excellent man. This we should confidently make ; but, at the same time, every voice ought to join in disapprobation of an inflated diction, as employed on any subject, but especially on religion. And, indeed, we believe the general opinion in the present instance, is coming fast into agreement with that of the critics.

ON THE ALARMING INCREASE OF BOOKS OF TRAVELS.*

PERHAPS but little credit would be given, in these selfish times, to any professions of being distressed to think of the literary hardships of our posterity a century or two hence. It is too probable that this prospective sensibility is nearly confined to those philanthropic recesses, which are the abodes also of so many other virtues—the garrets of reviewers. We shall decline making any large, however just, demands on the faith of our readers, in respect to the many modes of benevolent feeling cherished in these most favourite dwelling-places of charity. We will say no more of the spirit that pervades those musings into which—as an exercise or indulgence of

* A Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor, to Constantinople, in the years 1808 and 1809 ; in which is included some Account of the Proceedings of his Majesty's Mission, under Sir Harford Jones, Bart., K.C., to the Court of the King of Persia. By James Morier, Esq. 4to. 1812.

reflection beyond that measure of thought which is strictly necessary for the precise task of reviewing—we are led by individual books, or by classes of books, than that, while we are employed in the department of books of travels, it is impossible to avoid sometimes looking forward, with a small degree of compassionate dismay, to the condition of our inquisitive great-grandsons, with respect to that department of reading. For, let it be considered what an exceeding narrow strip of the habitable world is usually taken in the travelling survey that results in a large and splendid volume. A man shall proceed perhaps a thousand miles along a great road, made as straight as the nature of the country will admit, and never once, it may be, in this long reach, divert so much as ten miles to the right or the left ; and this journey too he is probably under the necessity of performing with all convenient speed. Now, how much of the world has he viewed, even considered merely as a picture to be presented to the eye ? At some parts of his progress, the scope of vision may have been limited, with transient exceptions, for days together, to little more than the distance of gunshot on either side ; and then he has perhaps emerged to the view of a dead plain, or but a very partial and momentary sight of a distant mountain. The average extent of what he has seen, therefore, may be a space of about the same proportion on the globe, as a strong pencil line would be on a moderate-sized map of it. Having seen thus much, he comes home and publishes a large and costly volume. Now, though it would be too much to predict, that, in process of time, the world will be so completely travelled and surveyed, in parallel and intersecting stripes, as that we shall have, by accumulation, a description of literally its whole terrene surface, yet really it does seem likely that, in the course of a few generations, no inconsiderable approach will have been made toward so vast an achievement. It is evident, that travelling with a view to the publishing of travels is becoming a regular department of employment, in which a considerable number of persons are constantly engaged, and ready to engage ; and that keeping a journal, with the same view, has come to be considered as a dignified, and perhaps lucrative, secondary concern with diplomatic agents, commercial adventurers, safe attendants on the march of armies, and even the mere rovers for amusement.

And when we look back over the last thirty or forty years, and, from the progress of the increase of publishing travellers, take the ratio for calculating their number in time to come, we cannot but foresee, as accomplished and narrated by the aggregate of these performers, such a prodigious measure of locomotion, as, if it could be distributed in well-adjusted parallel lines, would subject a very large proportion of the habitable globe, to have its appearances brought under inspection, and at length duly reported in this and the neighbouring countries. The movements of a great number of these travellers, no doubt, will be directed to a few places of favourite resort ; but even these will be from many different starting points, and with great variety and deflection in the lines of progress ; while a multitude of other adventurers will boldly invade the tracts previously unexplored. If, therefore, there were a map of the world which (in addition to all the lines that might be drawn upon it to trace the routes of the publishing travellers of the last two centuries) should be prophetically marked with a delineation of the routes of all that will publish their travels during the two centuries ensuing, it may be believed this map would be so thickly chequered and darkened, as to puzzle us exceedingly to make out the names of the places inscribed on it.

THE READING TASK OF FUTURE TIMES.

But then for the reading task of the inquisitive people of future times ! There will be accumulated for them several thousands of volumes of travels, to which there will continue to be monthly and weekly additions. And this mountainous pile of printed works they will have to examine, as an employment additional to what may more strictly be called their *studies*, rather than as properly a part of what may merit a denomination understood to be expressive of intellectual exertion. This vast assemblage must be regarded as a kind of amusing adjunct to the library of science, and of literature strictly so called. And what must be the mental *work* of people whose mental *play* is to involve so mighty a labour ?

This, to be sure, is rather a foolish style of romancing ; for the people at the end of the twentieth century will very likely be much of the same kind, and in the same condition, as those at the beginning of the eighteenth, in point of length

of life, of multiplied wants and occupations, of indulgence in excess of sleep and idle chat, and of indisposition to let assiduous reading of any kind take up all that can be allowed for amusement. But how, then, will they possess themselves of a complete picture of the world they inhabit, when the delineation is to be composed of such a prodigious number of separate pieces? And what is to be the fate of the vast assemblage of books of travels, that will have been formed by so long and thick a series of publication, accompanied, in many instances, with all the pretension implied in expensive splendour of appearance? The obvious answer, as to those future readers, is, that, for the most part, they will and must content themselves with general books of geography, together with the books of travels of their own times, and collections of extremely brief notices and abstracts (made by the Purchases, the Hakluyts, the Harrises, the Pinkertons, and the Kerrs of those times), of some of the most remarkable travels and voyages of the preceding ages. And the obvious answer, as to the fate of this great tribe of books, is, that a very large proportion of them will be totally forgotten; that a number will be preserved for the libraries of the curious, solely for the beauty of their plates; that a comparatively inconsiderable number will be partially preserved as reading matter, by means of short abridgments and curious extracts, in collections; and that a few, an extremely few, in the successive stages of the series, will have the fortune to establish themselves as a kind of classics in their department, and will, for at least some centuries, rank with the books which men pretending to a general knowledge, will not well be excused from reading, at some period of their lives, in an unabridged form. Perhaps no traveller will be wise or modest to promise himself very confidently for his book this flattering exemption from the destiny so general to its class. At any rate, to warrant the slightest degree of any such presumption, his work must have, in great pre-eminence, at the least some one signal recommendation. It must, for instance, give, and give in a bold and striking manner, the very first authentic description of some interesting region. Or, if it describes a country previously known, it must represent with a prominence, a beauty, and a judicious selectness, surpassing all former descriptions of the place, and never equalled by sub-

sequent ones. Or, it must describe the country at the time when it was the scene of very extraordinary physical or moral events, as of an earthquake, a volcanic eruption, an inundation, a pestilence, or of a dreadful war, a revolution, a reformation,—so that the account shall form a very striking portion of history. Or, the traveller must make profound philosophical observations on the scenes and facts he contemplates, and so give in the form of travels an assemblage of important lessons, drawn from and illustrated by the realities he describes. Or, if the interest is to arise from the mere detail of his personal adventures, either those adventures must be singular and incomparably marvellous, and the relation accompanied by some decisive proof of veracity, or the man himself must be such an extraordinary personage, and of a rank to make so conspicuous a figure in history, that it shall always be interesting to read a portion of his life simply *as such*, and without the aid of any thing remarkable in the occurrences themselves. That a multitude of travellers regard themselves as belonging to this last class, their books give some cause to suspect, at least if it is to be supposed that they anticipate for those books the high distinction of being read entire in a future age ; for it is perfectly astonishing to see with what complacency they will fill sheet after sheet with details of the most insignificant personal proceedings or occurrences ; insomuch that we turn back to the title-page to be sure that we have not, through inadvertency, made some mistake as to the name and quality of the man whom we find practically claiming, as soon at least as he gets out of his own country, to rank in importance with that order of mortals whose dining or going to bed, whose walking, riding, bathing, or taking coffee, whose catching cold or having the tooth-ache, are matters of grave printed report, respectfully inculcated over a whole empire or continent. It is amusing enough, to those who can draw unmingled amusement from human folly, to see the monstrous self-deception by which a man of no consequence on any earthly account beyond (perhaps not of much within) the circle of his personal connexions, becomes fully convinced that it must be a matter of great interest to the public, to be authentically certified how many leagues he has performed on some foreign king's high road—how potently he

took down the fruits, or wines, or sherbets—how handsomely he behaved himself among outlandish people of all sorts—how whimsically, nevertheless, it struck him to see hundreds and thousands together of dusky skins, and long beards, and turbans—that the politest civilities were interchanged between him and some of the principal of these barbarians—that he, even that he himself did, at such an hour of such a day, of such a month, go in at, or go out at, such a gate of such a pagan town, and that it did, in very truth, rain very hard at the time—that, at another eventful time, his clothes were completely soaked when he reached a famous ruin of palace or temple, but that he (man of taste!) was amazed and delighted at the spectacle—&c., &c., &c. In numberless instances travellers have drawn or transmuted into their own personal importance the novelty, the strangeness, the magnificence that they have beheld. The whole interest turned on *themselves* as beholding the scenes and objects, *themselves* as being in this and that manner impressed by them, *themselves* as talking and reporting about them, *themselves* as identified with them in the ideas of the hearer or reader. And not seldom has the traveller who has made a successful book, absolutely mistaken the interest which was excited by his account of unusual objects, which have engaged attention in spite of the obtrusive impertinence of the describer, for admiration of himself as the mighty paramount object.

THE PERSIAN EMBASSY.

The embassy sailed from Bombay, in three vessels, on the 12th of September, 1808. They reached Bushire, in the Persian Gulf on the 14th of October, and heard, for the first time, a report, which had come from Bagdad, and had been propagated by the French, of the death of our king.

The envoy began, even before he left the ship, to assume that high tone which, with great propriety, he maintained invariably through every stage of the mission. He every where demanded, and obtained, to be received with all those formalities of respect, which, according to the Asiatic ceremonial, are due to the ambassadors of the greatest monarchs. And it is not at all improbable that to have, even in one instance, lowered this demand, or suffered it to

be trifled with, might have ruined his undertaking : so little can either tyrants or slaves comprehend any such thing as dignity without pomp and haughtiness. They respect nothing but mere power ; the most palpable signs of power are ostentatious state and imperious manners ; and, therefore, a measure of these must be assumed by whoever would maintain any importance, or secure any advantage, in transacting with them. Sir Harford Jones was most respectfully met by the Sheik of Bushire ; and, after passing through the thickest clouds of dust, raised by the mob and a sort of mob militia, was, with the other gentlemen, led by him to his house "through streets six feet wide." The density of the dust they had contrived to penetrate, must have prepared them advantageously to relish their first regale in the Persian mode, thus briefly described :—

" A Persian visit, when the guest is a distinguished personage, generally consists of three acts : first, the *kaleoun*, or water-pipe, and coffee ; second, a *kaleoun*, and sweet coffee, (so called from its being a composition of rose-water and sugar) ; and third, a *kaleoun* by itself. Sweetmeats are frequently introduced as a *finale*."

INSENSIBILITY THE EFFECT OF DESPOTISM.

The Sheik of Bushire was a worthless Arab, the last of a succession of Arab chiefs or princes, who had governed Bushire, in virtue rather of an assumed right of their own, than of the appointment of the Persian government. During the few days that the embassy remained in the town, a revolution was effected, quite in the Asiatic style of cowardice, perjury, and treachery ; and this unworthy governor was deposed and made a prisoner. By one of the caprices of fortune, so common to the agents of an Asiatic despotism, the new governor, proclaimed *pro tempore*, was almost immediately consigned to an ignominious and cruel imprisonment, with the prospect of speedy death, and was as quickly released, and invested with his office. He paid a visit to the English party, and our author was surprised to see him appear "perfectly unconscious of the indignities which he had suffered ;" "but," he observes,—

"The habitual despotism which the people are born to witness, familiarizes them so much to every act of violence that may be

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inflicted on themselves or on others, that they view all events with equal indifference, and go in and out of prison, are bastinadoed, fined, and are exposed to every ignominy, with an apathy which nothing but custom and fatalism could produce."

BUSHIRE.

Bushire is now the principal port of Persia ; and stands on a sandy peninsula, which appears to have been gained from the sea. "In digging for water the people of this peninsula have sunk wells to the depth of thirty fathoms ; and before they could reach the spring they have been obliged to perforate three layers of a soft stone composed of sand and shells." It is subject to tremendous storms. The town contains about ten thousand persons, as it should seem all Mahometans. It has an English factory. In the neighbouring country, "the soil is so light, that it is ploughed mostly with one ox only, and not unfrequently even with an ass. All their agricultural instruments are of the rudest construction." The ploughing commences about the 20th of November ; and larks fly about in large numbers, and feed on the seed just sowing. The people are of mixed Arabian and Persian descent, and presented to the English a squalid and wretched appearance.

STATE PROCESSION OF THE EMBASSY.

The envoy had opened, during his residence at Bushire, such communications with the great authorities of Persia, as gave him every encouragement in going forward. Having staid there two months, he began his progress in great state ; the train of attendants of all sorts being so numerous, that there can be no doubt this embassy will be recollected in the country for scores of years to come, as having nearly caused a temporary famine in all the districts of the line of its march : so that it is not only by the quarrels of monarchs that the people (the "Achivi") may be punished, but also by the measures for maintaining their harmony.

As anything like places of lodging or shelter were extremely rare, an encampment of tents was pitched at the end of every stage, by a party of men called *Feroshees*, appointed and accustomed to the employment, and directed by a *Bashee*, who was "very clever, and probably a great rogue," in sign of which latter quality, "he had lost an ear, the

forfeit of some former misdemeanour." "The Persians are so accustomed to this manner of life, that they pitch and unpitch a camp with the most perfect dexterity and order."

PERSIAN ENTERTAINMENT AND ETIQUETTE.

Not far on the road they were treated with a capital scene of Persian splendour and etiquette, on meeting the personage finally appointed to the government of Bushire, whose dress, beard, and manners carried much of the nobleman, and whose dagger "glittered with precious stones." They had again the penance of twisting and crooking their English-grown limbs as nearly as they could into Persian forms of elegance. The great Khan, however, seemed to commiserate the graceless stiffness of their knees, and tightness of their pantaloons, and begged they would extend their legs at full length. But "fearing," says our author, "to be rude, we chose to be uncomfortable ; and really, with respect to my own feelings, I thought that complaisance was never carried further." No small efforts at a compensation for this grievance were made, both in this interview, and at a dinner given by the Khan in the evening, by means of a luxurious quantity and diversity of sweetmeats, fruits, and delicate liquors. The Persians are "indescribably fond of sweetmeats, which they eat in very great quantities. Their cooking, indeed, is mostly composed of sweets. The abundance of fruits and sherbets presented daily to the envoy by the Mehmandar, proved the immense supply which the taste of the country demanded." In the entertainment here mentioned, the Khan set our English and Scotch performers to work upon "articles composed of almonds, pistachio nuts, and a paste of sugar ;"—"others, like our allcampane and barley-sugar, all very nice,"—"pillaus made of mutton, with raisins and almonds, or of a fowl, with rich spices and plumbs"—"various dishes with rich sauces, and over each a small tincture of sweet sauce,"—"fruits ready cut,"—"sweet sherbets," and a most exquisite species of lemonade." But to think how comparatively trifling a cause may spoil the felicity of mortals ! Had any Persian of the ancient faith been a spectator of this delicious entertainment, he would indubitably have attributed

the invention of the European dress to Ariman, as one of the most successful efforts of his malice. For listen to our author's tristful report :—

“The business of eating was a pleasure to the Persians, but it was misery to us. They comfortably advanced their chins close to the dishes, and commodiously scooped the rice or other victuals into their mouths, with three fingers and the thumb of their right hand ; but in vain did we attempt to approach the dish : our tight-kneed breeches, and all the ligaments and buttons of our dress, forbade us ; and we were forced to manage as well as we could, fragments of meat and rice falling through our fingers all around us.”

Lest it should be thought that he dwells too exclusively on the infelicity, and forgets to deplore the indecorum, of this predicament, it is but fair to show, by quoting one more sentence of the description, that the Persian delicacy had no right to take violent offence at this inevitable defect of cleanliness :—

“On the ground before us was spread the *sofra*, a fine chintz cloth, which perfectly entrenched our legs, and which is used so long unchanged, that the accumulated fragments of former meals collect into a musty paste, and emit no very savoury smell ; but the Persians are content, for they say that changing the *sofra* brings ill luck.”

In this, and still more in subsequent instances, he notices the remarkable quickness and adroitness, combined with gentleness of action, of the Persian waiting servants. In the present instance he says, “the servant who officiated, dropped himself gracefully on one knee, as he carried away the trays, and passed them expertly over his head with both his hands, extended to the lacquey, who was ready behind to carry them off.”

INFLUENCE OF ASTROLOGY.

In dismissing this polite and hospitable nobleman to enter on his office, one should just notice a remarkable point of contrast to the feelings and conduct of European nobles relatively to posts of honour and emolument,—namely, that he assumed the important office with very great reluctance, and had sent his majesty a present of several thousand pounds sterling to be excused, but in vain. It is probable that still more of his money must have been expended, and with equal benefit ; for he had consulted the astrologers, who are always some of the hungriest of mankind, about the most auspicious

time for entering the place he was appointed to govern, and was adjusting his march to enter precisely three hours before sun-set the next day. At a former period of his life, when about to depart on a mission to Calcutta, "he was ordered by these astrologers (as the only means of counteracting the influence of a certain evil star) to go out of his house in a particular aspect: as, unfortunately, there happened to be no door in that direction, he caused a hole to be made in the wall, and thus made his exit." One of the ceremonies appointed for giving *éclat* to his entrance on his government is worth mentioning: "From the town to the swamps were erected stages on which bullocks were to be sacrificed, and from which their heads were to be thrown under his horse's feet, as he advanced; a ceremony indeed appropriated to princes alone, and to them only on particular occasions."

CEREMONY OF THE ISTAKBALL.

At every place of any considerable population the party were met by what is denominated *istakball*, a tumultuary assemblage of people, on foot and on horseback, greeting the strangers with a complimentary hubbub of all sorts of noises and antics. One specimen will serve to represent all the rest:—

"Almost the whole male population of Kauzeron was collected to meet us. A bottle, which contained sugar-candy, was broken under the feet of the envoy's horse, a ceremony never practised in Persia to any but royal personages; and then about thirty wrestlers, in parti-coloured breeches (their only covering), and armed with a pair of clubs called *meals*, begun each to make the most curious noise, move in the most extravagant postures, and display their professional exploits all the way before our horses, until we reached our encampment. It would be difficult to describe a crowd so wild and confused. The extreme jolting, running, pushing, and scrambling almost bewildered me: while the dust, which seemed to powder the beards of the Persians, nearly suffocated us all. Probably ten thousand persons of all descriptions were assembled. Officers were dispersed among them, and with whips and sticks drove the crowd backwards or forwards, as the occasion required. Nothing could exceed the tumult and cries. Here, men were tumbling one over the other in the inequalities of the ground; there, horses were galloping in every direction, while their riders were performing feats with their long spears; behind was an impenetrable crowd; before us were the wrestlers dancing about to the sound of three copper drums, and twirling round their clubs. On every side was noise

and confusion. This ceremony is never practised but to princes of the blood ; and we considered, therefore, the honours of this day as a further proof of the reviving influence of the English name."

SHIRAZ.

Near the last day of December, 1808, the mission reached Shiraz, where, after a resolute and decisive assertion of superior rank, on the part of the envoy, against the pride of a number of Persian grandees, they made their entrance with very great difficulty, through the dense accumulation of slaves in the gate.

They had no sooner taken possession of the house assigned to them, than they were almost wedged, beyond deliverance, into its corners, by the immense accumulation of sweetmeats that came in on them as presents. Their individual powers and means of combat with so formidable an invasion soon totally failed, and the case had been hopeless, had they not luckily bethought themselves to call to their assistance the masticating forces of their "numerous servants, troopers, and *feroshes*."

At the hour appointed for their introduction to the Prince, they were conducted through two magnificent courts of his palace, and at length saw him seated in his chamber of audience, a kind of open room at the extremity of a third. Four times, at measured distances, they were formally halted, to second their conductor's "very low obeisance," with an English bow and move of the hat. This operation was executed the fifth time, on their reaching the edge of the floor that sustained that object which a Persian might not glance upon but with an aspect, and in a posture, expressive of willingness to subside into nonentity. In seating themselves, the party received from the royal indulgence the permission to extend their legs ; but "chose to be respectful and uncomfortable." Having stayed long enough to verify that the most gracious and flattering attentions of a great prince could neither alleviate nor compensate the sensation of having the knees bent in rather too acute an angle, they quitted the presence "with every precaution not to turn their backs as they departed."

As no popular assemblies are held at Shiraz for the discussion and settlement of the civil list of Ali Mirza's regency,

the people have not an opportunity of formally testifying how gladly they contribute the large revenue necessary to support his magnificence, and how cordially they prefer the expending of their resources in making him splendid, to the employment of them in making themselves comfortable. But after we are told how he "lavishes his revenue," as Mr. Morier is pleased to express himself; how that, "in the costliness of a hunting equipage, the fantasies of dress, and the delicacies of the harem, are frittered away a hundred thousand *tomauns* a year;" it is as gratifying as it is unexpected to learn that the people fully admit the enlightened conviction, that the court ought to maintain a sumptuous splendour, whatever be their own distresses.

WATER-SPOUTING AND ROPE-DANCING.

The fortnight spent by the party at Shiraz was full of bustle and amusement. The festive pomp which prevailed without intermission, was in several instances carried up toward the sublime, by tumultuous discords of all manner of music, and exhibitions of rope-dancing, fire-eating, and water-spouting. This last operation was performed by a negro, who appeared on the side of a basin of water (in which three fountains were already playing), and by a singular faculty which he possessed of secreting liquids, managed to make himself a sort of fourth fountain, by spouting water from his mouth. "We closely observed him," says Mr. Morier; "he drank two basins and a quarter of water, each holding about four quarts, and he was five minutes spouting them out." The rope-dancer was a man of great merit in his profession, a man better qualified to make a figure and command attention among all portions of the universal human race, than any person at that time in Shiraz, excepting scarcely even the prince with his diamonds. One of his numerous feats was to "ascend the rope to a tree in an angle of forty-five degrees." His rope was so high that a "slip would have been his inevitable destruction."

FILIAL RESPECT AMONG THE PERSIANS.

It is noticed as an instance of only the customary manners of filial respect, that the minister's son, "a man about thirty, and of much consequence in Shiraz, never once seated himself in the apartment where his father sat, but stood at

the door like a menial servant, or went about superintending the entertainment." As this first man of the prince's court may fairly be assumed as a model of Persian refinement, it was well to describe some of his convivial graces :—

"As the envoy sat next to the minister, and I next to the envoy, we very frequently shared the marks of his peculiar attention and politeness, which consisted in large handfuls of certain favourite dishes. These he tore off by main strength, and put before us ; sometimes a full grasp of lamb, mixed with sauce of prunes, pistachio-nuts, and raisins ; at another time, a whole partridge, disguised by a rich brown sauce ; and then, with the same hand, he scooped out a bit of melon, which he gave into our palms, or a great piece of omelette thickly swimming in fat ingredients."

There is much silence and despatch in the Persian feasts : "no rattle of plates and knives and forks, no confusion of lacqueys, no drinking of healths, no disturbance of carving, scarcely a word is spoken, and all are intent on the business before them. The dishes lie promiscuously before the guests, who all eat without any particular notice of one another." When the performance is finished, it may well be supposed to be quite time for water to be brought for ablution ; till the arrival of which, our author says, "it is ridiculous enough to see the right hand of every person (which is covered with the complicated fragments of all the dishes) placed in a certain position over his left arm : there is a fashion even in this."

THE ROYAL AUDIENCE.

The *Moharrem*, or season of mourning for Hossein, the son of Ali (the Persians being of that division of the Mahometans denominated *Sheyabs*, or followers of Ali), had suspended all matters of ceremony and business at court before the arrival of the embassy, notwithstanding their diligent haste to reach Teheran before this solemnity. It was, therefore, received as a mark of signal respect to his Britannic Majesty, and a good omen, that a very early day was appointed for the introduction of the English commoners to the successor of Cyrus and Darius, and Abbas and Nadir Shah. "They proceeded through miserable streets which were crowded by the curious,"—entered the first court of the palace between two thick lines of soldiers,

who were disciplined and dressed with some resemblance to the English manner—dismounted at the imperial gate—and, as something a little in the nature of paying toll, produced to full view the royal letter, and the presents intended for his majesty: how they proceeded through dark passages till they came to a small room, where some of the high nobility were in waiting to entertain them a little while, till the king should be ready, and where they took, very composedly, their coffee and pipes; and how they then went forward through sundry courts filled with guards, and finally arrived, through a dark and intricate passage, at a “wretched door, worse than that of any English stable:—

“The door was opened, and we were ushered into a court laid out in canals and playing fountains, and at intervals lined with men richly dressed, who were all the *grandeesh* of the kingdom. At the extremity of a room, open in front by large windows, was the king in person. The conductor then said aloud,—

“ ‘*Most Mighty Monarch, Director of the World,*

“ ‘Sir Harford Jones, Baronet, Ambassador from your Majesty’s Brother, the King of England, having brought a letter and some presents, requests to approach the dust of your Majesty’s feet.’

“The king from the room said in a loud voice, ‘*Khosh Amedeed*, you are welcome.’ We then took off our slippers and went into the royal presence. When we entered, the envoy walked up towards the throne with the letter; *Mirza Sheffeea*, the prime minister, met him half way, and taking it from him, went up and placed it before the king; he then came back and received the presents from my hands, and laid them in the same place. The envoy then commenced a written speech to the king in English, which at first startled his majesty, but seemed to please him much as soon as Jaffier Ali Khan, the English Resident at Shiraz, came forward and read it in Persian.”

His Majesty answered in a handsome manner, *extemporaneously*, with wishes for the continued alliance and increasing friendship of the two states, with inquiries respecting the English monarch’s health, and with compliments on his choice of an envoy. He asked whether “his brother,” the present king of England, “were the son of the former king, with whose subjects he had had communications;” and when he was told that the same king was still reigning, he exclaimed, “the French have told me lies in that also!”

(For they had spread the report that the King of England was dead.)

In one of the interviews his majesty blazed out upon them in the imperial radiance of his very finest jewels, some of them reputed to be among the richest in the world. A pagan poet of Rome that had beheld such a vision, would have instantly comprehended his duty of intimating, in sonorous hexameters, his majesty's future position among the constellations, himself the brightest on "yonder argent fields;" and would perhaps have added, that but very little change would be necessary in the translation. Our Christian prose-men could afford none of these prophetic melodies and reversionary tracts of waste sky. But they might have promised him, what would probably have gratified him a great deal more, the hopeless envy of some of the prime exhibitors of jewels in the European state shows. They might have added, too, if they chose, that in the European nations (which abound, he must know, with great philosophers, moralists, and divines, and are incomparably higher in the exercise of sound understanding than all the rest of the world, saving his Persian majesty's own dominions), it would be accounted the most romantic folly to trust to the effect of talents and virtues merely, for influence in the community; and that, in the absence of both the one and the other, it is not thought absurd to rely for respect and influence on such a kind of dignity as may be stitched on a man's coat, or painted on his equipage.

PERSIAN NOTIONS OF AMERICA AND ENGLAND.

"His Majesty asked what news from the *Yensee Duncea*, that is, the new world, as they call America. He inquired, 'What sort of a place is it? How do you get at it? Is it under ground, or how?' He then talked of our government; and appeared aware that the kings of England could do little without the intervention of their parliament. In the explanations which followed this subject, his Persian majesty was visibly astonished that any limitation could be placed to royal authority."

DRAMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE DEATH OF HOSSEIN.

A monarch so fine on the outside, cannot need to adopt, in any rigorous degree, the oriental policy of keeping out of sight, in order to command the reverence of the people.

Accordingly, he suffered himself to be familiarly looked upon several times during the three months of Mr. Morier's residence at Teheran. One of the times was, when, at the end of the Moharrem, he distributed rewards to the various classes of actors who had performed, during several days, the sort of tragic opera of the death of Hossein.* The English gentlemen were spectators and auditors of many of the speeches and shows of this ceremony. At many of the spectacles in the performance, the multitude vociferated, and wept and beat their breasts, with every appearance of "ferocious zeal." But the most curious part of the account is that which, in relating the last scene of the tragedy, describes the deportment of the ministers of state, who seem possessed of one faculty or art beyond their fraternity in other countries : though it must be owned, we are not told that even the Persian statesmen gave signs of distressed sensibility at any other than mimic tragedies, or think it worth while to weep, even in show, at national calamities ; at the oppression, extortion, and wretched poverty, under which millions of their countrymen are groaning.

"During this scene the prime minister cried incessantly ; the *Ameened-Dowlah* (lord-treasurer) covered his face with both his hands, and groaned aloud ; *Mahomed Hussein Khan Mervee* (deputy lord-chamberlain) made at intervals very vociferous plaints. In some I could perceive real tears stealing down their cheeks, but in most I suspect the grief was as much a piece of acting as the tragedy which excited it. The king himself always cries at the ceremony ; his servants, therefore, are obliged to imitate him."

THE PERSIAN HAREM.

The harem contains more than a thousand women ; and a singular part of its arrangement is, that all the officers of the king's court are there represented by females. There are women *feroshes*, and there is a woman *ferosh bashee* ; women *chatters* (running footmen), and a woman *chatter bashee* ; there is a woman *arz-beggee* (lord of requests), and a woman *ish agassi* (master of the ceremonies) ; in short, there is a female duplicate for every male officer ; and the king's service in the interior of the harem is carried on with the same etiquette and regularity as the exterior economy of his

* See Ockley's *History of the Saracens* (Bohn), p. 408, et seq.

state. His majesty had, at the time of our author's visit, sixty-five sons ; and, "as the Persians make no account of females, it is not known how many daughters he may have ; but he is supposed to have about an equal number of both sexes."

THE MAN AT THE TOP, OR DEFERENCE TO RANK.

The greatest part of their local manners is relative to their respective ranks, and, as our author states, is regulated to the utmost punctilio by established prescription. Viewed from the lowest rank upward, their manners consist solely of a mechanically adjusted and almost equal servility through all the stages ; viewed from the highest rank downward, they present as regular a gradation of arrogance and oppression. The man at the top is the only one that may do as he pleases ; and it should seem that he takes the benefit of his privilege ; for, as far as appears, he acts as the paramount and sole legislator of the realm. Nor is he any bungler at the work. He legislates effectually. We will only instance in one department. He was led to direct his royal consideration to the heinousness of the sin of theft, and he resolved to extirpate the practice. Accordingly he gave orders that every detected thief should be tied by ropes between two young trees, previously drawn by main force to meet each other ; the cords that keep them in this position are then cut, and each of them springs off with a division of the criminal. This law is enforced inflexibly and instantly on the detection. The consequence has been a degree of safety before unknown to persons and property on the roads.

MENTAL INDUSTRY.*

As mental exertion is the kind of toil regarded with the most dread and aversion by mankind, while it is, nevertheless, indispensable to their welfare that a proportion of men be induced to undergo it ; and as, also, there is among the generality of even tolerably cultivated persons, a very low

* The Lives of John Selden and Abp. Usher. By John Aikin, M.D. 8vo. 1812.

estimate of both what may, and what should, be effected in this department; there cannot be a too frequent exhibition of the most memorable examples of successful mental industry. The vexation with which we should confidently hope that, in some hundreds of instances, a book like this will be read (and really we are afraid, as to those who can read such a book *without* vexation, that, to the greater number of them, it will not be of much use to read at all, either this or other books) this vexation will be a proof of the utility of such works. The quiescence and self-complacency of lazy spirits, yet pretending, perhaps, to somewhat of faculty and of attainment, have some little chance of being beneficially disturbed by such an exhibition: while men of some real exertion and acquirement are taught by force, that a great deal is yet to be done to bring them to even the middle point between the perfectly vulgar state of the human mind, with respect to exertion and intellectual wealth, and the state exemplified at the upper extreme of mental cultivation. And, therefore, though Selden and Usher had not, by their studies and writings, done one particle of good *directly*, they would have conferred *indirectly* an inestimable benefit on society, by practically furnishing such an admonitory and stimulating illustration, of what can be accomplished within the short space of human life.

It is still better, when, from the circumstances of the period and place in which the distinguished persons lived, the record of their lives must necessarily bring again into view, and in some degree into discussion, subjects of very great importance to the present and to all times;—it is so much the better, provided, we mean, that the writer of this record is a person of such extensive information, sound sense, and candour, and such a temperate lover of liberty, and yet zealous enemy to tyranny of all sorts, as the author of this volume. The times of Selden and Usher, and the transactions in which they were, to a considerable extent, actively or passively concerned, should often be brought back to the view of Englishmen, as supplying a grand practical commentary on both the slavish principles at present so prevalent, and those violently extreme ones into which the ardent friends of freedom are always in danger of being carried by the recoil of antipathy.

JOHN SELDEN.

John Selden was born in Sussex in 1584, received his early education at the Free School of Chichester, and was equal to the composition of a Latin distich at the age of ten. This first literary exhibition, however, was not indicative of his vocation, to which nothing could well bear less resemblance than the making of verses. He early commenced the study of law, at the inns of court; "but the bent of his genius rather inclined him to closet researches into the history and antiquities of the law, than to the practice of it as a pleader. Wood affirms that 'he seldom or never appeared at the bar, but sometimes gave chamber counsel, and was good at conveyancing.' This inclination was doubtless fostered by the friendship which he cultivated with such men as Camden, Spelman, and Cotton, with whom he became connected on setting out in life." While quite a youth he wrote a work on English antiquities; from the preface to which Dr. Aikin quotes a most uncouth and pedantic sentence as a specimen of his Latin style, which, though afterwards much improved, never attained classical simplicity or grace.

About the age of thirty, "he gave to the public his largest English work, and that which affords the most copious display of his profound research into the history and antiquities of his own and other modern countries; this was his treatise on 'Titles of Honour.' Three years later appeared his work 'De Diis Syris,' which "placed him at once in the rank of the first scholars of the age, and introduced him to the men of letters throughout Europe." Its "primary purpose was to treat of the false deities mentioned in the Old Testament, but with this he joined an inquiry into the Syrian idolatry in general, and occasional illustrations of the ancient theology of other heathen nations."

SELDEN'S HISTORY OF TITHES.

By his next work, 'The History of Tithes,' published in 1618, "he exposed himself," says Dr. Aikin, "to a contest 'with the powers that be,'—a contest always formidable to those whose only weapons are pen and ink, and whose only alternative becomes apology or patient endurance."

Though it is presumed that Selden, like the other lawyers of his time, was an enemy to the doctrine of the divine right of tithes, his book was not written with any avowed intention of controverting it ; he insisted that he had written and intended purely and exclusively a history ; and that, without at all touching the question, or designedly invalidating any evidence, of the *divine* right, he had made an ampler contribution towards a proof of the *legal* right than all other writers. The very rumour, however, of his work excited alarm ; and its appearance caused a complaint of the clergy to his majesty, previously, as it seems, to any trial of the effect of argumentative censure,—the point of precedence being given to the most *efficient* critic and polemic. The author was summoned into the presence, held two learned conferences with his majesty, and had begun to flatter himself that his explanations and his respectful humble deportment had pacified the royal displeasure, when he received a citation to appear before some members of the High-Commission court, where he was reduced to make and subscribe an humble and “unfeigned protestation” of grief, and deprecation of anger, on account of the publication and tendency of the obnoxious book.

ROYAL METHOD OF SETTLING CONTROVERSIES.

The book was prohibited ; and while all had full liberty to write whatever they pleased against it, and did write with virulence, the author *was forbidden to write in its defence*. He himself affirms that “at an audience of the king, at the time when Montagu was preparing his ‘Confutation of the History of Tithes,’ his majesty sternly forbade him to make any reply, using these words: ‘If you or any of your friends shall write against this confutation, I will throw you into prison:’—‘a truly royal way,’ says the biographer, ‘of interposing in a literary controversy.’”

This iniquitous zeal of the monarch (James I.) in support of that *divine right* which Selden was deemed to have impugned, was exerted partly as a grateful return, and partly as a new incitement, to that correspondent zeal with which it was very important to him that the ecclesiastics should abet *another* divine right—that of kings. And, certainly, the people were under some little obligation to him for the bold,

undisguised simplicity of conduct, by which, as in such instances as the one here recited, he was pleased to rid this latter question, as concerning himself, of all complexity arising from any *secondary* grounds of right. Such a mode of governing might tolerably satisfy them that he had, at any rate, no other rightful claim than that same *jus divinum*; and the men who had grown above the superstition of believing in *that* right, could have no questions, but those of prudence, to settle respecting their duty of obedience to a monarch, who would forbid an author to vindicate his book with arguments against its patronized assailants, and forbid a nation to read the history of its own institutions.

SELDEN'S FORBEARANCE.

It might have been expected, perhaps, that such treatment of a man of talents and distinguished fame, would have impelled him quickly to a decided coalition with those indignant spirits that were now beginning to make some irreverent inroads on the despotism, even through the formidable fence of divine right. But whatever were his opinions or his resentments, he could not help feeling that an enraged monarch was a very fearful object to look at, or to hear; that "the king's wrath is as the roaring of a lion; but his favour as dew upon the grass." This benignant dew was invoked to fall by some servile and hypocritical offerings to the literary and theological vanity of the royal pedant, "humbly presented," says the biographer, "with an address which cannot be read without a very painful sense of the degradation incurred by literature, when brought in collision with power, unless supported by a proper sense of its own dignity." In the whole of this sacrifice made to the will and prejudices of the sovereign, we discern that "indulgence to his safety" which Lord Clarendon mentions as a feature in the character of Selden. It is, at the same time, to be observed in his favour, that this very censurable conduct (and the subsequent course of his life presents one or two more instances of nearly similar demerit) is not to be ascribed to a worse cause than timidity; for, though not qualified for a hero or a martyr, he was not mercenary; nor does he exhibit anything of that "honourable ambition," as it is usually called, that eagerness for station and office, which

has so often given a character of littleness to men of talent and literary acquirements in recent times. And even these delinquencies resulting from his timidity, were partially redeemed by his general fidelity to the cause of freedom, throughout the course of public conduct into which he was drawn by the great political questions in which he was not allowed to remain neutral. That state of hostility between the parliament and the king, which was leading to such memorable events, had advanced to a rapid and ominous interchange of the respective acts of offence—the remonstrances and royal reprimands, the protestations and dissolutions—when the parliament called for the information, which Selden was qualified beyond any other man to give, concerning the ancient privileges of that body.

SELDEN IMPRISONED BY CHARLES I.

In 1623, he was returned to parliament by the borough of Lancaster; but had full leisure for the prosecution of his studies—the political warfare languishing, through defect of energy on the royal side, during the last two or three years of James. When it resumed its animation with the commencement of the new reign, we find Selden by no means declining the danger, but actively co-operating with the friends of the people against the tyrannical proceedings of the court, as directed by the unprincipled favourite, the Duke of Buckingham. As an appropriate reward and stimulus, in his patriotic course, he was, in 1629, and the following year, accommodated for a very considerable time with apartments, first in the Tower, and afterwards in the Marshalsea prison. But we must not regularly attend his progress any further. A few brief notices may suffice for the sequel of the memoir. His learned studies were indefatigably and with little interruption pursued during this imprisonment, and for several years afterwards, and resulted in several works on Jewish laws and history, and in the revisal for publication of the treatise, composed many years before, entitled “*Mare Clausum*,” which has probably contributed the most to the notoriety of his name.

SELDEN'S PARLIAMENTARY LIFE.

Selden was a member of the Long Parliament, and took

an active and useful part in many important discussions and transactions. He appears to have been regarded somewhat in the light of a valuable piece of national property, like a museum or great public library, resorted to as a matter of course, and a matter of right, in all the numerous cases in which assistance was wanted, from any part of the whole compass of legal and historical learning. He appeared in the national council, not so much the representative of the contemporary inhabitants of a particular city, as of all the people of all past ages, concerning whom, and whose institutions, he was deemed to know whatever was to be known, and to be able to furnish whatever, within so vast a retrospect, was of a nature to give light and authority in the decision of the questions arising in a doubtful and hazardous state of the national affairs. He was uniformly found acting with the friends of freedom ; but yet evinced such a friendly moderation with respect to the king, such a disinclination to the demolition of the national constitution, and such an unquestionable superiority to any mean views of self-interest, that he was held in great respect by the royal party. He protested equally and zealously against the measures of both parties in their commencing approaches toward war ; but when the mutual demands and resentments had rendered it inevitable, he deemed it his duty, as a citizen and a public man, to continue to take a practical interest in the national concerns—and, therefore, to take that side on which, whatever errors his judgment charged upon it, he regarded the balance of justice as decidedly preponderating. He judged it enough that he could perceive which of the parties, and that he was absolutely certain that only one of them, afforded any ground of hope for national liberty. But when this cherished hope had declined with the progress, and at last perished with the complete ascendancy of a military tyranny, he withdrew in a great measure from public business, and was consoled by the unabated delight with which he could still pursue his learned studies. To these his pertinacity of application was such that he could not, sometimes, endure interruption even from his learned acquaintance, and it is told “that when Isaac Vossius sometimes was ascending his staircase to pay him a visit, when he was engaged in some deep research, Selden would call out to him from the top that he was not at leisure for conversation.” This inde-

fatigable course was prosecuted, with probably very little remission, till near the end of his life, which took place "on the last day of November, 1654, sixteen days short of the completion of his seventieth year." As to the use which such a life of thinking had taught him to make of religion at the close of it, we are informed that—

"Sensible that his end was approaching, he sent for his friends, Primate Usher and Dr. Langbaine, with whom he discoursed concerning the state of his mind. He observed 'that he had his study full of books and papers of most subjects in the world; yet at that time he could not recollect any passage wherein he could rest his soul, save out of the Holy Scriptures; wherein the most remarkable passage that lay most upon his spirit, was Titus ii. 11, 12, 13, 14.'"

SELDEN'S RELIGIOUS OPINIONS.

His opinions on controverted doctrinal points appear to have been kept very much to himself; but the biographer very fairly presumes that the spirit of his motto, "Liberty in all things," was extended to his theological inquiries, and that the legitimate consequence might very probably be some defect of exact conformity to any model of faith, prescribed by national authorities, or taught by the leaders of sects. Some rather licentious observations in his "Table-Talk," appearing to implicate in some degree as well his moral sentiments as his faith, are considered by Dr. Aikin, as only a sort of free and sometimes witty vivacities, to which he would not have given his authority as serious principles. He was not favourably disposed toward the puritans, except as the enemy of the persecuting measures employed against them; and he was consistently, not less the enemy of that intolerant spirit strongly manifested, on the attainment of power, by some of those who had previously suffered and protested under persecution.

SUPERSTITION AND ITS EFFECTS.*

SUPERSTITION is one of those agents, at the operations of which we have in a great measure ceased to wonder, as we

* Hindoo Infanticide: an Account of the Measures adopted for Suppressing the Practice of the Systematic Murder, by their Parents, of Female Infants. By Edward Moor, F.R.S. 4to. 1811.

naturally do after we have come to attribute to any agent an indefinite power. Such a power we have insensibly learnt to recognise as possessed by superstition, while beholding the continually widening display of its effects in all times and countries. Nor does any examination of the essential nature of superstition remove the impression thus received from viewing its effects, by discovering any certain principles of limitation to its power. Our settled conviction, therefore, concerning it is, that there is no possible absurdity or depravity of which it is incapable. We have seen that the destructive sentiment by which it acts is so variously applicable, that it can operate on every part of the whole moral system of this world; can dissolve all cements, disturb all harmonies, reverse all relations, and in short confound all order: insomuch that there is no crime which it may not sanction and even enjoin,—no notion too futile or too monstrous for it to proclaim as a solemn truth,—and scarcely any portion of dead or living matter which it may not denominate a deity, and actually cause to be adored.

It is not now, therefore, any matter of surprise, when we find, among the results of any recent inquiry into the state of a distant heathen nation, evidence of the existence among them, in former or even the present times, of the practice of human sacrifice; whether the victims are the captives taken in war, or unoffending mature individuals of their own people, or some of their own infant offspring. It was nothing strange, even after all we had been told of the gentle virtues of the people of India, to hear that they would sometimes throw their children to the alligators in the Ganges, as a sacrifice to the goddess of that river. For keeping a great national goddess, this would by no means be counted an extravagant expense; and seldom perhaps have the favourite deities of any mythology cost less. A very long extract, inserted in the work before us, from Bryant's Analysis, is enough to show that, wherever the demon crew of gods and goddesses have obtained an establishment—that is, all over the world—they have demanded to be adored in sanctuaries consecrated by the blood of some that have even been their adorers, and that in many places they exacted as victims, by a marked choice, the persons that might be supposed the dearest to the sacrificers; as if they would take hostages for the per-

petual and still more prostrate submission of their nations of slaves. It is really most striking to consider the terms of compact consented to with deities of their own creation, or accepted from pandemonium, by a race that would universally renounce, as too hard, the service of the supreme and beneficent Governor of the world.

MORAL EFFECTS OF IDOLATRY.

Illustrations, from former ages, of the aptitude of the human nature to yield itself in alliance and servitude to a diabolical power, and of the rites performed in recognition and celebration of that league and devotement, have left to the explorers of lands lately or still but imperfectly known, very slender means, either from fact or invention, of trying the strength of our faith. Tell us that there are idols there, and then they may tell us just whatever they please besides, that is odious and hideous. We know perfectly that is an established law of the Divine justice that what was harmless metal, or wood, or stone before, can no sooner be shaped and promoted into an object of worship than it becomes, in effect, a dreadful repository of malignant power, an emitter of diffusive and blasting curses, as if it were actually inhabited by a mighty fiend. Mankind will most certainly be made to suffer the effectual agency of hell from that in which they shall choose to recognise the arrogated attributes of heaven. The moral effect of idolatry, indeed, is so infallibly evinced, and is so intensely impious, that the imagination of a good man, would with difficulty avoid associating, literally, the presence of an unseen malignant intelligence with the insensible idol; insomuch that we are persuaded it would have required, in such a man, no ordinary firmness of nerves to have passed, without some oppressive sensations, a day or a night alone in the temple, and the immediate presence of the hideous god of the Mexicans, and would now require it to maintain a perfect composure in such a retired interview even with Juggernaut—an entire security the while from any mischievous human agency being supposed.

HINDOO INFANTICIDE.

Much fewer words, we confess, might have sufficed on this obvious point, that superstition has shown itself of

sufficient power for any imaginable atrocity, and that, therefore, the destruction of Indian children by their parents, has nothing at all of the marvellous in it, when *the gods* are concerned. But the view of this ready obedience to the demands of the gods, would not have prepared us to hear of whole tribes or nations destroying, systematically, almost all their female children, *without* any direct intervention of superstition, and merely as a matter of convenience and custom; and this, too, without any of that difficulty of procuring subsistence which is, among the savages of North America and New Holland, and also among the Chinese, the cause, and the plea alleged, for the frequent destruction of their offspring. Such, however, is the infanticide which the present work exposes.

This practice was found prevailing among the Raj-kumar and other tribes, in and near the province of Benares, and in the peninsula of Guzerat, and the country of Kutch, forming a considerable portion of territory toward the mouths of the Indus. The first part of the work is a report made in 1789 by the late Mr. Duncan, then resident at Benares, the first person who gave clear information of the existence of the custom. On ascertaining the prevalence of the crime among the Raj-kumars, he lost no time in making representations to them on the subject; and not without hopes of effecting its abolition; since, he says, "All the Raj-kumars with whom I conversed did, while they admitted the fact, fully acknowledge its atrocity; in extenuation of which, they pleaded *the great expense of procuring suitable matches for their daughters, if allowed to grow up.*"

The tribe were admonished that one of their own sacred books condemns the practice, threatening the destroyers of females with the punishments of one of the hells, during a period of prodigious length. The Brehma, Bywant Purana, with its prohibitions, and its threatenings of "the Naraka, or Hell, called Kat Shutala," had been in the hands of their Brahmins, and its contents properly reported to the other principal persons of the tribe, a sufficient number of centuries, without having the smallest efficacy against the crime. It was the quality of the preacher, rather than the text, that now at last effected the reformation. The good

doctrine was inculcated on their consciences by the agent and representative of a power, the sound of whose cannon had been heard over India, and whose battalions they knew to have dispersed, wherever they had encountered, the greatest armed crowds of the believers both of the Puranas and of the Koran. Not that they could have any direct apprehension of being subjected to the operation of violence in case of refusing to discontinue the practice; but it is a well-known fact in human nature, that great physical power in the instructor, mightily assists the intellectual faculties of the instructed, even when there are no eminent signs of the coercive or vindictive exertion of that power.

It is not exactly stated in what force this pacific logical emanation of our cast iron and combustible ammunition passed the limit of our own territory, to convey persuasive influence into the minds of that more numerous proportion of the tribe of Raj-kumars that were under the government of the Nawaub Vizier of Oude, at that time a sort of independent sovereign; but it could not fail with that division of them that knew themselves to be directly subjects of the English government. At the same time, we really may wonder that the innovation was accomplished so speedily. For it appears to have been at most but very few weeks between Mr. Duncan's first conversing and remonstrating with them on the barbarous practice, and his obtaining the signature of all the principal persons among them to a solemn written covenant, in which, in consideration of the wickedness of the custom, the future punishment threatened in the sacred books, and the displeasure of the British government, they bound themselves to renounce the practice of infanticide, and to expel from their tribe any one who should in future be guilty of it.

The question anticipated and answered by Lord Teignmouth, in adverting to this tribe and this monstrous barbarity, will have suggested itself to every reader:—

“By what mode a race of men could be continued under the existence of the horrid custom arises partly from the exceptions to the general custom, which were occasionally admitted by the more wealthy Raj-kumars; more particularly those who happened to have no male issue; but chiefly by intermarriages with other Raj-put families, to which the Raj-kumars were compelled by necessity.”

INFANTICIDE IN KUTCH.

The second chapter contains a much more ample account of this practice as prevailing in Kutch, a maritime tract near the eastern mouths of the Indus, and in Kattywar, which is the country name for the peninsula of Guzerat. The full evidence of its existence then was first obtained by Mr. Duncan, when at Surat and Bombay, in 1800, and several following years. The first unquestionable testimony from natives was given by a man of consequence in Guzerat; and the fact was confirmed in communications from Capt. Seton, who was on a political mission at the principal port of Kutch, and afterwards, with still more ample statements, by Major Walker, the Resident at the court of the Gaikawar, in Guzerat. Captain Seton wrote, in answer to Mr. Duncan's inquiries, that in the family of the Rajah of Kutch: "Every female infant born of a *ranni*, or lawful wife, was immediately dropped into a hole dug in the earth, and filled with milk, where it was drowned." The law was not extended to those of the Rajah's female children whose mothers were slaves. Captain Seton added, that the whole tribe or caste to which the Rajah belonged, also destroyed their daughters, except two persons, who saved each a daughter, through fear of not having "heirs of any sex." He then enumerated other tribes who were in the same practice, but specified one tribe, the Soda Raj-puts, who turned its prevalence among the rest to most excellent account, by rearing their daughters to sell for wives to these other tribes. When these preserved females become mothers, "it might be supposed," says he, "that they would be averse to the destruction of their daughters; but from all accounts it is the reverse, as they not only assist in destroying them, but when the Mussulman prejudices occasionally preserve them, they hold their daughters in the greatest contempt, calling them *majen*, thereby insinuating that their fathers have derogated from their military caste, and become pedlers." This last part of the statement he confirms in a communication made after a progress through Kutch, in 1808. "Such," he says, "is the barbarous inveteracy of these women" (the daughters of the Soda tribe), "that when married to Mahometans, they continue the same practice, against the inclination and religion of their husbands; destroying their own

progeny without remorse, in view of the advantage of the tribe from which they are descended, whose riches are their daughters."

INFANTICIDE IN KATTYWAR.

The chiefs of Kattywar are tributary to the Gaikawar, the chief personage in Guzerat, with which personage the Honourable Company is on such terms of alliance as to have a military resident at his court. Major Walker was the resident at the time to which this work chiefly relates; and as he was to be at the head of a detachment of English troops, in a grand military progress which was going to be made through the whole peninsula of Guzerat, in the name and behalf of the said Gaikawar and his ally, the Lord Company, in order to settle, once for all, the rate of tribute to be paid by the would-be independent chiefs, he was instructed to combine with the leading purpose a *prudent* effort to obtain the abolition of infanticide. It was to be prudent, for, as the Supreme Government observes:—

"The speculative success even of that benevolent project, cannot be considered to justify the prosecution of measures which may expose to hazard the essential interests of the state; although, as a collateral object, the pursuit of it would be worthy of the benevolence and humanity of the British Government."

Major (since Colonel) Walker accomplished the projected expedition in 1807; and from Baroda, in the eastern part of Guzerat, despatched to Mr. Duncan, Governor of Bombay, a long report, dated in March, 1808, of the measures which he had employed for the suppression of infanticide in Kattywar. Mr. Moor has given paragraphs to the amount of more than three hundred.

MODES OF INFANTICIDE.

The Jarejahs "spoke freely of the custom of putting their daughters to death, and without delicacy or pain, but were more reserved on the mode of their execution. They appeared at first unwilling to be questioned on the subject; and usually replied, 'it was an affair of the women;'—'it belonged to the nursery, and made no part of the business of men.' They at last, however, threw off this 'reserve.' Several acknowledged methods of committing the crime are

enumerated; but especially two,—that of putting opium in the infant's mouth, and that of drawing the umbilical cord over its face to prevent respiration. The use of the before mentioned expedient of drowning in milk was not confirmed to Colonel Walker. Sometimes the victim is laid down, and left to perish without any application of violence. In short, the mode of perpetration is not subjected to any invariable and indispensable rule.

"To render the deed, if possible, more horrible, the mother is commonly the executioner of her own offspring. Women of rank may have their slaves and attendants who perform this office, but the far greater number execute it with their own hands. They have been known to pride themselves on the destruction of their daughters, and to consider their murder as an act of duty."

With very rare exceptions, the murder is perpetrated immediately after the birth; and "it would be considered," says the Resident, "a cruel and barbarous action to deprive the infant of life after it had been allowed to live a day or two." Yet he had ground to believe that this still greater atrocity does sometimes take place. The extinction of such a life is regarded by a *Jarejah* as an event of the utmost possible insignificance. "The occurrence excites neither surprise nor inquiry, and is not made a subject even of conversation."

It would be quite certain beforehand, that no nation could have a prevailing crime of which the priests of a false religion would not know how to make their advantage. In the present instance, the wonder is how the *Raj-Gurs** can have been content to make so little.

"The infant, after it is destroyed, is placed naked in a small basket, and carried out and interred. In Kattywar, any of the female attendants of the family perform this office; but in Kutch it is done by the domestic *Raj-Gur*. The *Raj-Gurs*, who bury the infants that perish, receive a fee of one *kori*, which is a coin equivalent in value to one-third of a rupee, or about ten pence sterling; and a meal." "In Kutch, the female *Raj-Gurs* are sometimes the executioners of the infant instead of the mother."

* The *Raj-Gur*, otherwise called *Raj-Gurn*, is literally the priest, tutor, or preceptor of a *Rajah*; but the term is applied to the domestic *Brahman* of any family in this country.

ORIGIN OF INFANTICIDE.

A number of observations relative to the origin of the detestable custom are dispersed here and there in this Report. A current tradition among the Jarejahs is, that in some ancient time, a "powerful Rajah of their caste," having a daughter of eminent beauty and accomplishments, to whom, after a most anxious search far and near, he could find no man of sufficient rank and merit to be a husband,—while yet it would be a grievous calamity and disgrace for her to remain in celibacy,—consulted, in this distress, his Raj-Gur, who advised him to put her to death. He was long averse to this savage expedient, both on the ground of affection and religion; and he cited those denunciations in the *Sastras*, or sacred books, which affix enormous guilt to the murder of a woman. The Rajah's repugnance and fear, however, were, in the end, overcome by a general offer of the priest to "load himself with the guilt, and become in his own person responsible for all the consequences of the sin." Ever since that time the daughters have been destroyed. This legend is of no authority with Colonel Walker; but he says something that seems to imply, that this story of the transfer of the guilt has had an effect, even down to the present time, as a salvo, if such a thing were wanted, for any small remainder of conscience that could serve amidst a general and inveterate custom; and that it has had this effect through a notion that the transfer was representative and virtually perpetual,—removing the guilt from the infanticide parents to the Raj-Gurs through all generations downward. He ascribes to the Jarejahs a sufficient degree of credulity to be entirely confident of the efficacy of such an adjustment.

Having dismissed this story, he suggests that the abominable custom may have originated at the time when these Hindoos are recorded to have inhabited the country of Sinde, a tract lying on the Indus, between the country they now inhabit and Persia. The Mahometans, in the early period of the progress of their religion and empire, conquered this territory, and converted, after their manner, a large proportion of its Raj-put inhabitants. Colonel Walker conjectures that the Jarejahs, resisting this conversion, and at the same time becoming surrounded by tribes who had embraced a new faith (and so rendered themselves unworthy

to obtain, as they had been accustomed, the daughters of the Jarejahs for wives), determined rather to destroy their female offspring than either, on the one hand, submit to the debasement of such affiances, or, on the other, incur the disgrace, and perhaps guilt, of bringing them up to remain unmarried. The Colonel omits to notice, however, that on this plan, they must very soon have resolved to quit the country; since they would be as much deprived of all resource for wives for their sons, as for husbands for their daughters. At a more advanced period of his inquiries, he mentions another tradition, to which he is inclined to attribute much probability; namely, that—

“Some of the early Mussulman invaders of the Jarejahs’ country, experienced the determination with which they defended their liberties, united policy to their arms, and sought to consolidate their interests in the country, by demanding the daughters of the Rajahs in marriage. The high-spirited Jarejahs would not brook the disgrace, and pretended they did not preserve their daughters; but fearful of consequences, and apprehensive that force would be resorted to, in order to obtain what was refused to entreaty, they in their extremity listened to the advice of their Raj-Gurs; and, deluded by the fictitious responsibility which they accepted, the practice of infanticide originated, and has since been confirmed.”

REVERSAL OF MORAL SENTIMENTS.

Whatever was the period or the immediate cause of the commencement of the practice, it had attained such inveteracy and general sanction as to effect, throughout a whole people, a clear positive reversal of that system of moral sentiments which has often been pronounced, by the admirers of human nature, to be substantially inseparable from the human mind, in its sane state. We say reversal, rather than merely suspension or abolition. For several passages in these multifarious documents assert, and others clearly imply, that the Jarejahs have somewhat piqued themselves on this custom, as an honourable distinction of their tribe. They felt it as a mode of proclaiming to the neighbouring nations that they were too dignified a race to set any value on so trivial a produce as human females, and yet also that their very daughters would be beings too respectable to be

put in subjection to even the best of the superior sex of any other tribe.

CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF INFANTICIDE.

But the more ordinary influential motives combined with the powerful influence of general custom, were stated to be, an aversion to the trouble of rearing and disposing of the children, and a mixture of pride that would not affiancé a daughter without giving her such a portion as would show from what an illustrious tribe she came, with the avarice that refuses to charge itself with such an expense. In some few instances this pride may have overborne this avarice, and a daughter has been spared. Affection, or humanity, or a sense of duty, were found by the Colonel not to have been the inducements to the saving of the extremely few females that had been permitted to escape the common fate. He met with only two instances that could be imputed to such principles.

It should be observed, that the law of destruction takes effect much less generally on the illegitimate female offspring; whose mothers are held by the Jarejahs in a capacity between wives and slaves, and are taken, with little care of selection, from any of the neighbouring tribes, whereas they show the utmost nicety of pride in selecting their wives from the most honourable Raj-put families; "even the poorest and lowest Jarejah feeling the utmost solicitude not to taint his blood by an improper alliance." It is not, as may easily be supposed, from humanity, that these infants of meaner quality are frequently spared, "but rather," says Colonel Walker, "from a contemptuous opinion of their inferiority. These children are not considered to belong to the caste, and their future situation in life is of little consequence, though the pride and prejudices of a Jarejah make him occasionally also destroy his spurious offspring." These daughters are "bestowed on Mussulmans, or on Hindoos of an inferior caste; and their settlement is attended with little expense or publicity; the motives, therefore, which lead the Jarejahs to destroy their legitimate daughters, do not exist with equal force with respect to those by the *rackilas*, or mistresses."

Colonel Walker acknowledges his want of any good data

for a calculation of the number of female infants that annually thus perish by violence, though he has made many inquiries, and received several loose estimates on the subject, from persons considerably acquainted with the country. A number between fifteen and twenty thousand would probably be the mean of these calculations of the yearly destruction in Guzerat and Kutch.

MEASURES FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF INFANTICIDE.

It would be gratifying to abridge the narrative of Colonel Walker's indefatigable and most meritorious exertions for the suppression of this unequalled enormity, if our limits now allowed room for anything more than an animated congratulation to him and to the very cause of virtue itself, on the complete *success* of those exertions, throughout one wide portion of the country in which they were so judiciously and so resolutely prosecuted. In the remoter part of it, the territory of Kutch, the fear of the English had not yet grown to a sufficient strength to second effectually the force of persuasion; and the Colonel's repeated and earnest appeals to their humanity, and what they call their religion, had thus far failed, though the time is very likely not far distant, when they also will begin to feel the illuminations of that *logic* which has so mighty a power over Asiatic understandings—and indeed those of all other nations. But in Guzerat the great object of Colonel Walker's exertions is accomplished. He persevered in spite of all the obstructions which would have reduced a less determined spirit to despondency and inaction; and finally persuaded almost all the Jarejahs of any consequence in the country to subscribe such an engagement to renounce the abominable custom, as expressly subjects them, by their own consent, to a punishment from the British and Gaikawar governments in every subsequent instance of infanticide. At the date of the latest notices here inserted, the Colonel had remained long enough at Baroda to ascertain that the measure was proving effectual, and to receive the most gratifying demonstrations of gratitude and joy from both the mothers and fathers whose offspring he had thus reduced them to a kind of necessity of preserving. He is one of that privileged and enviable class of men whom Providence has employed, each

to accomplish *some one* grand distinct operation in the great process of reforming the world.

IMPORTANCE OF ENGLISH INFLUENCE IN INDIA.

It is in a train of happy moral revolutions, corresponding to this, that we earnestly hope we see the intention of Providence in facilitating what appears so strange an irregularity in the economy of the world, as the acquisition of a vast empire in Asia by the people of this island. We do not know in what way those persons among us who do not care for such revolutions, or who deprecate and hate the projects for effecting them, maintain their complacency on the subject of India, amidst the evidence, growing every year more glaring, that *in any other view* our Indian successes are a great and almost unmixed calamity. We know not in what way,—unless they are expecting the state of the case to be reversed in consequence of a miracle of moral transformation, speedily to be wrought upon the managers of power in this ill-fated world. Unless this shall come to pass, we must expect that India—which used to be dreamed and ranted about as an exhaustless source of wealth to the nation—will continue to be, no one can conjecture how long, a most destructive drain on our domestic resources, absolutely a pit to throw the hard earnings of the English people into, and at the same time a pernicious vent for an influence that is poisoning our morals. But the period must sometime arrive when either wisdom or necessity will change this condition of things ; and in the meanwhile, it will be a consolation, and partly even a compensation, to the benevolent and religious part of the community, that the English power in India is operating as the cause of most important innovations among the people,—in some particular instances by a direct authoritative interference, and more generally by that indirect and even involuntary sanction and weight, which the supreme power in the country necessarily gives to whatever benevolent and pious undertakings it protects. For how many wasted millions (no apology, however, for the men, and the system that have wasted them) will it be a *moral* compensation, that, twenty years hence, there will be very many thousands of human beings of an age to reflect with gratitude, that it has been owing to English inter-

ference that they were not all murdered in their natal hour ; and who will, therefore, have a most powerful motive to receive with favour, and consent to promote, the measures by which the English may at that time be solicitous to diffuse among them civilization and Christianity. And if at length a general civilization and Christianity in India shall be the result of such measures as could *not have been prosecuted so effectually but under advantage of the ascendancy of the English power*, what a triumphant balance of good will this be against that grievous pecuniary burden which the possession of India imposes on us, and will impose for a long time yet to come.

BISHOP WAYNFLETE.*

THE bishop was a very faithful member of the Romish church, and behaved himself with a dutiful consistency when appointed, with several other high ecclesiastics, on a commission to sit in judgment on the writings of Reginald Pecock, Bishop of Chichester, who had received holy orders at the same time, and from the same bishop, as Waynflete ; but had at length adopted the tenets of Wickliffe, and preached zealously against the corruption of the higher clergy. The sentence had, however, rather less of vengeance in it than might have been expected from the spirit of the church, the ferocity of the times, the formidable tendency of the offensive novelties, and the rank and character of the class of persons most directly aggrieved. Those persons were such as, happily, we shall never see again.

“The spiritual lords were then served on the knee, and had pompous retinues ; some, it is related, appearing abroad with as many as fourscore attendants, their horses all bedecked with silver trappings. So splendid was the mitre when conferred on

* The Life of William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, Lord High Chancellor of England in the Reign of Henry VI., and Founder of Magdalen College, Oxford. By Richard Chandler, D.D., formerly Fellow of that College. Royal 8vo. 1811.

Waynflete; whose approved moderation, with the worthy uses to which he destined *his* revenue, was well adapted to conciliate the temper of his adversaries. He persevered in his wonted and unaffected humility."

When a man dared to attack a most firmly compacted and powerfully armed body of men like these, and to "render, by his eloquence, the grandeur annexed to episcopacy a subject of public clamour and indignation," we think he really should have been too much prepared for consequences to "die of chagrin" when "he was sentenced to sit in his pontificals, as Bishop of Chichester, at the feet of the archbishop, and to see his books delivered to the flames, in St. Paul's church-yard; besides undergoing other disgrace, and retiring to an abbey on a pension."

FOUNDATION OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE.

But Waynflete is represented as having done perhaps as much mischief to the Popish cause by his zeal in the promotion of learning, as all his other labours did it good; and the society of the college (Magdalen) founded and endowed by him at Oxford, was conspicuous for producing zealous abettors of the Reformation. This college was sincerely intended as a service to learning, perhaps nearly as much as to Popery. If there was an additional object, the perpetuating of the fame of the founder, that was, of course, according to the principles of human nature, a motive of far inferior force. This institution was the grand and favourite work of his life, and it will be the main preserver of whatever reputation has become connected with his name. This institution was cherished, watched over, and provided for, with the most affectionate solicitude to almost the last day of the founder's life, which was the 11th of August, 1486. His will "bequeaths his soul to Almighty God, the Virgin, Mary Magdalene, and the patron-saints of his cathedral," and among sundry other arrangements, enjoins on "his executors to cause five thousand masses in honour of the five wounds of Christ, and the five joys of the Virgin Mary, to be celebrated on the day of his burial, the trental of his obit, and other days, as soon as possible, for his soul, and the souls of his parents and friends." A magnificent chapel, for his tomb, had been prepared in Winchester Cathedral during

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his life-time, with a waste of expense very strongly illustrating the prevalence of superstition, or vanity, or both, in the mind of a man so really desirous of promoting more public and liberal objects.

Our quota of dues to his character will have been fully paid, when we have added Dr. Chandler's finishing eulogium :—

“Humane and benevolent in an uncommon degree, he appears to have had no enemies but from party, and to have disarmed even these of their malice. His devotion was fervent without hypocrisy ; his bounty ‘unlimited except by his income. As a bishop, he was a kind father revered by his children ; as a founder, he was magnificent and munificent. He was ever intent on alleviating distress and misery. He dispensed largely by his almoner to the poor. He enfranchised several of his vassals from the legal bondage to which they were consigned by the feudal system. He abounded in works of charity and mercy. Amiable and affable in his whole deportment, he was as generally beloved as respected. The prudence, fidelity, and innocence, which preserved him when tossed about on the variable waves of inconstant fortune, during the long and mighty tempest of the civil war, was justly a subject of wonder. He conciliated the favour of successive sovereigns of opposite principles and characters ; and the kings his benefactors were, by his address in conferring obligations on them, converted from being creditors into debtors.”

EXQUISITE NONSENSE.*

MR. GAISFORD's diction will excite a good deal of curiosity and wonder. We are much against the practice of going on all occasions into superlatives ; but we think that even after deliberation, we should be inclined to say, it is the strangest lingo we ever read or heard. In the utter want of order and logical dependence in the train of thoughts, the composition is not so very dissimilar to that of many works of which we have occasion to “tread the crude consistence.” But the

* An Essay on the good Effects which may be derived in the British West Indies, in Consequence of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade. By Stephen Gaisford, Esq. 8vo. 1811.

anomalous construction of sentences, the uncouth collocation of words, and the samples of new coinage introduced here and there, place it almost out of all parallel or competition. It is not, however, unamusing to have an opportunity of seeing the two opposite extremes of anything that declines from its best to its worst, by a very long gradation; and the curious reader may form his conjecture at the number of differences of English style, in the descending degrees of merit, that may find room between, for instance, the composition of JUNIUS, and such as that in the following passages:—

“Colonial fidelity under all changes, and the protection of mother countries, are reciprocal obligations; and with these advantages the functions of society are not difficult to preserve in colonial communities. This is, however, alluding to the possibility of an event confessedly more agreeable cursorily to notice, than formally to anticipate. A crisis the drift of this essay is unexceptionably to caution against rather than accelerate; as the occurrence of it ought in no way or shape to be indispensable to the happiness or safety of any colonial class or colour, and is to be deprecated from an apprehension entertained, not indeed of the loss of these colonies by the change, but of the possibility of their connexions with the parent state, being thereby weakened in the expedient support of a national zeal, a natural allegiance and attachment so useful in colonial relations. An epoch certainly rendered far from being improbable, by a continuance of the protracted policy of the past, instead of a new order of things which West Indian colonial affairs immediately called for.”

“Barbarous customs, which have disgraced polite nations capable of instructing the world by their wisdom, and fastening to the memory of their existence the meed of celebrity, for the most profound truths and enlightened philosophy.”

“It would be choking reason to disbelieve the existence of the abuses of power in ancient slavery.”

“Not, however, to dwell upon the principles of an institution at the beginnings of the same, let us trace the origin of slavery as far as reason and the evidence of nations assimilate with our design, and furnish our sources of conjecture.”

“The individual unable to provide for himself, is not likely to provide for, nor indeed to be the possessor of a family, consequently his generation very soon passeth away, agreeably to evangelical denunciation.”

“Having laid the origin of slavery at the threshold of society,

I must reconcile this hypothesis with the theory of facts deduced from the ingress of man into the social temple, the sole repository of human wisdom, yet, of all its other systematical efforts, the least able to elucidate the mystery of itself."

"Equally difficult it is also, for the enslaved exile to understand our language and ideas, and being destitute of a formation of mind or soul, to repose imperfect conceptions of either, or fasten the recollection of instruction, confidence beyond perpetual superintendence is unattached to their slavery."

"The fields of this country (the West Indies) are, however, the golden staff of its renown, to trace their rural policy, one must wade through the Augean mire of slavery, I would spare the reader and myself the unpleasing task, if I knew the way of exposing an unprofitable law and deleterious system, by keeping aloof in clean paths."

"Behold an expedience founded on the basis of right! an expedience unlike that of our slave-trade, established in one century, and falling to pieces in the next; but an expedience able to keep pace with perpetuity, and exist until invisible time, freighted with the annals of moral transactions, shall have run its incomprehensible circuit; and the mysterious fiat of human existence being revoked, mortal affairs can be no more."

It is irksome enough to have the task of bringing out such a quantity of rubbish to public notice; but we have heard it intimated that the presumption is always against the equity of men of our craft, when they pronounce a book to be ill written, and omit to justify the sentence by formal proof. The excessive wretchedness of the composition of this volume is the more strange and the less tolerable, as the author demands to be regarded as a man of literary attainments. For he quotes the Latin of Horace, even that Horace who wrote in the Augustan age; and tells us how the Greek term corresponding to our word "industry" is compounded, and what it therefore signifies.

INFLUENCE OF SCENERY ON THE MIND.*

It has been ascertained, we suppose, by the experience of many self-observant men, that, in a mind partaking

* Journal of a Tour in Iceland, in the Summer of 1809. By William Jackson Hooker, F.L.S. 8vo. 1811.

of that kind of sensibility which is akin to genius, some degree of correspondence takes place between the habitual state of the imagination, and the character of that scene of external nature which is most constantly presented to the senses. Let two persons, endowed with an equal share of sensibility to this external scenery, be allotted to pass seven or ten years of life, especially during its more susceptible periods; the one on the sea-coast, the other generally out of sight of all water but that of the draw-well; the one in a dreary, the other in a cultivated and beautiful part of the country; the one amidst a scene of mountains, rocks, and cataracts, the other on a dead flat, with a heavy regularity of horizon; the one in a deep confined valley, the other on a commanding eminence with a vast and diversified landscape; and at the end of the term, the state of the imagination, considered as an active power, will be exceedingly different in the two persons; and the quality of the figures, and of the colours, which it will supply to accompany and illustrate the communicated thoughts of the one and the other, will speedily indicate in which of the contrasted scenes each of them has resided. The man whose view shall have been habitually confined to a dull level tract, will perhaps have the most cause to complain of the effect on his imagination. This tract may be extremely rich, and, by a plentiful supply of provisions to the markets, and to the farmers' and cottagers' families, may render to the community a much more important service than that of giving a picturesque cast to the imagination of a musing and susceptible mind; and it must, doubtless, be a man of no ordinary enthusiasm for mental perfections and ideal possessions, that would forego the good things of a dull but plentiful territory, and be willing, during a course of years, to fare like the Highlanders, merely in order to acquire, by means of habitually viewing bold and magnificent scenes, a greater vigour and a richer furniture of imagination. But let the importance of the matter be estimated as it may, the fact will be, that the man of sensibility and genius, who shall have lived a series of years in such scenes, will display in his discourse and writing a more vivid character and power of imagery, than the other man, of equal capability, who shall have spent the same number of years in a dull flat region, where, after

residing some considerable time, he will become sensible of a certain tameness stealing over his fancy, correspondent to the monotony of nature around him. By the very constitution of the mind, we are compelled to *think in images*,—the severest efforts of intellectual abstraction not being able to carry the mind beyond the sphere of ideas of material forms. The images of objects that are the most constantly presented to us, will the most promptly offer themselves to us in the train of thinking, to lend as it were their shape and colour to our ideas, and to furnish endless analogies; and the more that any man possesses the faculty of imagination, the more in proportion, will the series of his thoughts be embodied and clothed in images, and accompanied by analogies. Now it is obvious, what a difference there will be between a series of thought which takes into its train, as it proceeds, the images that have been assembled in the mind from habitually beholding varied, romantic, and sublime scenes, and that series which passes through a mind in which the habitual set of images is chiefly derived from an uninteresting and monotonous scene of the world.

GRANDEUR OF ICELANDIC SCENERY.

And what has all this to do with Iceland? Why only thus much,—that we meant to say, any man of genius who may feel his imagination tamed and sunk in consequence of his having resided a long period in some dull, flat, and (if such an epithet may be applied to any part of the kingdom of nature) vulgar province of our country, may do well, if there is nothing arising from the consideration of time, or money, or health, to forbid him, to make a little expedition to Iceland, where everything will strike him as new, and strange, and marvellous; where the dull tranquillity of his mind will be broken up as by a volcanic commotion; and where such an assemblage of phenomena will rush on his senses, as might almost create an imagination though nature had given him none.

The voyage thither will, indeed, by bringing him in view of some of the mountains, coasts, and islands of Scotland, so rouse his faculties and change the state of his ideas, that he will not be suffered to feel, in absolute perfection, the con-

trast between a homely but fertile English country—with its meadows and corn-fields, its hedges, high roads, and villages, and here and there a hill or a stone, barely worth half an hour's walk after dinner—and the wild and dreary magnificence of these dominions of alternate frost and fire. Were so sudden or so unconscious a transition possible as to prevent any gradation of ideas, he might well be content to accept this contrast instead of a visit which he, like many other imaginative persons, may have sometimes wished to make to another planet.

REIKEVIG, THE CAPITAL OF ICELAND.

After several days of rough weather and tiresome beating about, and one instance of imminent danger from a sunken rock, our travellers got fairly into the direction of the bay of Reikevig, the capital of the island, and were carried in by some pilots, whose appearance and manners, as presenting the first moral sample of the country, engaged our author's utmost curiosity. The novelty, the grotesque character of countenance and dress, and the social, and, as it should seem, friendly disposition, prevented that unmingled disgust which would otherwise have been excited by their extreme filthiness, of which the several offensive marks and circumstances are recounted. They evinced a prodigious power of execution on the ship's eatable stores; and they appeared to recognise, with intuitive sagacity, that great principle of European wisdom, that there is no enduring existence on this side the Atlantic, without the leave and the assistance of planters on the other side; for they testified the liveliest satisfaction at the sight of snuff and tobacco, even the boys of fourteen making interest for a share of the latter. The humblest class of the inhabitants cannot but with extreme difficulty command a little of this luxury; but snuff is in general use, and is employed with so little neatness as to give a disgusting appearance to the visages of the people.

ICELANDIC HOSPITALITY.

It was, however, in a style widely different from this, that our author and two of his companions were received and entertained by the old ex-governor Stephensen, in the little

island of Vidöe, four mile from Reikevig. The dinner consisted of a number of plentiful and well-prepared courses, which followed one another, without any warning to the guests to provide for their reception. Consequently, being tolerably saturated with the first, they were forced to a considerable exertion by the second; they were alarmed and distressed when a third came in upon them; and the reader may guess what plight they were in, while fighting their way through a fourth and a fifth, which were followed by sundry fluid and solid addenda. They were forced to perform, and in no slender way, quite through to the conclusion. They shrunk, as much as they could, from so arduous a service; they represented, petitioned, entreated, remonstrated, protested, did everything that has ever been done against tyranny, short of absolute rebellion; but all in vain. The old governor was peremptory and relentless. "You are my guests," said he, "and this is the first time you have done me the honour of a visit; therefore, you must do as *I* would have you; in future, when you come to see me, you may do as *you* like." He excused himself from sharing their toils and perils on the plea of his age. Unwilling to end their mortal existence in this formidable island, they procured that their boat should be brought to for them; and they were carried off, like wounded soldiers, in a state of distress from which they were a considerable time in recovering.

INCONVENIENCES OF TRAVELLING IN ICELAND.

On being supplied with horses, tents, and a guide, Mr. Hooker set out on a journey to the *Geysers*, or great boiling jets. Seven horses were barely sufficient for himself, the guide, a German from the ship, who was to be interpreter by means of his speaking Danish, and the tents and provisions.

They advanced, through a country consisting either of a dreary moor, over which large masses of rock were every where scattered, or of a disagreeable morass, in which their horses every now and then sunk up to their bellies. The first day they passed a "perpendicular side of a hill, composed of basaltic columns, joined here and there, like those in Staffa, but not more than eight or ten inches in diameter,

and less regularly columnar." After a miserable night's lodging, on the moist and swampy ground, they went to breakfast at the house of a priest :—

"The only part of it to which we were admitted, was that in which the fish, tallow, wool, milk, &c., were kept ; for this being the best part of an Icelandic building, it is used for the reception of strangers. It had walls of alternate layers of turf and stone, without either cement to unite them, or plaster to conceal their nakedness, and the floor was the bare earth. One chair was all our host could furnish, and, indeed, there would not have been room for more, so completely was the place lumbered up with old chests, old clothes, &c. What little provision there was in the house was most willingly offered."

"At noon our friend was obliged to take leave of us, as he was under the necessity of setting off for Reikevig, where he was to preach a sermon before the bishop on the following morning. As there was every appearance of the rain, which fell in torrents the whole day, continuing, and of our being consequently detained, the priest assured us he would, if possible, be home the following day, that he might accompany us to Thingevall. We hardly expected him ; for, in addition to his own weight, his horse had to carry two large chests, containing tallow, wool, and worsted stockings, which were to be bartered for iron, and other articles of necessity, at Reikevig."

The thing was, however, accomplished, the wet clothes having never been taken off, not even for the display before the bishop.

THE GEYSER SPRINGS.

After witnessing, at Middalr, another station in the progress, a special scene of poverty, distress, and ingenuous kindness, at the house of the priest, our traveller diligently prosecuted his way towards the Geysers, and very reasonably exulted to find himself at length arrived in a tract where numerous boiling springs, and columns of steam, gave him warning of what he might soon behold. The principal and most distant of these columns of steam, soon drew him away from examining a beautiful sulphuric efflorescence on the heated ground, and admiring springs that were throwing up their boiling water several feet :—

"A vast circular mound was elevated a considerable height. It was of a brownish grey colour, made rugged on its exterior,

but more especially near the margin of the basin, by numerous small hillocks of some siliceous substance, rough with minute tubercles, and covered with a beautiful efflorescence. On reaching the top of this mound, I looked into the perfectly circular basin, which gradually shelved down to the mouth of the pipe or crater in the centre, whence the water issued. It was not possible to enter the basin, for it was filled nearly to the edge with water the most pellucid I ever beheld, in the centre of which was observable a slight ebullition, and a large, but not dense body of steam. At nine o'clock, I heard a hollow subterraneous noise, which was thrice repeated in the course of a few moments; the two last reports, following each other more quickly than the first and second. It exactly resembled the distant firing of cannon, and was accompanied each time with a perceptible, though very slight shaking of the earth."

"I was standing at the time on the brink of the basin, but was soon obliged to retire by the heaving of the water in the middle, and the consequent flowing of its agitated surface over the margin, which happened three separate times in about as many minutes. I had waited but a few seconds when the first jet took place, and this had scarcely subsided before it was succeeded by a second, and then by a third, which last was by far the most magnificent, rising in a column that appeared at least ninety feet in height, and to be in its lower part nearly as wide as the basin itself, which is fifty-one feet in diameter. The bottom of it was a prodigious body of white foam; higher up, amidst the vast clouds of steam that had burst from the pipe, the water was seen mounting in a compact column, which, at a still greater elevation, burst into innumerable long and narrow streamlets of spray, that were either shot to a vast height in the air, in a perpendicular direction, or thrown out from the side, diagonally, to a prodigious distance. The excessive transparency of the water, and the brilliancy of the drops as the sun shone through them, considerably added to the beauty of the spectacle. As soon as the fourth jet was thrown out, which was much less than the former, and scarcely at the interval of two minutes from the first, the water sunk rapidly in the basin, with a rushing noise, and nothing was to be seen but the column of steam, which had been continually increasing from the commencement of the eruption, and was now ascending perpendicularly to an amazing height, as there was scarcely any wind, expanding in bulk as it arose, but decreasing in density."

During the several days that Mr. Hooker remained in this much more than enchanted region, in which there are more than a hundred boiling springs with their columns of steam, there were many eruptions of the great Geyser, some of

them, at least one of them, to a considerably greater height than that of which we have extracted the description. The heat of the water was uniformly 212° of Fahrenheit.

At the distance of a few hundred yards from the great Geyser, there was another crater of very considerable dimensions, which was reported to Mr. Hooker as sometimes exhibiting phenomena of no contemptible order. The tents had, therefore, been pitched near it to afford the better station for watching its operations. It did not seem to make any extraordinary pretensions for some time, the water only boiling, and gently flowing over the side. The sensations which, therefore, came upon him in a moment may be conjectured, and must be envied by all his readers:—

“Whilst I was examining some plants gathered the day before, I was surprised by a tremendously loud and rushing noise, like that arising from the fall of a great cascade. On putting aside the canvas of my tent, I saw, within a hundred yards of me, a column of water rising to a perpendicular height of full one hundred and fifty feet, which continued for an hour and half, with but little variation, in a body of seventeen feet in its widest diameter; and this was thrown up with such force and rapidity, that the column continued to the very summit as compact in body, and as regular in width and shape, as when it first issued from the pipe. Standing with our backs to the sun, we enjoyed the sight of a most brilliant assemblage of all the colours of the rainbow, caused by the decomposition of the solar rays passing through the shower of drops that was falling between us and the crater. Stones of the largest size that I could find, and great masses of the silicious rock, which we threw into the crater, were instantly ejected by the force of the water; and, by the violence of the explosion, shivered into small pieces, and carried up to the full height of, and frequently higher than, the summit of the spout. One piece of a light porous stone was cast at least twice as high as the water, and falling in the direction of the column, was met by it, and a second time forced up to a great height in the air.”

AN ICELANDIC CHURCH.

On one of the latter days of Mr. Hooker's encampment on this unequalled spot, he was reminded of its being Sunday, by seeing a number of people passing on horseback toward a church at some distance; and he determined to attend the service; calling, by the way, at the house of an old lady;

who was celebrated as rich by the Icelanders, for she was the proprietor of "ten cows, five rams, and a hundred sheep." The account of the manners of the people as displayed in the church-yard previously to the service, and of their seriousness during its performance, is a curious picture of friendly simplicity, and, to all appearance, of sincere interest about their religion :—

"This spot (the churchyard), previous to the arrival of the minister on a sabbath, affords a most interesting spectacle. Numerous parties of men, women, and children, who had come on horseback, and in their best apparel, were continually saluting each other; and any person who had been absent from the place of worship for a more than usual length of time, either through illness or any other cause, was kissed by the whole congregation. As they were little accustomed to see strangers, they all flocked around us, presenting us with milk and cream from the neighbouring farm, and asking us a hundred questions. Many were surprised at our having come so far to see the Geysers, which they are accustomed to look at with the utmost indifference."

WONDERS FAMILIARIZED BECOME INDIFFERENT.

There will be some little reluctance to admit, what is probably the truth nevertheless, that if these amazing objects were in England, they would be regarded with similar indifference by the generality of the people after being long familiarized to the sight. It would be a very curious, and perhaps a very mortifying experiment, for even men of taste and philosophers to try, whether, and how soon, and by what perceptible degrees, *their* feelings also would decline from amazement, and inquisitive wonder, down to a comparative general indifference.

CHURCHES USED AS WAREHOUSES.

The churches are often made the places of temporary entertainment for strangers, as being larger than the apartments of the dwellings. In many instances, the inhabitants use them also as depositaries for their better clothes, which are lodged in chests that serve also as seats. They are, for the most part, miserable structures, with respect to convenience of any kind, but especially in the article of light, the small allowance of which must, we should think, reduce

the priest, on a misty day, to depend on his memory in performing the service. The established religion is Lutheran, from which, it seems, there are no dissentients.

EXTRAORDINARY SALMON FISHING.

He saw much that was grand and inexpressibly dreary in the country, and much that was wretched in the physical condition of the people, on his way back to Reikevig. Thence he made an excursion to be present at an annual salmon-fishing, in the river Lax Elbe, where he saw two thousand two hundred caught in one day. Two-thirds were cured for exportation, and the other given to the persons who had been employed in the fishery. This annual day presents a scene of extraordinary festivity and sociality; as most of the people from a great distance round assemble at the spot, in their best dress, and all classes mix and converse on terms of kindness and equality.

FIRE AT SEA.

Our author set sail to return to England near the end of August, and when the ship was twenty leagues distant from any shore it was found to be on fire, from the malicious contrivance, as it was afterwards proved, of some Danish prisoners at Reikevig. When they were all in expectation of immediate destruction, they saw a vessel approaching which proved to be an English ship, the Orion, which had quitted the harbour at the same time, but had, by means of superior sailing, been left far behind. The captain of this ship, however, had boldly ventured on a nearer, and reputedly dangerous course, and thus most providentially came up just in time, in time to one moment, to save all the crew. The whole cargo perished however, and all Mr. Hooker's collections and drawings.

LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.*

HOWEVER limited and precarious may be the Liberty of the Press in this country, we are yet, no doubt, at a considerable distance from the period when the circulation of every book, that may presume to tell a little offensive truth about recent and contemporary public characters, shall become a thing of such extreme difficulty and hazard, as it is now in France and most other parts of the Continent. Our situation in this respect is, perhaps, not entirely what a high-spirited and free people might wish; but still we do, by means of the press, obtain in one way or another, many pieces of such information concerning our occupiers of power, as the people of France have no chance of gaining with respect to *their* high political class. So much at least of the truth is suffered to be told, as ought to keep actively alive that necessary suspicion, that incredulity of official virtue, which no nation can dismiss without surrendering itself to imposition, extortion, and despotism. But in France, the great authorities now existing, and even those that have had their day, seem to be a subject as sacred and interdicted as the economy of the Grand Turk's seraglio. A book, that in ever so cool and chronicle-like a style undertakes to state plainly why a certain number of persons claim to be more noted for some time to come than the ordinary currency of names, is seized upon at the printing-office, or intercepted on its way to the publisher's; and if by some accident or legerdemain two or three copies escape, and make their way to the extremities of the empire, and this country, it is through such a series of lucky incidents and hair-breadth turns, as to furnish a little romantic history,—as curious as that of Sir Sidney Smith's escape from durance in France, or that of an enslaved captive, who baffles the precautions, the fetters, and the sentinels of the Dey of Algiers. The original of the present work is, it seems, in this category, and has had need of all a thief's dexterity.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONISTS.

Excepting the "Annals of Newgate," and two or three

* *Biographie Moderne. Lives of Remarkable Characters, who have distinguished themselves from the Commencement of the French Revolution to the present time. Three vols. 8vo. 1811.*

similar repositories of human renown, there never was a biographical work so miscellaneous, and comprising such a multitude of persons, in which the writers have seemed so uniformly willing for their subjects to be detested or despised.

It is obvious, however, that such personal histories, written by we know not whom, and published after a great proportion of them were no longer living to contradict erroneous statements, had the work been suffered to circulate,—cannot be accepted as a record on which we can confidently rely, or on the authority of which a future historian can make any one assertion not otherwise to be verified. In attempting to make use of the prodigious contradictory mass of memoirs, laudatory, apologetical, opprobrious, and vindictive, that came out in Paris during both the tumultuous and the declining season of the revolution, we may very well suppose, from the samples that came to this country, that the writers of this work must have found infinite embarrassment.

THE FACTIONS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

A most prominent subject throughout these memoirs, and to which almost every second page unavoidably reverts, is the dreadful and mortal conflict between the faction denominated the Mountain, the Jacobins or Terrorists, and the party of the Gironde. There never was a hostility more truly internecine, by intention, on the one side, and by necessity, and even duty, on the other. The progress and termination of this grand contest form one of the most afflictive views in all history. Whatever degree of visionary theory, or of personal ambition, might be imputable to the Girondins, among the chiefs of whom we hardly need to name Brissot, Roland, Guadet, Gensonné, Louvet, Lanjuinais, Kersaint, &c. &c., it is most evident that they were the only hope of France, after the monarchy was fallen. Theirs was the fine and cultivated talent, the sincere love of freedom, and the solicitude to preserve substantial justice, humanity, and order, amidst the tumultuous breaking loose of a great and depraved people from an inveterate slavery, to pass, as these eloquent philosophers promised themselves—alas! for the melancholy delusion—into the state of a well-ordered and happy republic. However hopeless this might have been foreseen to be, by less enthusiastic and

more religious speculators on the qualities of nations and of mankind, it is not the less grievous to see these men baffled in all their patriotic schemes and efforts; insulted, clamoured against, and menaced by a ferocious rabble that usurped and dishonoured the name of the people; losing ground, notwithstanding their faithful co-operation and their prodigious combination of eloquence, at each successive contest in the hall of what purported to be the national legislature; and finally sinking under the fury and the axe of the most dreadful league of demoniacs that the sun ever shone upon in one place. The mind is appalled in attempting to think what they even *ought* to have done in a situation quite unparalleled,—a situation in which, unless they could have thought it right to adopt prompt and summary measures for the personal destruction of the dreadful murderers with whom they were committed in a conflict absolutely inevitable, their own fate was but rendered the more certain by every effort they made to save the nation.

UNANIMITY OF THE GIRONDISTS.

It is some little relief to a tragedy so much more crowded with the novelties and the monsters of evil than poetry has ever presumed to feign, to see the spirit of amity and compact which prevailed among these patriots in their perilous and unsuccessful warfare, as contrasted with the mutual jealousies and deadly rancours by which their antagonists were tormented amidst their triumphs, and stimulated to destroy one another, in successive detachments of such victims as no man but a Christian could commiserate.

CAUSES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

If the deplorable state of the very nature of man, as illustrated so awfully by events and characters brought forth in this grand commotion, be a matter really too obvious to need a single remark, it is perhaps little less superfluous to make the more specific remark, that bad government, combined, indeed, with the ignorance and intolerance attendant on superstition, was the great immediate cause that prepared and produced this eruption of evil. The people of civilized nations are almost as unapt to insurrection and rebellion as ponderous bodies to fly off from the centre of attraction. They do not detest their courts and their

nobility, and despise their clergy, till the oppression exercised by these governing and enriched classes is become intolerable. When will the other old governments of the world condescend to learn from what has been seen in France, how to prevent revolutions?

ADVANTAGES OF ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCH.*

It is a remarkable circumstance, that the further we are removing from ancient times, the better acquainted we are becoming, in various points, with their condition and operations. For instance, in consequence of the labours of a multitude of critical scholars, some of them indefatigable, some of them acute, some of them ingenious, and a proportion of them combining all these qualifications, we are now, it is presumed, much less remote from something like a certainty of what were really the words written by the authors of classical antiquity, than any of their former readers have been, since the times immediately subsequent to their appearance. From a comprehensive investigation and comparison of all the known remains of ancient history, and the exercise of a philosophical speculation on the collective testimony, we have unquestionably attained both a clearer knowledge of the transactions, and a juster estimate of the characters, of ancient nations than were possessed by our forefathers. Our *picturesque* view, also, if we may be allowed the expression, of the people of remote ages, has distincter lines and more vivid colours; in consequence of liberal antiquarian research, and of fortunate discoveries, which have made us better acquainted with the structure of their abodes, their fortresses, and their temples, with their weapons, their domestic utensils, their dresses, their ornaments. An immense number and variety of faithful memorials of their living economy have been drawn from masses of ruins, have been dug from the ground, and have been discovered in grand assemblages in subterranean

* A Description of the Ancient Terracottas in the British Museum. 4to. 1810.

cities. And the long rest of the dead has been disturbed, in almost every quarter of the world, by the curiosity of Europeans to know all the circumstances of ancient inhumation. The venerable tumuli on our own plains and hills have been opened; and there is one most indefatigable investigator,* who has done more than any other man of the age, to finish the funeral part, but indeed not exclusively that part, of the picture, of the ancient inhabitants of this island, the view of whose rude memorials excites an interest hardly less solemn, because mingled with much more of the sense of darkness and mystery, than that inspired by the contemplation of the magnificent monumental ruins of Greece and Rome.

We might even add, that the physical state of the world in ancient times is, by a slow progress of discovery and speculation, becoming more known to us than it was to our ancestors, in consequence of the multiplied perforations of the strata nearest its surface, and the prodigious accumulation of fossil specimens of organic existence brought under the eager inspection of science.

There is cause to be pleased at this augmentation of the knowledge of the past world. The greater certainty of history, and the greater weight and precision which will be given to whatever lessons are ordinarily reputed to be taught by history, will not be all the advantage. What would strike us as a higher benefit is, the peculiar and elevated solemnity which a well-disposed mind is made to feel, in beholding the vision of the past world, while the shade that in a great measure veils it, is here and there removing, or becoming more attenuated, to disclose, though still in a gloomy and mystical light, some of its awful features. It may be hoped, perhaps, that such subjects of contemplation will somewhat aid the formation of a serious habit in the mind. They should naturally tend to prevent the thoughts from resting in dull and vulgar tranquillity on the little ordinary matters of life, and excite them to a certain earnest expansiveness toward remoteness and sublimity. And we wish it might not be too sanguine to hope, that the solemnity and enlargement of mind, thus favoured by contemplations of the past

* Sir Richard C. Hoare.

world, would render it more susceptible of the influences from that other side,—futurity, where views of still greater amplitude, solemnity, and sublimity are presented to contemplation, also through a medium partially mysterious and obscure.

On moral accounts, therefore, as well as in consideration of the improvement or gratification of taste, we are much pleased with the efforts that are making for the recovery of the relics and almost lost vestiges of antiquity. We are glad that a few exquisite remains of Athenian art have been saved and brought to this country, that we have gained some of the removeable memorials of the ancient Egyptians, that some of the Roman terracottas have been preserved for us so long in a dry well near the Porta Latina, that repositories have been filled from the houses of Herculaneum, that so many interesting monuments of the ancient Britons have been discovered on Salisbury Plain, and that the intelligent researches of future years will doubtless bring to light many more precious relics, in those countries especially where, at present, a barbarous government and state of society preclude, in a great measure the researches of artists and antiquaries. We are glad also that these treasures should be extensively made known to the public by means of accurate and elegant engravings, provided that it is not done in so very sumptuous and exorbitant a style as to preclude all but the decidedly wealthy part of the community from participating in the gratification and the knowledge.

ON ALLEGORY.*

PERHAPS no unpardonable sin against good taste would be committed by a man, who should wish that the method of instructing mankind by protracted and complicated allegory, might be laid aside for ever. Indeed, separately from any judgment dictated by the laws of good taste and literary merit, there is a moral consideration, not entirely

* The Pilgrimage of Theophilus to the City of God. 8vo. 1812.

inapplicable to the subject—it is, that the period and state of the world in which we are fallen, should have some influence on the choice of modes of written instruction. And if there is any fact in the character of the present times, that peculiarly claims to have such an influence, it is this, that the attention and the time of the community, are engrossed by an extraordinary combination of urgent circumstances, which force people to be, for the most part, very busy and very anxious. We think that, in consideration of this fact, those who write to convey instruction, will do well to adopt the most direct and perspicuous methods, instead of obliging their readers to expend their efforts in following it through circuitous courses—to toil in pondering and guessing the import of visions and allegories—and often to feel that their labour has resulted, after all, in nothing like a clear addition to their knowledge, or beneficial effect on their will.

ALLEGORY AN INFERIOR MODE OF INSTRUCTION.

This view of the matter assumes the inferior merits of extended allegory, as a mode of instruction. And, in truth, we suppose that almost all readers, so far as they reflect, have one conviction on this point. Every one's experience testifies that it is inefficient and unsatisfactory, whether, in reference to the laws of allegorical writing, it be executed well or ill. And we suppose that a long allegorical work will hardly be deemed well executed on easier conditions than these: that the story shall be mainly constructed of objects and facts, and not be a mere dialogue of qualities personified; that almost all the constituent matters of it, whether persons, actions, or scenery, shall be figurative and emblematical, the interior meaning being, to a considerable extent carried, with analogical proportion, into even the ramifications and minutiae of the fable; and that, at the same time, it shall be quite as complete, taken simply as a story, as if it had no such interior meaning. Now, to say nothing of the vast difficulty of such a performance, and the consequent probability of failure in almost every new attempt, it is evident that, supposing the attempt to be successful, in as high a degree as it is possible to conceive, the supposed moral purpose will be but slenderly effected. For one thing

it is a perfectly known fact, that extremely few readers are of a disposition to be at any considerable pains to discover the import of allegorical types, either where it is recondite or where it is obvious. But supposing them ever so intent on ascertaining it, no undertaking on earth can be more hopeless, than that of detecting distinct moral significances in the indefinite multiplicity of particulars necessarily included in the construction of a complete story,—of getting acquainted with the rational souls supposed to be latent in the endless variety of forms presented in the fictitious creation. By what previous exercises and proofs of his sagacity is any reader to assure himself, in entering on a long allegorical fable, that he shall readily and unerringly apprehend the moral import, for example, of the variety of the landscape views in the fabled region—of each of the enumerated kinds of trees, flowers, animals—of every edifice and its respective parts—of the diverse modes and colours of the costumes—and of all the actions of the animate and the rational beings represented? If it should be said that this is greatly overstating the requirements on his sagacity,—for that very many of these particulars are not meant to be allegorical, that the author has not pretended to put any moral or speculative soul within a great portion of the sensible objects represented for the sake of the mere completeness and verisimilitude of the story,—the reader's unfortunate situation is not at all mended. He now cannot know, probably in nine instances out of ten, whether the forms presented to him are mere shadows or painted shapes, meant only to amuse, in passing, his eye and fancy, or veritable philosophers and moralists, whom it becomes him to approach, and salute with deference and inquiry. It will seem to him hardly a due respect to the genius and wisdom of the writer to assume, without consideration, that this, and the next, and ten successive images, though he cannot discern any glimpse of the interior significance, are the mere play of poetry, or the properties or embellishments of picture. Yet, on the other hand, nothing could be more ridiculous than for him to be gravely detecting a hidden sapience of which the writer himself never dreamed. Think then what an enviable task this reader has on his hands. He has, at one and the same time, to contemplate the fable in its

palpable and foremost quality of a complicated scheme of action and scenery ; to ascertain which of the vast multitude of particulars, great and small, are allegorical, and which are not ; and to draw out in a precise form the respective moral significance of each and every one that he has discovered to have an important secret to tell. It is evident that if all this, or something near it, is not done, the pretended purpose of allegorical writing is not accomplished ; it is equally evident that all this, or anything near it, will not be done by one reader in ten thousand ; it is, therefore, evident, finally, that extended allegory, when executed even in the best manner, is, at least comparatively, a wretched misapplication of the writer's talent and labour.

SPENSER'S "FAIRY QUEEN."

The FAIRY QUEEN is beyond all question or comparison, the grandest work in this department ; and we may appeal to its readers whether they ever think of studying it as a system of moral philosophy. They would almost all confess that they read it for its marvellous adventures and exquisite descriptions ; pleased, undoubtedly they will say, and perhaps profited, by the moral reflections momentarily presented here and there through an interval of the imagery, but so occupied and satisfied with the obvious and superficial magnificence of the scene, as rarely to think of any attempt at digging into the precious mines reported to be underneath. Now and then perhaps they are visited by a rather ungracious consciousness that they are not obtaining all that the work might yield to them ; that they are even failing to obtain that which grave commentators, if not the author himself, may have professed to regard as the most valuable thing contained. They are perhaps excited to a slight attempt to develope the included wisdom ; but they find that this breaks the fascination of the story, and that, besides, there is something in every stanza to baffle this moral inquest. They are uncertain whether the object before them is an emblem or not, or, if it be, what it means ; they reflect, in excuse for their indolence, or in consolation for their dulness, that they can learn morality, with much more precision at all events, elsewhere ; and they then return to the mighty performer in a disposition to give him all due credit as a philosopher, but confessing

that it is not for his lectures but his magic that they attend him.

If such be the inefficacy, for moral instruction, of allegory in the most perfect state of execution it is ever likely to attain, it is hardly worth while to say a word about it as exemplified in a numerous tribe of clumsy performances; excepting indeed that in such performances it is often much more intelligible, as to its interior import, that it is in the "Fairy Queen," and than it would be in *any* work of that high rank of genius; from this plain cause, that men of little genius or none, are not masters of refined analogies and remote relations. A mind of Spenser's kindred perceives so many relations, real while not grossly palpable, between moral truth and the material world, as to be able to invest that truth, when putting it in the form of allegory, with a vast combination of various and unexpected symbols, all having some true relation to the subject, but not a few of them having so refined a relation that their import cannot be obvious to the generality of readers. Inferior allegories, on the contrary, will be likely to take their emblematical figures from the narrow tract of coarse and obvious relations,—with the exception of now and then a far-fetched absurdity, obtained by a desperate effort for boldness and originality. Thus the reader is saved an immensity of trouble; he is forced into none of those wanderings of conjecture and exercises of ingenuity to which he would be doomed, in prosecuting the abstract import of a superior work, through its wilderness of visionary fancies, its endless crowds of emblematical forms. But then, he is precluded from that delight of the imagination, by which it is pretended to be the very purpose and value of allegory to recommend the otherwise too austere instructions of truth. He is to receive these instructions under the guise of a few ordinary figures, which, instead of giving those truths the attractions of a new and variegated and animated vehicle, only force them into a less distinct, while it is not at all a more pleasing, mode of exhibition than their naked plainness would have been. Indeed, a main device of ordinary allegorists, has been, to invest doctrines, virtues, and vices, with a personal being, by the great and creative process of giving them a personal denomination, and then without more ado to set them a-talking; and Spenser, amidst the arduous toils of

his great performance, might have enviously fretted, if he could have foreseen with what facility *we* should be able to work an allegory to any required extent, by means of Mr. Proud-Spirit and Mr. Humble-Mind, Mr. Liberty and Mr. Self-Interest, and a countless generation of personages of all dispositions, occupations, sexes, and sizes, created with as much ease as Deucalion and Pyrrha made men by flinging pebbles backward over their heads.

BUNYAN'S "PILGRIM'S PROGRESS."

The *PILGRIM'S PROGRESS*, a work of real though confined genius, partakes somewhat of the higher, and doubtless much of the inferior, style of allegorical invention. Among religious readers, it has obtained an established favour which no criticism would much contribute either to confirm or impair. It has acquired so much of a certain venerableness of antiquity and prescription, and is the object of a partiality so kind and extensive, among even children, as an amusing story, and among their pious elders, partly from its having been a favourite of their childhood, and partly because it supplies much religious instruction, that all modern works of similiar object and construction necessarily appear under the greatest disadvantage. They are unavoidably brought in contrast with the old favourite, and the consequence is easily foreseen; so easily that we exceedingly wonder it does not deter all attempts at imitation. We think a little reflection would surely have convinced the well-meaning writer of the work before us, that if he had serious instructions to impart on different topics of religion from those exhibited in so lively a manner in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, it would be very much better to offer them in a plain didactic form than in an humble imitation of that work.

ISAAC D'ISRAELI.*

VERY considerable credit is due to the author's industry of research, and some praise to that benevolent vivacity which the musty smell of obsolete books, and the rumination on the injustice of mankind to bookmakers, have not been able to reduce to dulness or turn to acidity. He is himself of a liberal temperament in estimating and applauding the merits of authors and excusing their defects. So far as he has to act the critic he seems better pleased with the charitable part of his calling. As to his workmanship, it displays that freedom and that cast of reality, which cannot be given but by a writer who is quite at home in his subject,—at home not only in point of knowledge, but of complacency. He fondles his subject, coquettes with it, affects perhaps sometimes to reproach it as a thankless and rueful one, mourns over it with intermingled tears and antics, but through all the whimsical variation of feelings and manners, is ever faithfully in love with it. With such advantages, an author must be very slenderly endowed in what may be called the *metallic* part of the mental constitution, to fail altogether to please.

At the same time we think our author would not be abetted in very high claims, in the superior and severer order of qualifications. Provided he amuses, he is content, we conclude, to be told, that he writes with a very gentle effort of the understanding, with an extremely crude connexion of ideas, with a desultory attention to the given subject, with a not unfrequent intervention of quaint fantasies and something very like bombast, and with a general and excessive incorrectness of language. We conclude he would not be offended at being told this, because he appears to us to have made no effort whatever, during the lapse of years and the course of writing, to correct himself in these points. There are in the present work the same flippancy and frequent extravagance in the spurts or effusions of feeling, the same loose and frisking, and yet not seldom affected diction, and

* Calamities of Authors; including some Inquiries respecting their Moral and Literary Characters. By the Author of the "Curiosities of Literature." Two vols. 8vo. 1812.

the same utter abandonment of all the rules of construction. It is to us utterly astonishing how a man of sense and taste can have been so long busy in literature, so long observing how other men have put words on strings to make sentences, and so long doing it himself, without acquiring even mechanically the knack of doing it more correctly.

After all, we have here a very entertaining book,—if it be right in moral principle that a feeling which may be expressed by so light an epithet should prevail in the perusal of the memorials of such folly, vice, and wretchedness, as the author has displayed in humiliating attendance on talents and learning.

THE POETICAL WITS.

In the section entitled 'The Sufferings of Authors,' the poetical wits, Nash and Greene, are the chief subjects. Of the latter it is said, "Robert Greene, the master-wit, wrote the 'Art of Coney-catching,' or cheatery, in which he was an adept. He died of a surfeit of Rhenish wine and pickled herrings, at a fatal banquet of authors—and left us his legacy among the Authors by Profession, 'a groatsworth of wit bought with a million of repentance.' One died of another kind of surfeit. Another was assassinated in a brothel." Some extracts from the writings of Nash, give a strong and dark picture of the feelings of a man of genius suffering neglect and penury, and neither governed nor consoled by principles of piety. "Such men," our author truly observes, "but too often suffer that genius to be perverted and debased. Many who would have composed history, have turned voluminous party writers ; many a noble satirist has become a hungry libeller. Men who are starved in society, hold to it but loosely. They are the children of Nemesis ! They avenge themselves—and with the Satan of Milton they exclaim, 'Evil be thou my good !' Never were these feelings more vehemently echoed than by this Nash—the creature of genius, of famine, and of despair. He lived indeed in the age of Elizabeth, but writes as if he had lived in our own."

ARISTOCRATIC PATRONAGE OF AUTHORS.

Another section, under the title of "A Mendicant Author,

and the Patrons of Former Times," supplies some highly curious illustrations of the condition of literary men in those times, by relating the hapless fortunes of the poet Churchyard, of Elizabeth's age, Stowe the antiquary, and a still more pitiable composition of scholarship, simplicity, and wretchedness, under the name of Myles Davies, "whose biography," says he, "is quite unknown," and who was at first "a Welsh clergyman, a vehement foe to Popery, Arianism, and Socinianism, and of the most fervent loyalty to George I. and the Hanoverian succession." The wanton rudeness of aristocratical patrons, and the meanness, and in some instances downright knavery, of their returns for literary attendance and adulation, which, nevertheless, they were vastly willing to receive, are exhibited in combination with the pitiable and yet detestable toils of servility, and form a lively picture of modes of degradation which literature has now in a good measure outlived.

ROYAL ELEEMOSYNARY GRANT TO STOWE.

Stowe, in the *eightieth* year of a life of almost unparalleled antiquarian toils, obtained from the literary monarch James I. letters-patent under the great seal, permitting him, during the space of one year, "to gather the benevolence of well-disposed people within this realm of England; to ask, gather, and take the alms of all our loving subjects." These letters-patent were published by the clergy from the pulpits, but produced so little that they were renewed for another twelvemonths. One entire parish in the city contributed seven shillings and sixpence! Such then was the patronage received by Stowe to be a licensed beggar throughout the kingdom for one twelvemonth! Such was the public remuneration of a man who had been useful to his nation, but not to himself!

COWLEY, DENNIS, AND ORATOR HENLEY.

In a section on "Cowley and his Melancholy," we think there would have been no injustice in censuring much more freely the weakness and folly of a man of independent fortune, and immense intellectual resources, in letting his sensibilities be so much at the mercy of the tinselled personages for whom he had no respect, and from whom he wanted nothing.

A spirited sketch of the character and the forlorn, but almost deserved fate of the noted critic Dennis, forms the substance of the subsequent section. This is followed by a long chapter under the title of "Disappointed Genuis takes a fatal direction by its abuse;" and the subject is the once-famous "Orator Henley," who well deserved—not so much as an actor in civil or literary history, as a specimen in natural history—the labour our author has bestowed in bringing together all the recorded particulars concerning him. It is an extremely curious exhibition, and made in our author's most vivacious style—a style which crackles with innumerable smartnesses, and sometimes, it is but justice to say, hits on real brilliances and felicities, but is apt, like human creatures, to be most unlucky when most ambitious.

COMPATIBILITY OF STUDY WITH LONG LIFE.

A chapter on the "Maladies of Authors," cites some melancholy examples of men, whose too intense and unremitting studies have resulted in oppression of spirits, or premature death, such as Bayne, Cotgrave, Henry Wharton, Kirke White, and Macdiarmid. But the instances, we fancy, of men that really do themselves any great harm by excess of study, are extremely rare. No fact is more conspicuous in literary history than the compatibility of very great and prolonged mental industry with health and long life, as evinced by the multitude of instances of hard students, living to the age of from seventy to eighty, and not a few beyond this latter term prosecuting their labours to the very close of life!

LABORIOUS AUTHORS.

There is a long chapter under the title of 'Laborious Authors,' in which the chief figure is Anthony Wood, whose labours are highly commended, Joshua Barnes, and Cole, the humble friend of Horace Walpole. Cole had passed a long life in the pertinacious labour of forming an *Athene Cantabrigienses*, and other literary collections designed as a companion to the work of Anthony Wood. These mighty labours exist in more than fifty folio volumes in his own hand-writing. An extract is given from his manuscripts of the date of more than thirty years after the work was begun, descriptive of the dreary state of his feelings after

toiling at it so long, and yet declaring it would be still more miserable to abandon it.

We will transcribe a still more melancholy instance :—

“ Dr. Edmund Castell devoted his life to his *Lexicon Heptaglotton*. He laments the seventeen years of incredible pains, during which he thought himself idle when he had not devoted sixteen or eighteen hours a day to this labour; that he had expended all his inheritance—it is said more than twelve thousand pounds; that it had broken his constitution, and left him blind as well as poor. When this invaluable Polyglot was published, the copies remained unsold in his hands; for the learned Castell had anticipated the curiosity and knowledge of the public, by a full century. He had so completely devoted himself to oriental studies, that they had a very remarkable consequence, for he had *totally* forgotten his own language, and could scarcely spell a single word. It appears, that five hundred of these Lexicons, unsold at the time of his death, were placed by Dr. Castell's niece in a room so little regarded, that scarcely one complete copy escaped the rats, and the “whole load of learned rags sold only for seven pounds,” about the present value of a single copy.”

Almost all these sections will be found entertaining, and several of them ought to convey lessons of great utility to sanguine literary aspirants, and to those who fancy, that a little genius, real or self-imputed, will excuse the want of morals, or of common sense.

There can, we fear, be no comprehensive and specific cure for the evils peculiarly incident to authors as a class. The literary department will continue always to be attempted by numbers who must fail, and suffer all the attendant and consequent mortifications, or still heavier distresses. But we may hope, that a book like this may serve to deter a few who are in danger of yielding to the flattering temptation.

CARDINAL WOLSEY.*

ACCORDING to Mr. Galt, Wolsey was not only one of the ablest (for there can be no question or discussion about his talents), but one of the most upright, public-spirited, and

* The Life and Administration of Cardinal Wolsey. By John Galt. 4to. 1812.

wisely munificent men that ever interfered in the management of national affairs—worthy of all the elevation he attained, and worthy that his fall, like the sudden prostration of a colossus or a tower, should have crushed all who were contributing to it or desiring it. And how is this representation made out? Is it by large disclosures of new evidence? or by denying the facts on which the prevailing judgment is founded? or by original and refined reasonings to show that opposite inferences ought to have been drawn from those facts? No: the substantial matters of fact are, indeed inevitably, just the same in this as in former records; nor are they subjected to any laborious process of jesuitical chemistry to make them yield a different result. The business is done for the Cardinal by plain arbitrary assertions in his favour, thrown in here and there throughout the narration, and by a general gilding or varnish of laudatory epithets.

Nothing can be more dull than the writer's prosing and invective on the vanity of ambition, the folly of depending on the favour of monarchs, and the vices and errors of prosperous men. If Mr. Galt had, amidst his perverseness, betrayed something of the vigour, the originality, the ingenuity of some of the noted lovers of paradox, the Rousseaus and the Warburtons, we might have been amused, while yet regretting so unprofitable an employment of talents, to see one more wayward freak of genius (rash however beyond all preceding example), in the attempt to transform so notorious, so firmly and minutely delineated a character of history, as Wolsey. But such a wantonness of genius must have attempted its object partly at least in the way of invalidating records, or extorting from them a different testimony from what they have been usually understood to give, or qualifying their evidence into doubtfulness and confusion. As Mr. Galt has forborne such an operation, and, accepting the facts as told by former historians, has consented to repeat the story in a way which proves the profligacy of his hero, it is surely a strangely foolish and ill-supported whim to bedizen with the terms appropriate to excellence, a character confessedly formed from such materials.

WOLSEY'S BOUNDLESS AMBITION.

Wolsey's whole career manifests a boundless ambition as

the reigning quality of his character. It wrought and raged in his mind almost to insanity ; and there was no interest of earth or heaven which he was not ready to sacrifice to it. Now if Mr. Galt could not coincide with the oracles of religion, and with the maxims of the higher schools of moral philosophy, in reprobating, for a leading principle of action, a passion which is essentially a gross and direct mode of selfishness, and is sure to become by indulgence furiously insatiable, and to drive its slave towards all manner of iniquity, with the unremitting activity of a possessing demon ; and if he could not bring himself to pronounce an emphatical sentence of condemnation on the Cardinal for surrendering himself to be actuated by this evil spirit,—though this sentence is pronounced even by historians not pretending to any high refinements of religious and moral principle ; if Mr. Galt could not do this, he might at least have forborne any thing like applause. He might simply have acknowledged the unquestioned fact of the Cardinal's being immensely ambitious, and let alone the sentence on its merits. But no : our author is too independent and bold for that. He directly declares in favour of ambition as a noble principle of action. He acknowledges, indeed, that it will not sanctify all means that may be employed for the gratification of the passion ; but the general strain of his language assumes that the Cardinal was clear on this ground. The monstrous excess of the Cardinal's vanity and ostentation, his childish passion for parade and tinsel, seem rather to have on him that imposing effect which was felt by the humble gazers at his Eminence's pageantry, than to excite either his contempt or his compassion. Even the wretched impolicy, so like fatuity, of Wolsey's systematically haughty treatment of the English nobility, appears very little to qualify Mr. Galt's admiration of his wisdom. Nor is he reproved for his want of discernment in expecting that a foreigner, an Englishman, of low origin, of arrogant temper, and unlimited ambition, could ascend the papal throne, with all the Italian, the Spanish, the French, and the Imperial churchmen and potentates looking complacently at the feat. The vigour and severity of the ecclesiastical part of his administration are celebrated in a style as if it were impossible any meaner sentiment than abhorrence of clerical

corruption could be concerned in an inquisition which brought him an ample revenue of fines, compositions, or confiscations. His own gross immorality is treated as gently as if he had shown his biographer his cards of indulgence, duly signed and paid for, and convinced him of their validity. There is no censure, that we recollect, of the Cardinal's faithful remembrance of all personal offences till the proper moment for effectually repaying them. Few of the common-places, which are not sparingly administered, are wasted in doing justice to that integrity of the minister, which even Cavendish, with all his kind and regretful partiality, has yet described in the remarkable sentence, "Readiest in all the council to advance the king's only will and pleasure, *having no respect to the cause.*" Though Mr. Galt has words of very little indulgence for what he holds contemptible in character, they are not forthcoming at the deplorable meanness of the humiliation by which Wolsey, when he found himself falling, endeavoured to propitiate the offended and unfeeling tyrant. Nor is any drawback made from the ample tribute paid to his zeal for the promotion of knowledge, his "vast and prospective comprehension," and the "foreseeing faculties of his genius," on account of his last message of advice to Henry, uttered in the very hour of death, exhorting the king to exercise his vigilance and power against the commencing efforts towards a reformation in England. As to his habitual neglect and violation of religion, regarded as a concern distinct from all ecclesiastical institutions and ceremonies, a direct concern between the human spirit and its Creator, we are really become so accustomed to the utter inattention to any such matter as this in modern historians, that Mr. Galt's taking no serious cognizance of it, even in the life of an ecclesiastic, notwithstanding he did himself make a melancholy and most memorable reference to it near his end, almost fails to strike us as a defect in the work. And indeed the subject is quite as well let alone by writers who have no impression of its importance, and do not even care to understand it. It is enough for the present author to observe, after reciting the Cardinal's well-known expression, "Had I served God as diligently as I have done the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs."

THE VARIETIES OF HUMAN CHARACTER.*

WHATEVER may be the number of evils in the mundane system, we suppose no man will account it one of them, that in each class of beings that have many general principles of constitution in common, there should be found individuals strikingly contrasted with one another ; that there should be laburnums and woodbines as well as oaks—peacocks as well as eagles—antelopes as well as camels and elephants—and Chateaubriand as well as Paley. There is yet room in the system for them all ; and there are offices and occupations for them all to fill, and which can be filled by each respectively in a far better manner than by the opposite entities. Let them only avoid mixing and exchanging their vocations, and the economy will go on commodiously.

CHARACTER OF M. CHATEAUBRIAND.

We think M. Chateaubriand has fully made good his claims to a place in our fine portion of the creation ; that he has fallen into the right district of it ; that his activity in it has been most laudably, indeed almost heroically, zealous ; and that he has transgressed his proper limits only about as much as is commonly incident to the self-deception and ambition of mortals, even when their intentions are the best.

He is a singular and interesting man ; so sincere, so tender, so impassioned, so enthusiastic, so imaginative, that we admit him among our friends, with less of the cold inquiry and calculation what good he is likely to do us, and among men of genius, with less disposition to put his judgment to any severe proof, than we should entertain in almost any other instance. It is gratifying, too, and excites a strong partiality, that a French infidel of genius should become a Christian almost of any kind, and on any terms. And, provided the simplicity and sincerity of his principles be not injuriously affected by his success, we are pleased that one reward of his honesty and courage has been such a popularity, in France, of his services to a good cause, as to out-rival and mortify the base fraternity that he has deserted.

* The Beauties of Christianity. By F. A. De Chateaubriand. 8vo. Three vols. 1813.

His own account, however, of this happy separation, will serve to apprise his pupils that they are not to attend him for the acquisition of logic, and his admirers that they must beware of proclaiming him for a philosopher.

"My religious opinions have not always been the same they are at present. Offended by the abuses of some institutions, and the vices of some men, I was formerly betrayed into declamation and sophistical arguments against Christianity. I might throw the blame upon my youth, upon the madness of the revolutionary times, and upon the company I kept: but I wish rather to condemn myself, for I do not know how to defend what is indefensible. I will only relate simply the manner in which Divine Providence was pleased to call me back to my duty.

"My mother, after having been thrown at seventy-two years of age into a dungeon, where she was an eye-witness of the destruction of some of her children, expired at last upon a pallet, to which her misfortunes had reduced her. The remembrance of my errors diffused great bitterness over her last days. In her dying moments, she charged one of my sisters to call me back to that religion in which I had been brought up. My sister, faithful to her solemn trust, communicated to me the last request of my mother. When her letter reached me beyond the seas, far distant from my native country, my sister was no more; she had died in consequence of the rigours of her imprisonment. These two voices issuing from the tomb, this death which served as the interpreter of death, struck me with irresistible force. I became a Christian. I did not yield, I allow, to great supernatural illuminations, but my conviction of the truth of Christianity sprung from the heart. I wept, and I believed."

DESIGN OF "THE BEAUTIES OF CHRISTIANITY."

This work was an earlier performance than either his "Itinerary," or "The Martyrs," though it comes later into the English language. The author had contemplated with grief the great practical victory gained over Christianity, in his native country, by the philosophic, the lettered, and the unlettered wits, with Voltaire at their head. He had observed the inefficacy of the vindications of the Christian religion on the ground of historical evidence; vindications so numerous and so conclusive that the argument appeared to him incapable, on that side, of any material addition. But the infidels had rendered these defences in a great measure unavailing, by withdrawing their attacks from that impregnable side, and occupying and seducing the popular

mind with a misrepresented, degraded character of the religion. They laboriously defamed it as something mean and barbarous, destructively opposed to all the graces, repressive of genius, estranged from magnificence and sublimity, and congenial with all the harsher principles of the human nature. Here, then, was the ground for its advocate. He considered all this as the direct reverse of truth, and planned a work to prove that Christianity must be of Divine origin, because it is allied and auspicious to everything that even the wits and geniuses themselves must acknowledge to be graceful, and liberal, and dignified, and grand.

"Four parts, each divided into six books, compose the whole work. The *first* treats of the tenets and doctrines: the *second* and *third* comprehend the poetic of Christianity, or the connexion of Christianity with literature and the arts: the *fourth* contains the worship, that is to say, whatever relates to the ceremonies of the church, and to the clergy both secular and regular."

DEFECTS IN CHATEAUBRIAND'S SCHEME OF THEOLOGY.

From a prospectus indicating such width in the compass of the subject, the reader must indeed begin to apprehend that the Christian religion has many associations not commonly taken into account by its disciples. If the work were coming among us with some authoritative prescription, appointing it (as might be done in the author's country, if the master so pleased) to be the text-book of divinity in the colleges and academies, enjoining it to be read in schools, and placed on the table of every vestry, and exacting some pledge of coinciding with it from the teachers of religion, there would be an inconceivable alarm throughout the religious portion of our community. That our sober theological course through catechisms, compendiums, a few standard volumes of sermons, with a few treatises on the church, on ordinances, and severally on the few leading topics of religion—crowned possibly with a quarto, or even a folio body of divinity—that this plain quiet progress should be suddenly turned into a vast adventure of what may be denominated intellectual foreign travel; into a rhapsodical, poetical, romantic excursion through all science, history, polite literature, and arts; and that among the temporary residences for study in so many regions, a rather protracted one should be in the

schools of the distinguished painters and statuary ; this would awaken us with a vengeance ; this would be as capital a rousing almost as that given to the Christian world by Luther. The more aged, austere, and jealously orthodox of our instructed believers, who have long settled their system of opinions, would be moved with an indignation which we hope no sanction of civil or ecclesiastical power would be able to intimidate into silence. And we should suppose that the youngest, the most inquisitive, the most lax, or the most liberal among us, would feel no small degree of hesitation and apprehension at the view of such an innovation.

We cannot pretend to give anything like a methodical account of a work so multifarious, and itself so destitute of any real method, though it is cast into books and sections. All we shall attempt will be some very slight notices.

PHILOSOPHIC INQUIRIES INTO THE TRINITY.

The chapters on the Trinity are singularly crude, fanciful, and ineffective. It is wonderful that a man so learned, and so zealous to reclaim unbelievers, could persuade himself to demand the submission of their understandings to such reasonings.

"The Trinity," he says, "opens an immense field for philosophic studies, whether we consider it in the attributes of God, or collect the vestiges of this dogma diffused throughout the ancient East : for so far from being the invention of a modern age, it bears that antique stamp which imparts exquisite beauty to everything upon which it is impressed."

He follows the traces of the doctrine, or an analogous doctrine, among various ancient and modern heathens, and quotes from Bossuet and Tertullian some obscure and unavailing attempts at *explaining* the mystery ; or at least to show why it may rationally be believed *independently of evidence from divine revelation*. This, though most honestly intended on the part of our author, is an injudicious, and, in effect, treacherous way of defending the doctrine. When the appeal to the reason and to the taste of unbelievers, in favour of a Christian doctrine, is rested on dogmas and dreams of the Grecian, Persian, or Indian schools of philosophy, it will soon be seen how light they will make of the wisdom of those schools, though they might have been

talking of it with affected reverence or rapture a moment before. He had better have entirely let the subject alone, if, while he was bringing so many unexceptional corroboratives and illustrations of other Christian doctrines from the scenes of nature and the structure and sentiments of the human mind, he could not venture to demand for one doctrine a submissive, unspeculating faith, on the pure exclusive authority of that revelation which he was doing so much to establish as a communication from the Deity. We repeat, however, that there is evidently nothing insidious in his vindication of the doctrine. He adverts to it in other parts of the work with the unquestionable signs of sincere belief. But his belief is accompanied by the fantastic adjunct which has injured its sobriety and simplicity in the writings of some of our own divines, the notion of a certain Trinity to be described also in the system of nature, and in the constitution of man.

The chapter on Redemption asserts, in plain language, the fall and depravity of man ; but this is almost all that is plain in it, excepting a just and very pointed reproach of the unreasonable and disingenuous conduct of the infidels, who, if you offer them animated images and sentiments, hear them with scorn, and are all for arguments : and then, if you accordingly begin to argue, are just as loud for something animated, interesting, eloquent.

CARELESS EXPRESSIONS IN THEOLOGICAL WRITING.

There are the strange expressions, affirmatively used, of "God dying," "God expiring for sinners ;" and there is such an unaccountably careless sentence as this, "Without pretending to decide in this place *whether God is right or wrong* in making us sureties for each other, all that we know is," &c. That it is the language of Massillon is taken as a sufficient warrant for saying, that there were "accumulated upon the head of Christ all the *physical torments* that might be supposed to attend the punishment of all the sins committed since the beginning of time, and all the moral anguish, all the *remorse*, which sinners must have experienced for crimes committed." It is said that "Christ was born of a virgin that he might not partake of original sin." In the most monstrous style of French rhetoric, man, as originally created, is actually called the "sovereign of the universe." Death is pronounced

to have been a penal "invention" of God *after* the fall of man.

He becomes lavishly poetical in his celebration, popish, historical, philosophical, and mystical, of the Eucharist. In what we call the philosophical part, there is the proposition that "the Holy Communion constitutes a complete system of legislation." And on such a subject he consents, and surely is the only pious man alive that would do so, to accept the polluted assistance of Voltaire.

THE FALL OF MAN.

On the subject of the Fall of man, Bossuet is introduced asserting, with the most uncereemonious confidence, and with M. Chateaubriand's perfect faith in his knowledge of the fact, that before the Fall, "angels conversed with man under the figure of animals; Eve, therefore, was not surprised to hear the serpent speak."

Our author now gets on ground where even the least confiding of his readers will acknowledge that he is quite at home. The reference to the first fatal temptation leads him into a description of the characteristics of the serpent tribe; and his descriptions are always something greatly beyond those of a mere natural historian, though the materials are substantially the same. His graphical delineations are animated with a spirit of poetry. Perhaps, indeed, there is an excess of it in his celebration of this most odious of the earth's inhabitants:—

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SERPENT TRIBE.

"The serpent has frequently been the subject of our observation, and if we may venture to speak out, we have often imagined that we could discover in him that pernicious sagacity and that subtlety which are ascribed to him by Scripture. Everything is mysterious, secret, astonishing in this incomprehensible reptile. His movements differ from those of all other animals; it is impossible to say where his locomotive principle lies, for he has neither fins, nor feet, nor wings; and yet he flits like a shadow, he vanishes as if by magic, he reappears and is gone again, like a light azure vapour, or the gleams of a sabre in the dark. Now he curls himself into a circle, and projects a tongue of fire; now standing erect on the extremity of his tail, he moves along in a perpendicular attitude as by enchantment. He rolls himself into a ball, rises and falls in a spiral line, gives to his rings the

undulations of waves, twines round the branches of a tree, glides under the grass of the meadows, or skims along the surface of the water. His colours are not more determinate than his activity; they change with each new point of view, and like his motions, they possess false splendour and deceitful variety. Still more astonishing in the rest of his manners, he knows, like a man polluted with murder, how to throw aside his garment distained with blood, lest it should lead to his detection."

This is followed by a curious specific description of the behaviour of a serpent, with which the author and his companions, travelling in company with several families of savages, had an adventure in Upper Canada, in 1791:—

THE POWER OF MUSIC OVFR A SERPENT.

"One day a rattle-snake entered our encampment. Among us was a Canadian who could play on the flute, and who, to divert us, advanced against the serpent with his new species of weapon. On the approach of his enemy, the haughty reptile curls himself into a spiral line, flattens his head, inflates his cheeks, contracts his lips, displays his envenomed fangs and his bloody throat; his double tongue glows like two flames of fire; his eyes are burning coals; his body, swollen with rage, rises and falls like the bellows of a forge; his dilated skin assumes a dull and scaly appearance; and his tail, whence proceeds the death-denouncing sound, vibrates with such rapidity as to resemble a light vapour. The Canadian now begins to play upon his flute; the serpent starts with surprise and draws back his head. In proportion as he is struck with the magic effect, his eyes lose their fierceness, the oscillations of his tail becomes slower, and the sound which it emits becomes weaker and gradually dies away. Less perpendicular upon their spiral line, the rings of the charmed serpent are by degrees expanded, and sink one after another upon the ground in concentric circles. The shades of azure, green, white, and gold, recover their brilliancy on his quivering skin; and slightly turning his head he remains motionless in the attitude of attention and pleasure. At this moment the Canadian advanced a few steps, producing with his flute sweet and simple notes. The reptile, inclining his variegated neck, opens a passage with his head through the high grass, and begins to creep after the musician, stopping when he stops, and beginning to follow him again as soon as he moves forward. In this manner he was led out of our camp attended by a great number of spectators, both savages and Europeans, who could scarcely believe their eyes when they witnessed this wonderful effect of harmony. The assembly unanimously decreed that the serpent which had so highly entertained them, should be permitted to escape."

AMERICAN INDIFFERENCE TO TOPOGRAPHY.

IF other indications of the national character would warrant us, we should be willing to impute it to a republican dislike of ostentation, that the Americans have hitherto made so little literary use of their originally immense territory, and of the vast addition to it in the recent acquisition of Louisiana. How different is the case among us, the people of monarchies. We see so much importance in a little of the earth of our dominions, and in the substances that roughen its surface, that we should deem it a mean-spirited surrender of the honour due to our mundane rank, to leave any considerable district in the humble condition of merely being shone upon by the sun, pastured by the cattle, tilled and reaped by the men, speckled here and there with houses, and perhaps loaded in some part with a ponderous town. The district is not to be contented with so vulgar a share of the world's fortunes. It cannot be satisfied it has any respectable existence, till it is raised into renown by a costly topographical quarto, or even, if it is a particularly ambitious lot of acres, by the whole graphical and typographical honours of an imperial folio. These tributes of respect to our soil and what it carries, are multiplying so prodigiously, that if any account is to be kept of their number, and any reckoning of their cost, nothing could be more lucky and opportune than that the Americans, not wanting him for any such purpose themselves, have sent us Zerah Colburn, the youthful prodigy of computing faculties. And if it were possible we could a little extend the homestead of our territory—if we could get secure possession of a small segment of one of the northern departments of France, or a few parishes in the quarter of Walcheren, or a reasonable piece of New Zealand, what a multiform and crowding accession a few months would bring to the vast accumulation of descriptions, surveys, sketches, and local histories, which have illustrated our present allotment of Europe.

All this while, those Americans are leaving hundreds of thousands of their square miles without an adventure of research, a measurement, a map, a Flora, or a set of views ;

* Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana. By Major Amos Stoddard, Member of U.S.M.P.S. 8vo. 1812.

leaving them, with barely or hardly the distinction of a name, to display the various aspects of climates, and the changing aspects of seasons, for the unparticipated and unenvied entertainment of elks and buffaloes, bears, rattlesnakes, bull-frogs, and the constantly diminishing remainder of a genus of animals still wilder. If they are occasionally moved by some commercial prospect, to send a deputation of eyes across a few parallels of the hemisphere, it is marvellous to find how little shall at last be brought back besides the implements of sight themselves ; at least, how little shall be reported for the benefit and amusement of the inquisitive multitudes of us that cannot afford to carry our own eyes so far.

VERIFIED PROGNOSTICS REGARDING AMERICA.

Everything that we do here, they in due season will do there. There exists, in unmarked spots, in the neighbourhood of the Atlantic, in that of the Ohio, of the Missouri, of the Columbia, clay that is destined to be one day dignified into bricks, and raised into structures, where royal quarto and folio shall be manufactured, and Paternoster-rows, whence they will issue out in the combined splendour of wisdom, wit, sentiment, and the fine arts. Indefatigable Time has been "progressing" ever since the patriarchs of the plains of the Ohio used to stock their farms with mammoths, and those on the east side of the Alleghany mountains enjoyed, at the foot of these mountains, their inexhaustible beds of oysters, of which the animal portion was as large as a man's foot. The age *has* come that sees ample regions for republics or kingdoms between that line to which the Atlantic ocean then extended, and the line which bounds it now ; and the age will be sure to come of picturesque journeys, and sentimental tours, with the humbler benefits of statistics and topographies.

This class of works, however, must be preceded by one of less pretension, though considerably advanced towards a character of refinement, and a literary execution, beyond the coarse ignorance of the journal of the mere Indian trader or hunter of buffaloes. The works of this previous class must come from men who unite all the hardihood and practical rough-seasoning of men of the woods, with a tolerable share of cultivation, and a natural tendency to inquisitiveness and reflection. Some such men will be found, to undertake toilsome, protracted, and hazardous journeys of research—will

ascertain positions, distances, practicable routes, and the course of rivers—will describe clearly, though not in the style of either artists or poets, the aspects of the country, and the more obvious circumstances in the character of its productions, and of its brute or human inhabitants—and will make some observations, some comparisons, some conjectures, a little deeper than the absolute surface of the objects they contemplate, some slight openings into speculations, which more philosophical minds will long afterwards prosecute, with the aid of later, accumulated, and more accurate observations. The Travels of the late Major Pike, to the head of the Mississippi, and across Louisiana, may be regarded as a hopeful beginning of this class of works; and we wish that other such adventurers may be in preparation, and that the American government may deem this a much more ambitious employment for them, than the vulgar occupation of war.

The work before us is not a book of travels, though the author professes to have had personal observation of much of what it describes. It is an irregular mixture of natural and civil history with political geography.

"It fell to my lot," says the Major, in the month of March, 1804, "to take possession of Upper Louisiana, under the treaty of cession. The United States had suddenly and unexpectedly acquired a territory of which they knew not the extent; and were equally unacquainted with its climate, soil, productions, the magnitude and importance of its numerous rivers, or its commercial advantages. The records and other public documents were open to my inspection; and, as it was my fortune to be stationed about five years on various parts of the Lower Mississippi, and nearly six months on Red River, my inquiries gradually extended to Louisiana in general."

The first adventurer that made an inroad from Florida into the region since named Louisiana, was Ferdinand de Soto.

FERDINAND DE SOTO.

"He was one of the most distinguished knight-errants of his age; and his actions in Florida sufficiently attest his courage, hardihood, and romantic turn of mind. He explored almost all parts of that country with the speed of a courier; and the long time he remained in it was mostly employed in seeking new dangers and encountering them. He attacked the natives everywhere, and everywhere committed great slaughter; destroyed their towns and subsisted his men on the provisions found in them. He even spent some winters among them, particularly

one in the Chickasaw nation : the next spring crossed the Mississippi, explored the regions to the westward of it, and in 1542 ended his days on Red River."

RIVALRY OF SPAIN AND FRANCE IN CANADA.

Everything was most zealously perpetrated by the Spaniards that could make the region still more emphatically a wilderness than they found it, and render it more inhospitable and ungainful to themselves against the time when they were reduced (after numerous abortive and destructive enterprises, in sanguine and furious search after the precious metals) to the necessity and humiliation of trying to sustain themselves by cultivating the ground and trafficking with those native tribes whom they had so nearly destroyed. The desolate scene was, for a while, contested with them by the French ; and reciprocal acts of revenge and extermination afforded a consolatory spectacle to the few barbarian stragglers who were themselves too weak to perform such a sacrifice ; but the French were compelled to quit the shores of the Mexican Gulf, and for a number of years forbore all further attempts on any part of America.

FOUNDATION OF QUEBEC.

At length, in 1608, the French laid the foundation of Quebec, and formed their first permanent settlement in the New World. This settlement, having maintained a laborious and wretched existence during sixty years of war with the Iroquois, fell upon an expedient of ingenious novelty, which, by singular good luck, occurred to the thoughts of the Indians much about the same time. This expedient was the making of a peace. The few survivors on both sides bethought themselves of substituting a commerce in the commodities of life to the interchange of the missiles of death. But our author says the French, like the Spaniards, were so incurably infected with the ideas of obtaining wealth in a way independent of all regular and sober industry, that they were never brought to apply themselves in earnest to the cultivation of the soil, and therefore never attained, even to the very period of the transfer of Canada from the French dominion, anything like a state of real prosperity. They were also incommoded in their Indian trade, by the active interference and competition of

the English, who had early supplanted the Dutch in the establishment of New York. They had a better position, however, and perhaps a more ambitious restlessness, for extending their inquiries into the interior of the vast continent. Two of their missionaries, Jolliet and Marquette, traversed the lakes, reached the Mississippi, descended it as far as the Arkansas, a distance of nearly a thousand miles, and returned to Canada by way of the Illinois. But an enterprising officer, De la Salle, was the first that descended that vast river to the sea; though Father Hennepin, whom our author has given very good reason for setting down for an "egregious liar," pretended to have accomplished this great achievement, in a splendid account which he published, in France, of the extensive country he had discovered, and which he named *Louisiana*, in honour of Louis XIV.

THE MISSISSIPPI ADVENTURERS.

De la Salle was appointed to the command of an expedition of four ships carrying 170 landmen, and the other materials for a projected settlement at the mouth of the Mississippi. Through some error in the navigation, the landing was made 300 miles to the westward of the intended point. In the pestilential spot to which they had been lured by golden dreams, almost all manner of calamities combined to fall upon them; and not the least was the loss of their able and indefatigable chief, who was murdered by a party with which he was making his way towards the northern French settlements, to obtain succours for his ill-fated colony, which was entirely broken up in a short time afterwards. But it was not long before the experiment was renewed by another set of adventurers, who entered the Mississippi in 1699, and took their position on the extremity of a territory thenceforward distinguished, formally, by the denomination of *Louisiana*, given it by Hennepin nineteen years before. This colony was destined to live—though no one would have anticipated this fortune from its temperament and early proceedings. It was composed of two descriptions of persons: "the first unaccustomed to manual labour, but possessing enterprise, and expecting to gather fortunes from the mines and Indian trade; the second, and much the most numerous, poor and idle, and expecting to subsist on the bounty of government, rather than on the

avails of their own industry." After the establishment had just begun to take root, it was suddenly pulled up to be transplanted to another situation, by an order from the French government; which, having heard of dangerous endemics in the part of the country where the settlement had been founded, very reasonably concluded that the other parts of the coast must be salubrious in proportion as this was noxious; and judged, perhaps, that the most effectual way of stimulating to the industry of local improvement this inert and dispirited assemblage, was thus to annihilate in an instant, by an order issued, in the carelessness of office, and amidst the luxuries of a court, all that had been effected by reluctant, painful effort towards forming a plantation. The adventurers had but just begun to verify their being alive in their new position, when they were attacked and plundered by the English. So wretchedly was the whole concern managed, that the settlement, after receiving 2,500 colonists, and absorbing money to the amount of 689,000 livres, in the first thirteen years, contained at the end of that period only four hundred whites, twenty negro slaves, and three hundred head of cattle. The colony was then assigned over to M. Crozart, a wealthy private gentleman, who prosecuted the experiment five years, and then willingly relinquished his undertaking and his patent to the Mississippi Company, "projected by the celebrated John Law." Placed under a patronage so splendid, the colony became an object of extending interest and sanguine expectation. Several thousands of settlers were sent out in a few years: and so provident an economy was adopted for their support, that many hundreds of them perished with hunger and sickness.

A war with the Spaniards, in which the colony suffered serious injury at first, resulted, however, ultimately, in an extension of its territorial possessions, and of its means of enterprise, whether in the way of discovery, trade, or conquest. The rapid accession to its numbers, by emigration from Europe, compelled the formation of new establishments, some of them considerably inland. No extraordinary care was used to maintain amity with the aborigines. So far as contrast, indeed, could be of service towards this object, the Spaniards were generously willing to give their enemies the benefit of it, by acting with a barbarity which no ordinary improvements in depravity could rival. But the Frenchmen,

as will be seen, were not to be surpassed even in impolitic wickedness.

STORY OF THE NATCHEZ.

The Natchez, a considerable tribe of Indians, had received favourably the French adventurers ; had supplied them with provisions ; assisted them in their tillage, and in building their houses ; had saved them from famine and death ; continued to possess the strongest disposition to oblige ; and would still have been eminently useful to them if they had not been treated with indignity and injustice by the commandant of a French fort. They began to take, as might be expected, a severe revenge, but were induced to stop short of its complete execution ; and a treaty of peace restored confidence, apparently, on both sides, and really on the side of the Natchez. But the civilized party, the *Christians*, were meditating a plan of extermination. A very strong military body concealed its movements so well as to be enabled to fall suddenly on the habitations of the Indians, of whom a large proportion perished in a slaughter prolonged through several days, and not terminated till the surrender, at the requisition of the French, of the head of a peculiarly obnoxious chief. The remainder of the nation, still considerable, continued to be treated with the most galling injustice, and about six years afterwards were suddenly ordered to clear away their huts from the site of their ancient residence, in order to make way for the establishing of a French settlement, and to seek some other dwelling place. Stimulated to madness by this outrage, but refraining from premature violence, they devised a plan, which, at the appointed time, they accomplished in the sudden destruction of a great number of the French, and the ravage and demolition of the most promising and advancing settlements in the colony. This execution was revenged by measures which compelled the Indians to retire precipitately into a distant part of the wilderness. Thither, however, they were followed by a force which attacked them in such a locality, that their most desperate efforts could not avert their fate. A few escaped and incorporated themselves with other tribes ; while the remainder of those that survived the carnage were taken, enslaved, and at last transported to St. Domingo. " Thus the Natchez, once so useful to the

French, and whose villages contained above twelve hundred souls on the first arrival of those strangers among them, became almost extinct."

THE MISSISSIPPI SCHEME.

The grand delusion of the Mississippi scheme rendered the greatest service to these colonies, by the very operation which ruined its dupes ; and "from this period," says our author, "may be dated their gradual progress to a more eligible condition, though it was occasionally interrupted by the Indians and Spaniards."

The ambition of France, pervading these remote dependencies, did not fail to operate with its characteristic energy, in competition with the growing power and continual extension of the English colonies. Its object was no less than the command, and virtually, for all available purposes, the occupation of the whole country of the lakes and the Mississippi, from the Alleghany mountains to an undefined distance westward, and from Quebec to New Orleans. All possible exertion was made for an approximation of forts in advance from the northern and southern settlements, and for a pre-occupation of the commerce and alliance of the Indian tribes. It was intended to confine the English possessions and enterprises as rigidly as possible to the Atlantic coast ; and it seems that the French were abetted by their European government in a series of interferences so hostile and so pertinacious, as to compel their rivals, at last, about the year 1755, into the war which terminated fatally to the French power in America, in the battle on the heights of Abraham, in which both Wolfe and the French commander, Montcalme, lost their lives. This and the other disasters experienced by France, in a period of her most signal humiliation, reduced her to treaties which ceded Canada and all her possessions on the east side of the Mississippi to England, and all her territories on the west side of that river, including the island and city of New Orleans, to Spain. "Prior to this period the whole territory on both sides of the Mississippi, situated between the lakes and the gulf of Mexico, and between the Mexican and Alleghany mountains, went under the general name of Louisiana. That part of it ceded to the English lost the name ; but the new acquisitions of Spain retained it."

SPANISH SEIZURE OF WEST FLORIDA.

The treaty of cession was dated 1762, but not carried fully into effect till 1769, owing to a considerable repugnance in the people to submit to what they regarded as a somewhat ignominious transfer. After being quiet in the new possession a decent number of years, the Spanish government happened to fall on the idea that West Florida, an estate of "our brother of England," would make a very pretty extension of their pleasure grounds along the shore of the Gulf. The coveting of so good and peaceful a neighbour's property was greatly quickened, while the sin of it, if such a thought ever occurred, would appear to be at least neutralized, by the probability that he could not, at any rate, retain that property long. For by this time there were imminent and portentous signs of a grand commotion in the English Atlantic colonies, and it was foreseen that, if they should become independent, Florida would not be likely to remain for any long period in the possession of England. It was judged expedient, therefore, to lay hands on it before it should be in danger of becoming part of a great and, by the Spaniards, exceeding dreaded confederation. Accordingly, a sudden and successful attack was made on the principal forts, the surrender of which involved that of the whole territory. West Florida, thus acquired, was guaranteed, and in addition East Florida was ceded to Spain at the peace of 1783.

CESSION OF LOUISIANA TO THE UNITED STATES.

The terms of the treaty opened a wide field of dispute between the Spanish government and the American republic concerning boundaries, and the right of navigation on the Mississippi; and the contest was maintained with eager interest and peremptory claims the greatest part of the ensuing twenty years. It must inevitably soon have come to the *ultima ratio*, but for the events which ended in the sudden transfer of Louisiana, in 1801, to the French republic, which, about two years afterwards, ceded it, for a pecuniary consideration, to the final possession of the American states.

The long series of jealous, evasive, and offensive measures of the Spanish authorities, and of the remonstrant, impatient, and sometimes violent, movements of the American popula-

tion, on the west of the Alleghany mountains, are now of no interest further than as leading to the magnificent view of the acquisition, at a stroke and beyond the possibility of any further question or competition, of the vast central region of the continent, by a people occupying so large a portion of it before, and destined to extend their ever-growing multitudes in no very long time into the actual possession of perhaps four-fifths of its habitable space. There is no other section of our race that would not be elated, perhaps almost as much as those ostentatiously self-asserting republicans, at being able to draw, in lines of fact and prediction, half such a map of their allotted quantum of earth, and confound their imagination in the immensity of such lakes, such rivers, such forests, and such plains.

ADMONITION TO AUTHORS.*

It ought to be among the most obvious of all admonitions to the vanity of authors, that there have been a vast number of their profession in each of the past ages, and yet that but few books of those ages are now read : that the present age has a greater number of authors than the preceding ones, and that the next will, probably, see a greater number than this : that, therefore, each future generation of readers will have still less and less time to look back to the works of the preceding periods, and, consequently, the measure of probability for each author, that his works, and especially that all his works, will be read by the subsequent generation, is lessening at every step in the progress of time. All this would seem sufficiently easy of apprehension ; but authors are reluctant to acknowledge it in application each to himself.

The reader will perceive in this volume a deficiency of the higher attributes of poetic genius ; the energy, the originality, the power of making ideas start forth like substances. There is no want of ideas, in number and variety ; the author's mind is amply stored with them ; but

* Poetics ; or, a Series of Poems and Disquisitions on Poetry. By George Dyer. 12mo. Two vols. 1812.

they are not forcibly, and, if we may so speak, individually, conceived. They seem as if spread out on a wide flat, where they are indeed many and various, but are presented in such a sameness of view, that nothing strongly seizes the imagination; nothing rises into boldness, or descends into profundity, or retires into mysterious shade. If it is true that there are many ideas of a magnificent order, they are forms rather of a large bulk, than of sublime colossal contour and of majestic physiognomy. There is a multitude of supernatural personages, in appropriate costume and action, with characteristic symbols, amidst a whole scenery designed to give them effect; but in vain they look fair, or frightful, or grand; in vain are they surrounded with the pomp of strange rites, and attended by their train of earthly or unearthly ministers; in vain do they seem to make a commotion of all the elements as they pass; we stand all the while as unconcerned spectators of an idle and unimposing show.

ON FRIENDLY OPINIONS IN LITERATURE.*

THESE essays were originally published in the *Bristol Mercury*. "The approbation expressed of them," says the author, "by a few individuals whose opinion he values, has induced him to submit them to the public in a collected form; and he now awaits its decision, to ascertain how far their opinion was dictated by the partiality of friendship."

We think it would not be greatly wrong to lay it down as a general rule of prudence, that no man should publish on the strength of the professed opinions of his friends. Between their partiality that will naturally judge too favourably, and the insincerity—or call it politeness—that will pronounce more favourably even than they judge, how is it possible for him to have a more delusive sanction?—unless he imagines that in *his* friends, just *his* friends of all mankind, it is quite impossible that kindness should fail to

* * The Ponderer, a Series of Essays. By the Rev. John Evans. 12mo. 1812.

be accompanied by the clearest discernment, and the most courageous honesty. If he really has come into possession of such friends, it would not be amiss for him to consider whether his good fortune does not exceed his merits; for let him question himself whether *he* would be capable of manifesting this faithful honesty of friendship towards a person whose feelings, sensitive and irritable to excess from eagerness to shine as an author, he was reluctant to mortify, though decidedly of opinion that it would be a wiser proceeding for this ambitious friend to consign his compositions to the same chest that may contain his first school exercises in writing and grammar, than to attempt forcing them into notoriety through the press. Would he unequivocally intimate his opinion, at the hazard of losing his friend? And if he would not himself practise such virtue, he really should examine carefully the foundation of his so charitable conviction that his friends are so much more conscientious than himself, as that he may be perfectly sure of having their approbation for following their advice. He ought to cast an inquisitive look round on the natural and moral world, to make himself quite certain that this is the age of prodigies, before he assumes that men ardent for literary fame can have friends that will dissuade them from the press;—not to notice that it would be another and perhaps still greater prodigy, if the persons so dissuaded should long retain their friendship for the persons so dissuading.

If a maker of compositions cannot fully rely on his own judgment, the best expedient would perhaps be to contrive to obtain the opinion of some person known to excel in criticism, and who is either a stranger to the author, or, at least, does not know nor suspect whose work it is of which his opinion is requested.

THE MARQUESAS.*

THE coast of Nukahiwa, one of the north-west portions of the Marquesas, presented a long front of naked, gloomy rocks, connected with a chain of mountains stretching inland, and rising into bare craggy peaks. A number of beautiful cascades were seen falling into the sea from the height of a thousand feet. Our navigators were beginning to be a little disturbed at descrying but very slight signs of the population by which they had expected to be very soon surrounded, when they were surprised by the approach of a white flag, borne at the head of a canoe by a man who, like the rest of the islanders, was divested of all clothing but a girdle round his waist. He proved, however, to be an Englishman, of the name of Roberts, who said he had been seven years on the island, and two years previously in that of Santa Christina, where he had been put on shore out of an English merchant ship, the crew of which had mutinied against their captain, and could not prevail on him to join them. In Nukahiwa he had lately married, he said, a relation of the king's, from which circumstance he acquired great consideration, and could therefore be of service to these new visitors, as he showed certificates from two Americans to prove that he had been to former ones, particularly in the way of procuring them wood and water. The captain gladly accepted the offered assistance of a man so capable of being useful in various ways ; among others in the capacity of interpreter, and in imparting the knowledge he must have acquired concerning the inhabitants.

The population of the island appears to be divided, by those deep valleys, and those steep mountains of bare rocks, by which it is so wildly trenched and dented, into a number of independent sections, with each its king or principal chief, and a due proportion of an inferior aristocracy. There is no ascertaining the precise nature and limits of the power of

* Voyage round the World, in the Years 1803—6, by Order of Alexander I., on board the Ships *Nadeshda* and *Neva*, under the command of Captain Krusenstern. 4to. 1813.

Voyages and Travels in various Parts of the World, during 1803—7. By G. H. Von Langsdorff. 4to. 1813.

these monarchs and nobles. They have a due share, very likely, of the appropriate ambition and arbitrary temper. But there seems to be at least one good thing about them ; they do not cost the people much for the gaudy decorations and equipage of state. Perhaps, however, it is in truth a sign of the deepest barbarism, that these personages can trust for their influence to the mere virtue and efficacy of their birth and personal qualities, without the appendages of an enormous pomp, to be supported by their people as an additional labour and duty to that of providing for themselves. The king of that part of the island nearest to Port Anna Maria, in which the ships anchored, and who was the first, we believe, of the natives that came on board, had no mark of distinction from the others, except that of being more completely tattooed.

The men are generally strongly built, tall, and of the finest shape. If we may depend on the united testimony of these and several other respectable navigators, the Marquesas afford a tribe of human forms, of the male sex, not to be equalled on the whole earth. The forms of the women appeared much less perfect, especially of that degraded and miserable portion of them who frequented the shore and haunted the ship. A few of those of superior rank and less abandoned habits, who were seen in a more retired state of life, at some distance from shore, were acknowledged to be as much more graceful and beautiful as they were more modest.

PROFLIGACY OF THE ISLANDERS.

Among the profligate class there were absolute children ; one not more than eight years old. They were violently mirthful, noisy, and obtrusive, and would swim and sport about the ship for hours when not allowed to come on deck, though they had to swim as much as five or six miles in merely coming to the ship and returning. They are rendered doubly objects of pity by the fact which these writers confidently assert, that they are authoritatively ordered on the vicious service by their fathers and husbands, who were seen regularly to take from them, before they could even reach the shore, the trifles they had obtained in the way of reward.

The captain is not disposed to attribute any virtue to the female sex in the island, any more than to the male popula-

tion, who are universally their oppressive tyrants, as in all the savage portions of the human race.

FACILITIES OF MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

It appears that there is among them a kind of marriage relation, the contract of which is celebrated with festive and most degrading ceremonies; but the measure of restraint which it imposes appears to be very small. A complete separation is said to be easily affected; let either party wish for it, and it is done; and if there are any children (which are never numerous, rarely more than two), there can be no difficulty in disposing of them,—if there is no other expedient, they may be eaten.

GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUESAS.

As to government, a matter of such unlimited controversy, ambition, and expense of both treasure and blood, the source of so much good and evil, in the civilized and half-civilized parts of the world, our authors say that among these islanders there is nothing which can strictly be called by that name. It could not be ascertained in what form of a *constitution* the personage whom the two resident Europeans denominated the king would have liked to declare and enforce his prerogatives: but it was evident this his actual authority was very trifling, his person being regarded with indifference, and his orders sometimes with contempt. A certain portion of influence which he did nevertheless enjoy, the voyagers attribute not to any *political* principle in the social economy, but simply to his being richer in the possession, probably the hereditary possession, of groves of cocoa-nut trees, and the means of keeping hogs, than any other man of the valley, and therefore able to engage and sustain a greater number of dependents. He did actually feed a considerable band of them, which Roberts himself, by stress of famine, had been reduced to join the preceding year.

THE TABOO.

The only material restraint on the passions of this lawless and savage population is the *Taboo*, a ceremony conspicuous in all the descriptions of the South Sea islands. We need not explain that it is a consecrating interdict, by which certain persons, places, and things may be secured, as by a

mysterious charm, against being touched or approached by other persons and things.

The taboo is as efficacious in its mischievous, as in any of its more serviceable applications : under some circumstances a man can taboo the bread-fruit and cocoa trees of another, and thus deprive him of his property and means of subsistence, and consequently drive him an outcast from the country. It is employed in numerous ways of deprivation and degradation against the women, especially in excluding them from all participation in the superior diet (human food) in which the men often indulge themselves, and for the purpose of a perfectly undisturbed enjoyment in which they very commonly have an additional house, which is tabooed to the females.

WAR FEASTS OF THE MARQUESANS.

There is often war among the different sections of these islanders, but they seem to have little of the *heroic* sentiment of that noble game. Notwithstanding the intensity of their rancour, they would greatly prefer eating one another to fighting one another. There is a sort of national "dance-feast," which the captain styles the "Olympic games of these savages." In order to the celebration of this, which custom requires should not be omitted too long, there must be an armistice, which, when demanded by either of the belligerents on the pretence of preparing for the festival, is instantly agreed to by the other. And though any preparations really required or intended would not need to employ more than a few days, they are willing to take advantage of the pretence to prolong the time for many months, during which time the enemies join the pretended preparations.

"Six months had elapsed since the last truce was proclaimed, and eight months longer were to pass before the feast began." "After the termination of the feast they return home, and the war recommences in all its vigour."

The truce is announced by planting a branch of a cocoa tree on the top of the mountain, on which the war is instantly suspended. But even during this "hallowed and gracious time," should what the captain denominates a "high

priest" happen to die, three persons must be taken, by stratagem or open force, from the opposite tribe, to be sacrificed to him. This, of course, will sometimes instantly rekindle the general war between them.

CANNIBALISM OF THE MARQUESANS.

We have already intimated a grand feature in the moral state of these islanders,—their cannibalism. There was no possibility of a doubt as to the fact. It formed a capital part of the concurring testimony of two resident Europeans, and would have been confirmed, had that been at all necessary, by the circumstances of human bones being used as decorations of their household furniture, and skulls being repeatedly offered for sale, marked by a perforation apparently adapted to the purpose of sipping out the blood, which was mentioned by the witnesses as a circumstance of their infernal banquets.

If the people of Nukahiwa had been found in the practice of devouring their enemies only, there would have been nothing to excite any unusual sensation in those who have read the accounts given by former reporters, of the innocence and felicity of the unsophisticated tribes who inhabit the South Sea Islands. But their relish for human flesh is subject to no such irrational partiality. By a bold enlargement of taste and liberty in this particular, they are "distinguished," as Krusenstern remarks, "from all other cannibals, and are a singular example among the numerous tribes of savages who inhabit the many islands on the north-west coast of this great ocean." For,—

"In times of famine the men butcher their wives and children, and their aged parents; they bake and stew their flesh, and devour it with the greatest satisfaction. Even the tender-looking female, whose eyes beam nothing but beauty, will join, if permitted, in this horrid repast."

WOMEN DENIED THE LUXURY OF EATING THEIR PARENTS.

Langsdorff, however, says that this luxury is tabooed to women, as too high and enviable an indulgence to comport with their subordinate rank. As corroborative of this statement of their devouring their relatives and friends, it might be mentioned, that the voyagers saw but very few old

people among the natives ; and it is as evidence directly in point that they notice the fact of an enormous disproportion of numbers between the males and females, with the additional circumstance that there were extremely few children anywhere to be seen. If it were true, according to the testimony of Cabri, that this surpassing perpetration is confined to seasons of very great scarcity, it is not likely to be therefore of rare occurrence, among a people too indolent for agriculture, infinitely too thoughtless and too fond of feasting to lay up stores on a calculation of distant possibilities, and whose whimsical perverseness (unless indeed it were a contrivance to create a fair occasion for domestic cannibalism) has tabooed fish just at the season that it would be of the greatest service.

But whether it be true or not that the common people are obliged to wait till a season of scarcity, or a war, to obtain this greatest luxury known to them on earth, it is asserted by Langsdorff, that the detestable *Tanas*, or priests, put themselves under no such restriction, and the following description exhibits, on a small scale, as pure a piece of infernality, in pretending to be moved to their abominations by superior agents, as any to be found in history.

INSPIRED CANNIBALISM.

"The *Tanas* often regale themselves with human flesh merely from the delight they take in it. For this purpose they make a semblance as if they were under the influence of a spirit, and, after various grimaces and contortions, appear to fall into a deep sleep. This they take care shall always be done in such places and on such occasions, as that there may be an abundance of spectators. After sleeping a short time, they wake suddenly, and relate to the people around them what the spirit has dictated to them in their dreams. The command sometimes happens to be, that a woman or man, a tattooed or an untattooed person, a fat or a lean one, an old man or a youth, out of the next valley, or from the next river, must be seized and brought to them. The people to whom this is related, immediately post themselves in some ambush near a footpath, or a river that abounds with fish, and the consequence is, that the first person that comes that way, bearing any resemblance to the description given as seen in the dream, is taken, and brought to the *Tana's morai*, and eaten in company with his taboo society. It depends also frequently upon the *Tana* to determine whether any enemies shall be taken prisoners, and how many."

JUNIUS.*

A VERY considerable proportion of the *present* readers of Junius must, *to be consistent with their political feelings and opinions*, detest the productions of that writer. They must, therefore, be pleased with any circumstance tending to diminish the influence by which they may judge that a part of the community is liable to be still affected and perverted, from so memorable an example of daring and unpunished hostility to what a multitude of excellent preceptors of Filmer's† school have been incessantly exhorting mankind unconditionally to revere. To this effect of diminishing the influence, a little has probably been contributed by the recent publication of the enlarged edition. That edition has brought out a large assemblage of the same writer's compositions, many of them so sensibly inferior to the prevailing quality of his more splendid labours, as to have effected some slight modification of the impression which he had made by his appearance in the lofty and powerful character of Junius. For we are apt, though the rule may be of very doubtful justice, to depress our estimate of an author as low at least as the average quality of his works; and that average is obviously lowered by a quantity of considerably inferior matter thus brought to be combined with the more admired productions in a general estimate.

In beholding this portion of the works, we seem as if we had been taken round to see the sloping, more accessible, and less forbidding side of an eminence which we had been accustomed to contemplate only on that side on which it is beheld as an awful and impending precipice.

While this mysterious personage loses somewhat of the

* *Memoirs of a Celebrated Literary and Political Character* (Richard Glover), from the Resignation of Sir Robert Walpole, in 1742, to the Establishment of Lord Chatham's Second Administration, in 1757; containing Strictures on some of the most distinguished Men of that Time. A New Edition. 8vo. 1814.

† An Inquiry concerning the Author of the Letters of Junius, with reference to the "Memoirs of a Celebrated Literary and Political Character." 8vo. 1814.

† Alluding to Sir Robert Filmer's "Patriarcha; or, the Natural Power of the Kings of England asserted," in which the author derives all power from paternal authority. It occasioned Locke's celebrated "Treatise on Government."—Ed.

commanding and over-awing aspect of his talents, by their being displayed in operations not so very much surpassing those of ordinary men, he has been made to confirm every conviction or surmise, which the readers of his letters, as Junius, might have been forced to entertain against the soundness and refinement of his moral principles.

The class of persons we have referred to, as deeming the political influence of his writings to be mischievous, pleased to see him, from the mode of his new appearance, losing somewhat of his power, may very justly be desirous of what would diminish it considerably more,—an absolute identification of his person.

IGNOTUS PRO MAGNIFICO, OR THE POWER OF MYSTERY.

No fact is more familiar than that there is a strange power in mystery, which confers an imaginary, and, therefore, excessive magnitude on what it shrouds, and imparts a ghostly significance and preternatural emphasis to the voices heard from its dark and haunted recesses. We may confidently appeal to the strongest admirers of that unknown author, whether, though stimulated by their admiration to the keenest curiosity during the renewed and most active research, they have not felt, if, in any instance, the object so eagerly pursued has appeared on the point of being attained, somewhat of a disposition to wish that the proof might fail, an unwillingness that this one individual, or this other, coming forward in palpable substance, and under a plain, ordinary name, should take the place of the mysterious and formidable "shade." They thought that this person, and still that the next, was not of sufficiently commanding character to stand in the magnitude of Junius. But so they would have felt whoever might have been pretended or even proved to be the man. Their reluctance to admit a reality, was a kind of instinctive feeling that *no* real person could be so commanding an object as the one that imagination had imperfectly beheld behind the veil of mystery.

For ourselves we will confess that, though Junius is far enough from personating our ideal form of an all-accomplished censor of bad men and bad times, he has, nevertheless, fixed himself as a being of so commanding an aspect

in our imagination, and we are, like all our race, so fond of *effect*, that we are disposed to be content that the secret should continue to defy investigation, as it has hitherto done; and we are indifferent whether the promoters of this last of the long series of distinct claims (those of about twenty individuals) shall prosecute the matter any further, with or without additional evidence, or not.

GLOVER'S CLAIMS TO THE AUTHORSHIP OF JUNIUS.

The new claimant is Mr. Glover, the writer of the epic poem of "Leonidas," which may, perhaps, obtain a slight temporary renovation of notice in consequence of the manner in which its author is now brought forward. And certainly, these publications show so many of the things required in the rightful pretender, actually meeting in the case of Mr. Glover, that we may well wonder how it could happen, that the almost preternatural vigilance of inquisition, excited during the publication of the formidable letters, should not have glanced on him. But, indeed, this very fact, if it was a fact, must be admitted to be, in some degree, a presumption against his being the author, when we consider to how many shrewd and interested persons he was well known. If none of them ever suspected him, while on such communicative terms with him, while perfectly acquainted with his temper and opinions as an active politician, and while apprised of his knowledge of the secrets and cabals of state, it would seem to go far towards proving that he did not, in their estimation, evince the kind or measure of talent displayed by Junius.

Still there are a number of concurring presumptions in his favour. His age comported with the severe maturity of mind indicated in the writings of Junius. He was born in 1712, and consequently was fifty-six or fifty-seven, at the time of the first appearance of the "Letters;" and at that period he might be said to have grown old in public business; for we are told that being "an ardent politician, in the old Whig interest, he made a conspicuous figure in the city as early as 1739, and by his influence and activity was the means of setting aside the election to the mayoralty of a person who had voted in parliament with the court party." But we will

transcribe the paragraph in which the writer of the Inquiry draws into one view the particulars on which the presumption is founded in favour of Glover :—

“ He was an accomplished scholar, and had all the advantages that affluent circumstances and the best company could give. He was ever strongly attached to the principles of the constitution; his politics were those of Junius, and he was of the private councils of men in the highest station in the state, throughout the greater part of a long and active life. At the time the Letters of Junius were written, he had attained an age which could allow him, without vanity, to boast of an ample knowledge and experience of the world; and during the period of their publication he resided in London, and was engaged in no pursuits incompatible with his devoting his time to their composition; so that, in his letter to Mr. Wilkes, he might justly say: ‘ I offer you the sincere opinion of a man who perhaps has more leisure to make reflections than you have, and who, though he stands clear of business and intrigue, mixes sufficiently for the purposes of intelligence in the conversation of the world.’ ”

The editor of the enlarged edition of Junius* has brought together the distinguishing points which must meet in the right claimant to the honours of that author; the writer of the Inquiry has shown that several others, which might have been added, would but strengthen the evidence for Glover.

It appears that Junius was “intimately acquainted with the concerns of the city, with trade, and the language of stock-jobbers: and that he was probably himself a citizen.” “Junius also valued himself on his knowledge of finance.” “Junius was also, most probably, an author of other works, the printing of which he personally superintended; for his corrections of the press show that he was acquainted with the printer’s private marks, and the peculiar manner of writing them: and in his confidential notes, which have been published, he uses the language of a man conversant with printers.” “He could write poetry with apparent facility, as appears by a poem among his MSS., consisting of six stanzas of four lines each, evidently written for Mr. Woodfall’s personal gratification.” “From reading

* Republished, with additions, in 2 vols., post 8vo, Bohn, 1850; where Glover’s claim to the authorship of Junius is disposed of.—Ed.

the private notes to Woodfall, it appears that the author had a personal regard for him, and that he knew him thoroughly." Mr. Glover wrote some pieces for the stage; and the inquirer finds indications of a taste for dramatic writing in Junius's letters, under a different signature, to Lord Barrington, which have characters and scenes.

It has very reasonably been wondered how Junius, unless he were a man high in office, or of a rank to have habitual access to the court, could be so well acquainted with the characters, designs, intrigues, and secret quarrels and embarrassments, of the court and ministry; and supposing him to be of such office or rank, then the wonder was, by what miracle of management or good fortune a man so close under the inspection of so many suspicious and aggrieved observers, an individual of their own privileged and not numerous body, should have not only defied detection, but eluded suspicion. One part of the difficulty and wonder vanishes on the admission of Glover to be the man; for it is evident, from every part of the memoir, that he had been, as far forward as it reaches, and there is testimony that he was also during the latter part of his life, in habits of easy intercourse with a number of the leading persons in the state, and of the most confidential communication with several of them.

"He lived at this time 'in habits of intimacy with Lord Cobham, Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, George Grenville, Lyttleton, Dodington, Waller, and other eminent political characters in opposition to the court party, and his visits were frequent at Leicester house' (the residence of the Prince of Wales)."

Other persons of great note were of his acquaintance, and especially he appears to have been on terms of the greatest kindness with George, afterwards Marquis Townsend, for whose character and talents he expresses very great respect. But here rises one of the strongest reasons to doubt his identity with Junius. For this very nobleman is spoken of with the utmost aversion and contempt in several of the letters which Mr. Woodfall has published in his sequel as the unquestionable composition of Junius;—

though certainly the readers are not put in possession of any decisive proof of their being his. The author of the Inquiry is sensible of this difficulty, and thus endeavours to obviate it:—

“It must be borne in mind, that Glover’s opinion of men, throughout his whole life, was governed by the consistency of their political conduct; and even in the character of Lord Townsend in the memoir, he concludes with a gloomy prospective view that he may have, at some future time, occasion to alter it. ‘May time, which impairs every external grace, produce no such change in his virtues, as may ever throw upon my pen the melancholy obligation of altering this character.’”

The contrast of terms, however, is so violent, and the condemnatory representation is so perfectly clear of any indication of regret at the necessity of such a reversal of the former estimate, displays so easy a complacency in hostility, and a contempt so satirical, that we really do feel a difficulty of conceiving they could exist in a mind moderately well conditioned toward a person who had been for many years a respected and endeared friend. It is the sort of *levity* of the enmity that strikes us as so unnatural and improbable in a mind with such recollections. A grave and somewhat pensive indignation might have comported well with the high Catonic principles of Glover. His character, indeed, is marked in a very extraordinary degree by the feature described in the above extract from the Inquiry. The memoir manifests that he alternately approved and disapproved of the same men, with an emphasis amounting almost to personal attachment or aversion, according to the rectitude or obliquity of their conduct. His conviction of their want of integrity very properly went the length of withdrawing him from friendly intercourse with them. He had no notion that an honest man could maintain a friendship with politicians who were more intent on power and emolument than on the good of their country.

THE CHARACTER OF GLOVER CONSIDERED.

In the general spirit of his judgments on statesmen, in his unqualified, unmitigable condemnation of their corrup-

tion—a corruption which he had opportunities so extraordinary of knowing to be almost general among them—in his contempt of the ordinary currency of monarchs, in his disposition to make efforts and stimulate to efforts in the national service, combined with a despondency approaching to despair of the national virtue and welfare, the writer of these memoirs will be acknowledged by every reader to be in very striking correspondence to the character of Junius; and there wanted only some portion of that brilliancy of composition, which distinguishes the best efforts of that writer, to make us willing to be persuaded that at last we have him in his proper person. Of this brilliancy it must be acknowledged the memoir is so destitute of every trace, that even all the presumptions furnished by so many points of correspondence between the circumstances and character of Glover and those of Junius, would not be enough to give plausibility to a claim for the one of being identical with the other, if the public had seen no compositions of the unknown writer, but the celebrated letters with that signature. But some of the letters of Philo-Junius, and a number of those from the same hand, given, under various denominations, in the new edition, have perhaps, in truth, as little of the electrical quality and power, if we may so express it, as the composition of these memoirs. And it is to be considered that it was written as a mere course of memorandums of the matters of the author's political experience, without the least ambition of the oratory of history, and without the smallest inducement for him to put his mind into that state of artificial heat, which was evidently necessary in order to produce from that of Junius those explosions in which he was so fine and so formidable.

If among the other papers of Glover, said by the editor, in the preface to the memoir, to be “in the possession of his immediate descendant,” there should be a continuation of this political secret history, it is very possible it may furnish some further evidence on the literary question; and though it should not, it will be valuable for what it will be likely to disclose concerning actors and transactions, which ordinary history could do little better than exhibit

to us in that prepared and often deceptive form in which it was *intended* by those actors that they should be seen by the public.

In these publications we do not observe that one word is said respecting the hand-writing of Glover; a silence, when their professed object is considered, not a little strange. We necessarily infer from it, however, that no degree of resemblance has been found or even fancied between it and that of Junius, whose MSS. the civility of Mr. Woodfall has permitted the editor to inspect. It became, therefore, indispensable to assume, and it is done with far too little ceremony, that the letters of Junius were written in a "disguised hand." We think that any person who looks at the fac-similes, may very reasonably doubt even the possibility of preserving so much system, together with an apparent freedom of stroke, in a hand adopted for occasional use.

The memoir may be deemed of more worth as an historical document than as contributing to prolong the old, and perhaps, hopeless, literary inquiry. When, however, we speak of its being something "worth," as history, we should not forget the difference of taste and opinion among readers. The class of persons alluded to at the beginning of this article, as consistently detesting Junius, who hold it a part of religion, that governments, contemplated under any of their forms or in any of their parts, monarchs, ministers, or parliaments, have a righteous claim, in virtue of their political capacity, to be held in reverence independently of their real characters, would have done well to buy up this memoir, at each edition, to destroy it; for it is little else than an exposure of the political profligacy of the most distinguished managers of the national concerns during the specified period. It will destroy all respect for the principles of the individuals thus exhibited, and will tend to aggravate, and seem to sanction, that deep, systematic suspicion which a portion of the community has been led to entertain against the whole class of statesmen. For if the public good was hardly so much as even a secondary concern with such men as Lyttleton and Chatham (power and emolument, this Cato says, were the first, and their reputation the second), it will seem quite reasonable to

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be somewhat rigorous and somewhat sceptical in judging of the pledges offered for the genuine public virtue of any statesman.

With regard to the competence of this witness, so long kept out of court, we suppose no reader of the memoir will be permitted to entertain a doubt. It is quite evident that he was on easy and sometimes confidential terms with a number of persons who were themselves among the first actors on the political stage, and who were perfectly acquainted with the characters of all the rest. He often had long discussions with individuals on difficult points of adjustment in political co-operation, and assisted at the most secret and important councils for determining the plan of an opposition, a coalition, or a ministry. He tells what advice he gave, what statements and reasonings he heard, and what unavowed principles and motives he sometimes descried. He assigns occasionally the causes of measures and movements, combinations and dissolutions, failures or successes, on which the public speculated in ignorance, but rarely pronounced a more suspicious or condemnatory judgment than the truth of the case, could it have been known, would have fully appeared to warrant. But what is called the public itself experiences no more indulgence than its leaders and deluders, from this impartial censor, who pronounces the people to have been about as corrupt as their governors. He was as much a despiser of their merits as he was a friend to their welfare.

With respect to his honesty, in the sense of veracity as a recorder of facts and sketches of characters, and in the sense of integrity as a participator in the practical business and schemes of political party, we acknowledge he has very much of our confidence. There is a simple, firm, unequivocal directness in all his recitals, that proves he had never a moment's hesitation as to how he should relate his facts or express his comments, that he had no duplicity of ideas to require a language of compromise. And for the proof of his practical integrity, it may suffice that he was never himself a holder of place, or a receiver of emolument under any ministry, and that he would withdraw himself in a great measure from the friendship of such a man as Pitt, from disapprobation of his political conduct. In short the

memoir, with the little that is otherwise known of the man, gives the impression of a high-toned, consistent, inflexible, political virtue, of so decided and almost passionate a devotion to principle that he could throw persons and parties away when they appeared to desert it.

CARDINAL XIMENES.*

FRANCIS XIMENES, of Cisneros, was born, in the year 1437, at Torrelaguna, a small town of Spain, in the province of New Castile. We are told he was of honourable, though not wealthy descent. The circumstances of his parents were such, that in pursuing the study of the civil and canon law, in his early youth, he deemed it his duty to support himself by means of giving instruction to his fellow-students. He went to practise in the ecclesiastical court at Rome; but there soon determined to enter into the church, which his parents had always wished. By the authority of a brief from the Pope, he returned into his native country to take possession of a benefice just become vacant, but which the Archbishop of Toledo had already bestowed otherwise. The indignant prelate was powerful enough to feel himself above all hazard in throwing the intruder into prison, where he suffered a rigorous confinement of six years. Though sometimes dejected, he maintained his claim with invincible pertinacity, so that, in despair of moving him, his persecutor at last suffered him to recover his liberty, the first use of which was to exchange his ecclesiastical situation for another beyond the jurisdiction of the Archbishop. In the quiet scene of his office he devoted much time to the study of "the Hebrew and Chaldaic languages, and the Scriptures."

The omens of approaching honour and advancement began to shine into his obscurity; but he was so little captivated by them, that he determined on a much more recluse mode of life, relinquished his emoluments, and entered into a convent of the Observantines, the strict and austere branch of the Franciscans.

* The Life of Cardinal Ximenes. By the Rev. B. Barrett. 8vo. 1813.

After a severe novitiate, he made his profession, at so advanced a period of life as the forty-sixth year. The reputation of his sanctity and wisdom brought so many persons to consult him, that, really and sincerely intent, as we do not doubt, on retirement, he obtained permission to remove to a less accessible convent near Toledo, secluded in a grove of chesnut-trees.

He constructed a hut with his own hands in one of the obscurest recesses of the wood, and there passed many successive days in solitude. After a year, he removed, according to a custom of the Franciscan discipline, to another convent, where "his sole repasts consisted of boiled vegetables and water, and he at all times wore hair-cloth."

REMOVAL TO THE COURT OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

From this situation he was soon transferred, and without any intervention of the marvellous, to the court of the celebrated Ferdinand and Isabella, by an appointment to be the queen's confessor, at the intelligence of which he was "surprised and hurt," as "he dreaded being drawn from his retirement." This was in his fifty-fifth year. The office included much more than the duty of giving spiritual instruction, for the queen expected her confessor to be qualified for consultation on the most important and perplexed affairs of the government; but her wonder could hardly have been less than her satisfaction to find the competence of her new director far surpassing everything that could have been supposed attainable by a spiritual recluse.

His order, not long after, made him their Provincial. On taking this office, he resolved to fulfil, without delay, its duties, by a visit of inspection to all the convents thus placed within his jurisdiction. He chose a monk of a hardy constitution for his companion; and there is an amusing description of the style and state with which the official progress was performed.

It was to be expected he would find the order, for the state of which he was now become responsible, overrun with gross and inveterate abuses; and he made the first grand public display of his commanding character in that combination of address and conscientious audacity by which

he effected a great reform in spite of all the enemies, some of them formidable ones, that such a design could not fail to raise in resistance to him.

Between the indispensable labours of his ecclesiastical offices, and those duties and austerities of private devotion and discipline, he had as little time as he seems to have had disposition to play the part of courtier and sycophant. And it would really appear that no man ever had a more invincible distaste to its amusements, its pleasures, its pomps, and its honours. There seems to be decisive evidence that these sovereign enchanters gained nothing upon him by the progress of time, and the rapid accumulation of distinctions, successes, flatteries, emoluments, and power. We are forced to believe, in substance, that he never liked the splendours of his fortune, at any of its stages, and that he would have been glad, at any time, had a sense of duty permitted, to have rid himself of them all; so invincible was the possession which the ascetic spirit had taken.

PROMOTED TO THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF TOLEDO.

The portion of time surrendered to the queen was limited to her most indispensable claims, and the counsel he gave her was devised on any calculation rather than that of making his presence soon again necessary to royalty. It was therefore by any other influence on earth than that of haunting, adulatory obsequiousness, that his way was soon opened to the primacy of the kingdom, the archbishopric of Toledo, one of the first dignities in the Catholic world; his acceptance of which was refused and delayed for many months, till a peremptory mandate was obtained by the queen from the Pope.

The extensive power and vast affluence of his high station had no beguilement strong enough to seduce him in even the slightest degree from the austerity of his habits.

His expedient for preventing a needless protraction of discourse, on the part of persons introduced to him, was sufficiently unceremonious:—

“Not to be unnecessarily interrupted by visitants, on a table before him he kept a Bible open. He heard their addresses, and replied attentively: if they said more in return, he answered, if the conversation was matter of business; if not, he resumed his reading.”

FOUNDATION OF THE UNIVERSITY AT ALCALA.

One of his greatest and most favourite undertakings was the formation of a university at Alcala. To this his attention diverted with ardour at every interval allowed by the numerous concerns of the church and the nation; and its constant and rapid progress, on a magnificent scale, contributed, during the whole remainder of his life, to animate and console him amidst the toils and grievances of his public employments. Here he had a place where he could verify, in the most decided manner, the efficacy of his influence; to which he would send, with a certainty of the best training, the most hopeful portion of the youth; where he was gratified to be able to assemble in one repository the labours of the learned, and the remarkable productions of nature, the manuscripts of the East, and the arms and the idols of the newly discovered Western World. It was here, too, that the project was prosecuted and accomplished which excited his zeal above all other objects, the compilation of the Polyglot Bible, celebrated under the denomination of the Complutensian, from Complutum, the Latin name of Alcala. He was sixty-five when it was begun, and eighty when it was completed.

XIMENES AS A MILITARY LEADER.

It gives an almost romantic air to his history to see him suspending his attention to the affairs of the church, the convents, and the synod of biblical scholars, to plan and conduct in person a military enterprise. The coasts of Spain were most grievously infested by the Moors of Barbary:—

“These infidels used annually to cross the sea, and ravage the southern coast of Spain. Ximenes justly conceived, that by taking possession of the ports and fortresses opposite the coasts, he would obviate their future incursions.”

His own indefatigable exertions, his own combinations, his own revenue chiefly, and his own influence in the appointment of leaders, at length brought this scheme, regarded at first by multitudes as fantastic or impracticable, into an actual state of efficient preparation. He embarked with the armament to maintain a general superintendence over the commanders who were to direct the detail of execution. The immediate object was accomplished in the

capture of the city of Oran. The narrative of this enterprise is perhaps the most lively portion of the volume. One instance of gross indignity and defiance offered to the Cardinal by the immediate commander of the army, a proud and fiery spirit, served only to show, by the submission to which he was speedily brought, what a strange kind of magic there is in the energy of a comprehensive and resolute mind. Indeed the whole public life of this most extraordinary monk was a series of such illustrations, so numerous and signal, that the history grows quite marvellous by their accumulation. Any ordinary mind would have been very soon reduced to despair in the constant succession of opposition and embarrassment which he had to encounter from the anger of corrupt ecclesiastics reformed against their will, a nobility distinguished by the utmost pride of a partial feudal independence, the intrigues and animosities of several interwoven, inseparable, but rival and hostile princes and courts, and the contrivances of each of them in turn to draw upon him the hostility of the great regent of courts and princes, the sovereign Pontiff of Rome. Nothing in his policy is more admirable than the manner in which, while firmly maintaining his purpose, he conciliated, or soothed, or eluded, or braved, this formidable authority.

XIMENES APPOINTED REGENT OF SPAIN.

The diminution of the power of Ferdinand by the death of his queen, and the consequent difficulties which soon crowded around him, rendered doubly important to him the sagacity, the vigour, and the inflexible and intrepid integrity of the Cardinal. The faithful guardian, though he would have preferred the cell of a convent, held it his duty to be always ready. At the death of Ferdinand, the Cardinal was constituted Regent, till Charles, the famous Charles V., who had been appointed by Ferdinand to succeed him, but who was then only sixteen, should proceed from Flanders to occupy the throne of Spain. Our admiration of the talents and the stern virtue of the illustrious ascetic continues undiminished to the last; and if he did really die by poison, as is reported, it was quite a natural resource of those whose malice could abhor such a man, and had tried all other modes of assailing him in vain.

Though the surmise is of very questionable authority,

nothing could be more probable than such a piece of wickedness; but those historians who do not like to admit more crimes than they can help into the picture of mankind, think that extreme old age, oppressed and exhausted by exertion and mortification, combined with the ungrateful return he experienced from the young king whom he had so generously served, may well account for his decline and death without the intervention of poison.

DISMISSAL AND DEATH OF XIMENES.

The Flemish courtiers, among whom Charles had been brought up, had, during the whole period of the Cardinal's regency, been labouring with the utmost industry of self-interest, corruption, and malice, to excite in the young king an aversion to a man who was constantly baffling their dishonourable schemes. Their influence had acquired by degrees such an ascendancy over Charles, that on entering his kingdom, he manifested a preference for measures contrary to those advised by the Regent, and soon determined to put himself at his ease in the adoption of them by the dismissal of his sagacious director. A resignation of his office could not but be the earnest desire of Ximenes; but the cold and thankless dismissal, together with the practical slight of his counsel previously displayed, was perhaps too great an indignity to be received with perfect indifference even by his lofty and self-approving spirit. He soon after died, at the age of eighty-one.

CHARACTER OF XIMENES.

He will on all hands be acknowledged one of the most signal and admirable characters in history. Justice—active, inflexible, unconquerable, universal justice—exalted and fortified by the fear of God, and never so much as modified by the fear of man, is an attribute, in a powerful and able statesman, so inestimable and so transcendently rare, that all other qualities, whether of the laudable or the censurable order, appear trifles in the most extraordinary personage in which this supreme virtue is found, and where it is exercised with such a consummate self-command, and prudence, and address, as never to defeat its purposes.

His historian thinks that in some instances the austerity of his manners, in his transactions with men, might have been a little softened without a sacrifice of his principles;

but it is quite evident that the generation he was sent to manage were of a nature, for the most part, little susceptible to the influence of gentleness, and requiring that imperious vigour which alone could teach them how to value the more gracious discipline at intervals vouchsafed to them. On the common people indeed he seems but rarely to have had any considerable occasion for exercising his strength. Accustomed to submission, they found nothing new in the absoluteness of government, but very much that was new and gratifying in its equity. It was the nobility and ecclesiastics that continually put him on the exercise of his strongest faculties, and it is quite amusing to observe how long it was before they could be made to understand, even by practical proof, that it was his destiny to overpower them.

THE USE OF EMBLEMS IN EDUCATION.*

If men are resolute to be scoffers at serious instruction, they may be so in spite of any mode, and of all modes, of presenting truth; and it is not for the hazard of exciting their jocularities that we are to forego any of the expedients of instruction by which we may reasonably hope to benefit better disposed minds. Among those expedients we should think highly of the possibilities of sensible emblematical representations, however seldom those possibilities may have been realized. We want, to be sure, something less quaint and more dignified than many of the devices of old Francis Quarles; yet even from some of them we can conceive it very possible that, in former times at least many thoughtful, and some half-thoughtful, half-dissipated minds, have received useful suggestions and impressions. We shall not hesitate to acknowledge it among the recollections of our early years, that we were very strongly arrested and impressed by his series of representations of the stages and consumption of life under the emblem of a taper, just lighted in the first picture, burnt progressively shorter in each following one, and consumed just to the socket in the last.

The "Dial of Life" before us, is not so strictly an emblem, as it does not directly represent, and, as it were,

* The Bioscope; or, Dial of Life Explained: with an Elementary View of General Chronology, &c. Foolscape 8vo. 1812.

personate life itself, but only exhibits an instrument for marking its divisions, and admonishing of its progress ; but it thus belongs to the general designation of instruction pictured to the eye. And we cannot doubt that many an individual will receive from it an image on his mind, too strongly impressed to be effaced, and which will, hundreds of times in the course of his life, present itself afresh with a vivid aspect of admonition, when, but for this sensible representation, he might perhaps have forgotten the very serious and forcible instructions conveyed by the book. We must at the same time acknowledge that the author has employed expressions of a confidence as to the efficacy of the device which we fear is too sanguine. His benevolence seems to forget what a vast and melancholy number of minds there are that no device of human instruction can render serious long enough for even a monitory picture to be engraved on their imaginations.

EMBLEM OF THE PROGRESS OF LIFE.

The general design of the work is to inculcate the duty of a serious attention to the rapid progress of life. And the author has doubtless hoped to relieve the triteness of this most important topic by the device of the Dial, and the particularity of cast which his observations acquire from the frequency of reference to it. Certainly, this circumstance serves to give a kind of convergency to his ideas, which sometimes makes them strike more vividly, but perhaps, in some small degree, at the expense of that kind of solemn magnitude which seems so peculiarly to belong to the subject of time, contemplated as leading to eternity.

The special view in which the subject is intended to be displayed, is that of strongly representing the necessity of a congruity between the respective stages of life, and the employments and the state of feeling pursued and indulged in them.

FREE WILL AND ORIGINAL SIN DANGEROUS GROUND.

The consideration of the question why the Disposer of all things fixed on the term of seventy years, in preference to all other possible terms, for a general measure of the duration of human life, leads our author a little too near the precincts of the dark and disastrous speculations on free will, and the origin of evil, which all practical

teachers should be warned to shun with a caution partaking of horror. We cannot wonder to see one more sensible writer utterly failing, as all speculators past have failed, and as all to come will fail, in the attempt to fit out the original human agent in a state of qualities so exquisitely adjusted between absolute and corruptible rectitude, between perfection and frailty, as to be exactly as liable to adopt evil, as competent to adhere to good. Though he would seem to carry it as if his readers ought to be quite satisfied with his representation, he betrays that he is himself far from satisfied with it, by the emphatic expression in which he remarks the difference of condition between the *necessary* agents of the Divine will (such as the powers of nature, and the animal tribes), and the moral, voluntary, and pervertible agents.

INDIA AND ITS PEOPLE.*

FORBES's "Oriental Memoirs" is one of the most splendid works that ever proceeded from the English press. It is so multifarious and miscellaneous, as to leave no possibility of making a continuous abstract; and abounds so much with remarkable and entertaining incidents and descriptions, that were any such abstract possible, it would be far less gratifying than such a series of selections as it will be a much easier task for us to give.

Nature has in general so managed the distribution of her exhibitions, that where there is much to admire, there is much to fear. Mr. Forbes might gaze at banian trees, be captivated with the splendid beauty of the birds, be beguiled into a fancy of paradise by the rich profusion of flowers; and then, returning to his apartments, to muse over the scene, he might find, in one instance four, and in another five, of the cobra-minelle, the most dangerous, though the smallest of the Indian serpents, quietly lodged "in his chamber up stairs;" and might, therefore, have just cause to shudder at the narrowness of his escape of the speedy and painful death which its bite inflicts.

Compared with this, it is hardly worth while to mention

* *Oriental Memoirs*: written during Seventeen Years' Residence in India, &c. By James Forbes, F.R.S. Four vols. Royal 4to. 1813.

the recommendations which the country, "the paradise of nations," possesses on the score of the most curious singularities of vermin,—the black ants, an inch long, that bite according to the style of their bulk; the white ants, that eat up every thing in the house, and the house itself into the bargain; or the musk-rats, armed with such aromatic efficiency that "if one of them gets into a chest of wine, every bottle smells so strong of the animal, and acquires such a disagreeable flavour, that it cannot be drunk."

THE WHITE ANTS OF INDIA.

But without a description of the powers and operations of the white ants, it could not well be comprehended why an agent of such trivial name should be ranked among formidable enemies :—

"It is difficult to guard against the depredations of these extraordinary insects; in a few hours they will demolish a large chest of books, paper, silk, or clothes, perforating them with a thousand holes. A box dare not be left on the floor without placing it on glass bottles, which, if kept free from dust, they cannot ascend. This is trifling when compared with the serious mischief which they sometimes occasion, by penetrating the beams of a house, or destroying the timbers of a ship. These destructive animals advance by myriads to their work, under an arched incrustation of fine sand, tempered with a moisture from their body, which renders the covert-way as hard as burnt clay, and effectually conceals them at their insidious employment.

"I could mention many curious instances of depredation by the termites; one happened to myself. I had left Anjengo in the rainy season, to pass a few weeks with the chief at his country-house, at Eddova, in a rural and sheltered situation. On my departure, I locked up a room, containing books, drawings, and a few valuables. As I took the key with me the servant could not enter to clean the furniture. The walls of the room were white-washed, adorned with prints and drawings in English frames and glasses. Returning home in the evening, and taking a cursory view of my cottage by candlelight, I found everything apparently in the same order as I left it; but on a nearer inspection the next morning, I found a number of advanced works, in various directions, towards my pictures; the glasses appeared to be uncommonly dull, and the frames covered with dust. On attempting to wipe it off, I was astonished to find the glasses fixed to the wall, not suspended in frames as I left them, but completely surrounded by an incrustation cemented by the white ants; who had actually eaten up the deal frames and back-boards, and the greater part of the

paper, and left the glasses upheld by the incrustation, or covered-way, which they had formed during their depredations. From the flat Dutch bottles, on which the drawers and boxes were placed, not having been wiped during my absence, the ants had ascended the bottles by means of the dust, eat through the bottom of the chest, and made some progress in perforating the books and linen.

"The story of the termites demolishing a chest of dollars, at Bencoolen, is commonly told, if not commonly credited, throughout India. Captain Williamson, in a great degree, clears up that singular anecdote, by introducing another, of a gentleman who, having charge of a chest of money, unfortunately placed it on the floor in a damp situation; the chest was speedily attacked by the white ants, who had their burrow just under the place where the treasure stood. They soon annihilated the bottom, and were not more ceremonious in respect to the bags containing the specie; which being thus let loose, fell gradually into the hollows in the ants' burrow. When the cash was called for, all were amazed at the powers, both of the teeth and stomachs, of the little marauders. After some years, the house requiring repair, the whole sum was found several feet deep in the earth.

"When, as a precaution, articles liable to their attack are insulated by means of frames, of which the feet are placed in vessels full of water, they have been known to ascend to the upper flooring, and thence work downwards in filaments, like the ramifications of the roots of a tree; and thus descend on their object. In fact, it is scarcely possible to prevent them injuring whatever they take a fancy to."

DESTRUCTIVENESS OF PARROTS AND PARROQUETS.

With such an irresistible assailant on the contents of the house, and a countless tribe of parrots consuming the produce of the fields, it seems in perfect consistency, indeed in some degree rendered necessary, that there should be larger prowlers to devour now and then the people too. These parrots, we dare say, are much oftener thought of for their powers of eating than their faculty of talking—and indeed in this they are much on a level with many animals of greater name and pretensions. We transcribe a sentence or two from the minutes of their proceedings:—

"The parroquets, in the southern part of Malabar, are remarkably handsome. The parrots are not so beautiful, but their number is astonishing: they are as much dreaded at the

time of harvest, as a Mahratta army, or a host of locusts. They darken the air by their numbers ; and alighting on a rice-field, in a few hours carry off every ear of ripe corn to their hiding places in the mountains. I have often witnessed these depredations."

Our author kept a chameleon several weeks, and observed it with the minutest attention. We shall transcribe part only of his description :—

SENSITIVENESS OF THE CHAMELEON.

"The general colour of the chameleon so long in my possession was a pleasant green, spotted with pale blue. From this it changed to a bright yellow, dark olive, and a dull green ; but never appeared to such advantage as when irritated, or a dog approached it ; the body was then considerably inflated, and the skin clouded like tortoise-shell, in shades of yellow, orange green, and black. A black object always caused an almost instantaneous transformation. The room appropriated for its accommodation was skirted by a board painted black ; this the chameleon carefully avoided ; but if he accidentally drew near it, or if we placed a black hat in his way, he was reduced to a hideous skeleton, and from the most lively tints became black as jet ; on removing the cause, the effect as suddenly ceased ; the sable hue was succeeded by a brilliant colouring, and the body was again inflated."

THE SWINGING DEVOTEES.

At Marre, in the Concan, were found excavated temples and habitations in a rocky hill, resembling, on a smaller scale, the prodigious works of Salsette and Elephanta. And near these "sacred caverns was a spot set apart for *swingers*," a sort of devotees, with whose performances we are become familiar of late years, by means of the frequent descriptions of travellers and missionaries. Particular villages, are appropriated for this exhibition of men voluntarily suspended by a hook fixed in the back, and swinging about in the air :—

"The longer the man is capable of this painful exertion, and the more violently he swings himself round, the greater the merit. From the flesh giving way, the performer sometimes falls from his towering height, and breaks a limb ; if he escape that accident, from the usual temperance of the Hindoos, the wound soon heals."

ORNAMENTAL WELLS OF INDIA.

The passion of the rich and powerful men of these countries for perpetuating their names by some remarkable work, has, in one of its modes of operation, conferred a most substantial benefit; as our author finds repeated occasions for testifying, on coming, in a fever of heat and thirst, to some of those large, walled, and decorated wells, without the aid of which some parts of the country would be hardly passable.

In trying seasons the reader can easily suppose how Pagans might learn to worship water. The craving for it was sometimes excited almost to madness, and the indulgence of quaffing and laving, on arriving at a stream or reservoir, parched and almost expiring, was ecstasy. Our author was often struck with the beauty and force of descriptions and benedictions in the Old Testament, in which the importance and beneficent effect of this element are represented in so many forms, and with so many spiritual, consolatory, and sublime associations and analogies.

FALSE CHRISTIANITY AT GOA.

The delight we were beginning to feel at his description of the ruinous and desolate appearance of Goa, that funnel from the infernal kingdom, was suddenly extinguished by his information that the structures, which are the most truly representative of the character of the place, have so completely maintained themselves against the ravages of time, that the convents, the churches, and the inquisition, those holds of delusion and cruelty, were preserved, at the time of his visit, in repair and splendour. They probably will yet long remain, impiously arrogating to represent, in that region, the character of Christianity; a pretension which will be most willingly admitted by the Mahometans and Pagans, as adapted to silence any reproaches which that religion might make against them for superstition, bigotry, and malignity.

THE SALT-PANS OF MALABAR AND BENGAL.

The mention of the salt-pans, or rather salt-fields, on the Malabar coast, sends our author's highly transitive imagination across the peninsula, to the Sunderbunds of the Bay of

Bengal ; where, in the condition of the Molungies, or salt-boilers, he unfolds a scene of desperate wretchedness. The Sunderbunds, with their most gloomy appearance, their impervious thickets and swamps, and their unparalleled superabundance of all the noxious animals, especially royal tigers, have often been mentioned, with every due expression of dread. But it has not been so familiarly known, that within the recesses of this frightful region, a considerable number of human beings, doomed without remedy to the locality and the employment, by the combined force of the law which makes the father's occupation unalienably the son's inheritance, and the guards of revenue officers and militia, "posted at all the places whereby it is possible to escape in boats," that such a forlorn tribe of creatures are *denied the possession of arms*, and, therefore, appear nearly as much appointed to regale the tigers, as to furnish salt and revenue. At each labouring station a look-out is constantly kept to give the alarm of any approach of these enemies swimming through the rivers ; "and as soon as any appear, the whole take to flight, and conceal themselves in caves excavated for the purpose ; from which it, however, sometimes happens, the hungry animal removes every obstacle with his claws, and drags out one or more of the inhabitants already half dead with terror." "This unfortunate race of human beings sometimes obtain an addition to their number, when trespassers attempt to escape from the pursuit of justice, and to wind through the maze of the inland navigation. These are handed over to the salt-pans, whence not one in a million ever returns."

CHEAPNESS OF CHILDREN AT MALABAR.

He depicts the melancholy effects of a famine, caused by a real scarcity of rice, or sometimes an artificial one, contrived by the native government. An ordinary consequence is, to see mothers offering to sell their children, and fathers both wife and children. But it should seem that the bonds of relationship among these devotees to Seeva, have a slightness that gives way to a much less violent force than that of the last extremities of famine :—

"Malabar children are generally a cheap commodity at Anjengo. At the end of the rainy season, when there was no particular scarcity in the interior country, I purchased a boy

and girl, of about eight or nine years of age, as a present to a lady at Bombay, for less money than a couple of pigs in England. I bought the young couple, laid in two months' provision of rice and salt-fish for their voyage, and gave each of them four changes of cotton garments, all for the sum of twenty rupees, or fifty shillings. English humanity must not pass a censure on this transaction : it was a happy purchase for the children ; they were relieved from hunger and nakedness, and sent to an amiable mistress, who brought them up tenderly, and, on leaving India, provided for their future comfort ; whereas, had I refused to buy them, they would assuredly have been sold to another, and probably have experienced a miserable bondage with some native Portuguese Christian, whom we do not reckon among the most merciful task-masters.

"A circumstance of this kind happened to myself. Sitting one morning in my verandah, a young fish-woman brought a basket of mullets for sale ; while the servant was disposing of them, she asked me to purchase a fine boy, two years of age, then in her arms. On my upbraiding her for want of maternal affection, she replied with a smile, that she expected another in a few weeks, and as she could not manage two, she made me the first offer of her boy, whom she would part with for a rupee. She came a few days afterwards, with a basket of fish, but had just sold her child to Signor Manoel Rodriguez, the Portuguese linguist ; who, though a man of property and a *Christian*, had thought it necessary to lower the price to half a rupee. Thus did this young woman, without remorse, dispose of an only child for fifteen pence."

LOW ESTIMATE OF THE HINDOO CHARACTER.

The infinite number of gods and shrines, the vastly complicated ceremonials, the leading distinctions of castes, with all their subordinate varieties, and the diversities exhibited in different localities, are all too little to prevent our feeling the dead sameness at the basis of the Hindoo character and social economy. It is a most insipid, inert, servile portion of the human race, moulded, by scores of millions, and with as lumpish a passiveness as pipe-clay, in the petty fantastic, but uniform shapes of a silly superstition. In their intellectual attainments and in their institutions, they are at best stationary, through ages and millenniums ; incapable of detecting or even questioning the grossest impositions that have come to them with a sanction of religion and antiquity ; incapable, at once, of thinking as individuals, and of social

co-operation for speculation and improvement ; incapable, for an indefinite time, of making, from their own prompting, one manful effort for any kind of liberty, and all the while quietly entertaining a universal and perfect assurance (the genuine growth from such a stagnation, such a morass of mind) of being the most exalted of the world's inhabitants ; insomuch that the wretched Soodras look down on European nobles, heroes, and philosophers.

ON HINDOO CASTES.

The Nairs are a class or caste next to the Brahmins, and, it should seem, are to be regarded as a local variety of the Cshatriya, Chuttree, Xetrie,—or whatever is the proper denomination of the second great caste of the general Hindoo arrangement, and of the sacred books. And here we may observe that the business of castes makes infinite confusion in our books about the Hindoos. The varieties are so undefined, so blended, and so countlessly numerous, that we are very often quite at a loss to know what sort of people we are got among, excepting, that they are at any rate our betters. Our only chance for complete certainty is at one or other of the extremes, where we fall in with a class that with impunity insults every body else, or a class that with impunity every body else insults.

HINDOO MARRIAGES.

There is a strange account of the whimsical, unnatural, and foolish notions and laws relative to the relations of marriage and consanguinity among the Nairs. An essential part of the system is that not a man's own children, but those of his sister, are his heirs. As to his own, he is to regard them as creatures he has no sort of interest in ; while for a casualty befalling one of those of his sister, even should he never have seen it, he is to feel or feign all manner of distress.

A MAHRATTA CAMP.

With the Mahrattas, an army is not exactly the kind of thing meant by the term in Europe, a machine constructed specifically for the operation called a battle ; it is a contrivance to embody, in a moveable form, all the functions

and agencies of society ; and it is adapted to conquer a country, by main force of infinite eating. Few things in the work are more curious, and what we may call outlandish, than the descriptions of this formidable monster, which makes itself sport by destroying the little which it cannot devour :—

“ Fond of a wandering life, the Mahrattas seem most at home in the camp ; the bazaars being supplied with necessaries for the soldiers, and such luxuries as those in a higher station require, they know no wants, and are subject to few restraints ; surrounded by their wives and children, they enjoy the pleasures of domestic life ; and many of the principal officers keep cheetas, greyhounds, and hawks, trained to hunting, for their amusement on a march, or when encamped in a sporting country.

“ Not only the officers and soldiers, but in general the followers of the camp, have their wives and families with them during the march. The women frequently ride astride with one or two children on a bullock, an ass, or a little tattoo horse, while the men walk by the side. On reaching the encampment, the fatigued husband lies down on his mat, and the wife commences her duties. She first shampoos her husband, and fans him to repose ; she then shampoos the horse, rubs him down, and gives him provender ; takes some care of the ox which has carried her stores, and drives off the poor ass to provide for himself. She next lights a fire, dresses rice and curry, or kneads dough for cakes, which are prepared and baked in a simple manner. When the husband awakes, his repast is ready ; and having also provided a meal for herself and children, the careful matron occupies the mat, and sleeps till day-break, when all are in motion, and ready for another march.

“ Of the Mahratta cavalry, those soldiers who have neither female companions nor servants to attend them, on finishing the march immediately shampoo their own horses, by rubbing the limbs, and bending the joints ; which not only refreshes the animals, but enables them to bear fatigue with a smaller quantity of food than would be otherwise necessary.

“ Besides the married women, a number of dancing girls and tolerated courtezans attend the camp. Some of the former officiate as choristers in the sacred tents dedicated to the Hindoo gods ; many belong to the officers, and others form a common cyprian corps. Children of both sexes accompany the army in the severest marches ; they know no home but the camp.

“ The number and variety of cattle necessarily attendant on

an Asiatic army is astonishing. There were at least two hundred thousand in the Mahratta camp of every description. The expense of feeding these animals, as also the difficulty of procuring provender, is very great, and their distress for water, in a parched country and a sultry climate, often fatal."

The Peshwa, having drawn to his camp everything of the nature of soldiery that he had any reason to expect, but relying on the English battalion more than on any part of his army, began a movement toward those whom he regarded as his rebel subjects. The dry season being far advanced, and consequently the water in the wells and tanks greatly reduced, the army seldom remained a night in a place without completely exhausting it, leaving the inhabitants to the resources of a "heaven of brass over them, and an earth of iron under them." In some of the positions, all that was contained in these reservoirs was far from sufficing the army itself. Some of the tanks were reduced to the state of a nauseous puddle, in a very short time, by the foremost of the innumerable quadrupeds crowding impetuously into the water.

"Heat and dust pervaded the camp; fetid smells and swarms of flies, rendered it inconceivably offensive. I can easily suppose the plague of flies was not one of the smallest judgments inflicted on Egypt; few things, not venomous, could be more troublesome than these insects; they entirely covered our food, filled the drinking vessels, and made it difficult to distinguish the colour of a coat."

INDIAN WARFARE.

On reaching a river, the opposite side of which presented the camp of the enemy, the gallant Ragobah and his Mahrattas deemed it much more entertaining to see a detachment of the English sustain and bravely repulse repeated attacks of the enemy's cavalry, than take any part in the action themselves. Several hundreds of the enemy perished, and their army retreated, first cutting down the trees, destroying a village, and burning all the corn and provender they could not carry off:—

"The surrounding plain was covered with putrid carcasses and burning ashes. The hot wind wafting from these fetid odours, and dispersing the ashes among the tents, rendered our encampment extremely disagreeable. During the night hyenas, jackals,

and wild beasts of various kinds, allured by the scent, prowled over the field with a horrid noise ; and the next morning a multitude of vultures and kites were seen asserting their claim to a share of the dead."

"The dreadful scenes on the field of battle before the sepulture of the dead, and the removal of the wounded, together with the groans of elephants, camels, horses, and oxen, expiring by hundreds, united to the noise of vultures, and screams of other ravenous birds hovering over them, realized the sublime invitation in sacred writ, for the birds of prey to come to the feast of death : ' Come and gather yourselves together, that ye may eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of captains.'"

They again came several times in contact with the enemy, and in one of the conflicts the English suffered severely ; a detachment of them being drawn, by the treachery of one of the chieftains in their own Ragobah's army, into a position where they were separated and surrounded. The traitor soon met his deserved fate.

THE BHAUTS OF GUZERAT.

The tribe of people called Bhauts, reside chiefly in the province of Guzerat :—

"Like the troubadours and minstrels in Europe, in the days of chivalry, they seem chiefly occupied in repeating verses of their own composition, or selections from the mythological legends of the Hindoos."

"Many of them have another mode of living ; they offer themselves as security to the different governments for payment of their revenue, and the good behaviour of the zemindars, patels, and public farmers ; they also become guarantees for treaties between rival princes, and the performance of bonds by individuals. No security is esteemed so binding or sacred as that of a Bhaut ; because, on failure of the obligation, he proceeds to the house of the offending party, and in his presence destroys either himself or one of his family, imprecating the most dreadful vengeance of the gods on the head of him who had compelled them to shed their blood. This is deemed a dire catastrophe ; as the Hindoos are taught to believe that the Bhaut's life, to which a superstitious veneration is attached, over and above their common horror of bloodshed, will be demanded from the aggressor by an offended deity ; it is, therefore, very uncommon for an obligation to be broken where a Bhaut stands security."

"For this responsibility, the Bhauts receive an annual stipend from the district, village, or individual they guarantee. They

sign their name and place of abode to the agreement; but instead of affixing their seal, as customary among other tribes, they draw the figure of the *catarra*, or dagger, their usual instrument of death."

"These people claim an exemption from taxes, and are so invincible in their resolution to resist the payment of them, that whole tribes, men, women, and children, will sacrifice their lives rather than submit."

INDIAN RECKLESSNESS OF LIFE.

The readiness to throw life away, so widely displayed by the Indians, combines with many other facts presented in human society, to suggest the melancholy reflection, what an incomparably more extensive willingness there has always been among mankind, to offer their lives in sacrifice to evil than to good. In the great comprehensive record of all lives and deaths, what a stupendous and awful disproportion there will be found between the number of those who have consentingly devoted themselves to death for the interests of adventurers, tyrants, and impostors; in homage to superstition and idolatry; or in deference to human opinion, under the forms of fame, reputation, laws of honour, and the like—and the number of those who have surrendered life in a simple, enlightened devotement to truth, virtue, and the Almighty. There is inexpressible melancholy in the thought, that life—which there is so much in the constitution of nature to make men regard as the most precious of terrestrial possessions—that life, which it has always required a most rare exertion of faith, and conscience, and courage, to expose or surrender for the pure sake of the true God and heaven,—has been yielded up or flung away with the utmost promptitude, by innumerable multitudes, at the requisition of trifles, delusions, and abominations.

How low soever an estimate a Hindoo may entertain of his own life, he is sure to have his brethren adopting his opinion. They will see him lose it, or help him to be rid of it, with all possible coolness of philosophy. The general effect conveyed by our author's very numerous facts, is that there is nothing on earth which the Hindoos regard as of less importance than the lives of their neighbours. The Brahmins especially, with all their pretended and attributed tender solitudes not to hurt a cow, or even an insect, appear

to regard the deaths of persons of the inferior castes no more than the dropping of withered leaves from a tree ; and would probably feel little more uneasiness in causing their death than in striking a tree to bring its leaves down.

Nevertheless, by the very constitution of man, the sense of obligation to something out of himself, in other words of right and wrong, will absolutely haunt him, and adhere to him in some form or other. And the degree which any people holds in the scale of cultivated intelligence as well as of morality and religion, will be strikingly indicated by the things upon which this sense of obligation fixes the mark and the emphasis of duty and guilt. This Indian population, amid such a dissolution and abandonment of what may be called the primary morals, is, notwithstanding, overrun to an inconceivable degree with conscientious scrupulosities, and is constantly seen in that monstrous combination of functions —“ straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel ;” and the intrinsically narrow, grovelling quality of their minds is glaringly manifested by the circumstance, that a vast proportion of their superstitions relate to eating. We may readily judge of the elevation of the man, when the religion is that of rice, and butter, and platters.

MUTUAL TOLERATION BETWEEN THE HINDOOS AND MAHOMOMETANS.

It seems that the tolerance which false religions so well deserve from one another, and which none of them can be so undiscerning as to be betrayed to maintain willingly towards the true, prevails now to a somewhat unaccountable extent between the Hindoos and Mahometans. This degree of complaisance is perhaps not surprising in the disciple of Brahma, whose maxim is, that the various modes of worship practised by the different nations of the earth spring alike from the Deity, and are equally acceptable to him. The insufficient cause assigned by the writer for this relaxation on the part of the Mahometans is, their experience of the impossibility of converting the Hindoos ; but we may be sure that no question about that would ever enter into the calculations of a genuine Moslem zealot.

EFFECTS OF TIME AND CLIMATE IN PRODUCING TOLERATION.

The Hindoos are an evidence that length of ages may do fully as much to impair the features of idols and the structures in which they are adored, as to lessen the tenacity of the superstitious notions, or dissolve the system of rites and consecrated customs. Perhaps, however, time may do more injury to the *activity* of a delusive faith than to its tenacity ; it may rest with great weight of authority on the minds of the tribes that inherit it, and yet, by a necessary effect of time, decline in the inspiriting, impelling power which made their ancestors cheerfully brave death to extend its dominion. Something, in Hindostan, may reasonably be put to the account of a climate, which, though a great debilitator of physical energy, must necessarily affect the mind with a languor much more favourable to indifference and acquiescence than to the hostile efforts of a propagandist. Long familiarity, besides, lessens repugnance, even in spite of a disapproving judgment.

HINDOO AND MAHOMETAN HATRED OF EUROPEANS.

But may not the change be attributed, in a very material degree, to the modern communication between India and north-western Europe ? Not that the faithful have taken any lessons from us on the subject of toleration. But, for one thing, the Mahometans, as well as the Hindoos, have been found to regard our progress in India as a most ambitious, and powerful, and formidable invasion. Both parties have been inspired with hatred and fear of us, as foreigners, conquerors, usurpers, and infidels ; and few things have a greater tendency to conciliate hostile parties than a community of hatred and fear, as directed towards some third object. And again, the astonishing military superiority of the invading infidels, their unremitting advances in power and acquisition, and the apparent consolidation of their ascendancy, must have somewhat lowered, in spite of oriental fanaticism and pride, the lofty notions of the supremacy on earth of themselves, their prophet, and his cause.

THE UNIVERSITIES.*

THAT fond and reverential partiality with which our scholars and authors, and even our statesmen and heroes, of a former age, were accustomed to refer to the Universities where their minds had been trained and enriched, has a very pleasing appearance as combined with that sort of poetical character with which times long past present themselves to the imagination. In bestowing their homage and their caresses on Alma Mater, they look graceful even when they seem to us to grow almost extravagant and superstitious. A mother who could give the world such sons as some of them were, seems entitled to demand even from us a degree of the same grateful veneration.

Their affection and their homage will the less appear to us excessive, the longer we reflect on the grand superiority which, in those times, the Universities possessed over other situations and other portions of the community, in their comparative monopoly of great proficient in literature, of accomplished teachers, of comprehensive libraries, and of multitudinous literary society and co-operation; to say nothing of the *subsidia* afforded to study and to musing by their commodious and magnificent edifices, and by the academic groves. They had much of the nature and pretensions of an intellectual metropolis, where disproportioned accumulations of mind were surrounded by accumulations of the means to qualify it for illuminating and governing the world.

PRESTIGE OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION ON THE DECLINE.

By slow degrees universities have been losing somewhat of their proud pre-eminence. The national mind has been roused into exertion, and refuses to bow to the sovereignty of these institutions, on which, from the advancement and free diffusion of knowledge, it no longer feels itself to be dependent. Pursuits, and teachers, and institutions of the intellectual order, have been multiplied through the country. Many things have risen to great

* History of the University and Colleges of Cambridge. By G. Dyer. Two vols., 8vo. 1814.

importance as subjects of knowledge, which universities have not been accustomed to teach, and which, from reluctance to innovation, they have not condescended to admit into their system. The paramount importance of some of those acquirements on which the universities had founded perhaps the proudest of their honours, has been depressed, by the progress of human affairs, in the general estimation. And the partially antiquated economy of their discipline, together with their indispensable imposition of forms of faith, have provoked an extensive alienation from them.

Within the last half century, a college life, college notions, and college formalities have not seldom been the objects of satirical allusion or attack among wicked wits; parts of their system of instruction, and of their routine of observances have incurred the severe reprehension of graver censors; efficient practical men (than whom the most erudite scholastics cannot have a more assuming self-estimate), have been in the habit of making light of what they have been pleased to denominate the idle study of words: experimental philosophers have been found to join in the hostility; and the distinguished actors in the great national affairs have contributed to the undervaluation of these learned and venerable establishments, by never recollecting or caring to ascribe any part of the honour of their distinguished endowments and successes (as the eminent performers of past ages were glad and proud to do), to those seats of wisdom in which they had sojourned in earlier life. And the effect of all these causes has but been aggravated by the imputed stately, self-idolizing, supercilious, and unreforming character of those venerable institutions, which have been accused of affecting, when the world, by its progress, was threatening to leave them behind, to look on that world as too far below them to deserve that they should accept from it a single suggestion for their improvement, or deign to admit that any such thing was necessary.

THE MONARCHY OF ETRURIA.*

OF the monarchy of Etruria, history has barely had occasion to make a slight memorandum. It will perhaps be just mentioned as one among those many little temporary eminences thrown up in the prodigious combustion and agitation of Europe caused by the French revolution. Its locality was where a dukedom had long existed under the denomination of Tuscany, and may perhaps so exist again, if the House of Austria, so exemplary at all times, especially for moderation, should not be compelled by considerations of the public good, to occupy everything in Italy down quite to the sands of the Mediterranean.

A princess of the Bourbon family was appointed queen of this suddenly created state, her husband being, doubtless, effectively the king. He lived comparatively but a short time to sustain the dignity; she lived to lose it; and has survived that loss a number of years, to experience a very unenviable succession of fortunes, and to write, so lately as the spring of the present year, this brief but spirited record and vindication.

A QUEEN IN ADVERSITY.

It would seem not very generous, to say nothing of gallantry, to throw out anything partaking of an unfavourable sentiment concerning a queen in adversity, if there were any indications that adversity had been salutary to her. Some parts of her narrative will call forth the compassionate sympathy of every rightly disposed reader; she suffered much of what to a person of *any* rank would have been very great distress. But this compassionate feeling, so justly due, will not prevent our perception or suspicion that we are beholding a mind but little refined, or mellowed, or subdued, or elevated, by the events it has experienced, and the discipline it has undergone. There are no signs of moral reflectiveness, no glimpses of wisdom, no tinge of pensive sublimity, no devout references to Providence. There is habitually apparent a perfectly ordinary tempera-

* Memoir of the Queen of Etruria, written by herself: with an authentic Narrative of the Seizure and Removal of Pope Pius VII. on the 6th of July, 1809. Written by one of his Attendants. Translated from the Italian. 8vo. 1814.

ment, a mere strong resentment at injustice, a considerable share of the unthinking arrogance of high rank, and an unmitigable desire to reign. Her ideas of the style in which it is unhappiness for a princess not to live, betray no dawns of philosophic dignity. She ought certainly to excite the sympathy of sundry great and royal personages of each of these lands; but the millions who, under the enormous burdens brought upon the community by the ambition and quarrels of great and royal personages, find a distressing difficulty just to live, would be tempted to think that she sometimes complains too soon. In some of the straits which she describes, the kind-hearted among them would feel for her; but when they hear her, after herself and her whole family had descended to the state, and, therefore, the wants of private life, exclaiming, in a tone of indignant emphasis, "Thus 33,000 francs per month" (between thirteen and fourteen hundred pounds sterling), "were to serve for the support of myself, my children," (that is, two young children), "and my household;" and that, too, in a country where this sum was probably of twice the relative value that it is at present in England,—they must change their compassion into that distant, respectful perhaps, but rather wondering feeling, which regards personages of high descent as endowed, by way of pre-eminence, with a constitution infinitely more voracious of this world's good things than could be permitted in the humble portions of the race.

The latter narrative in this volume, which describes the circumstances of the Pope's seizure, and subsequent triumphant progress,—for such, by the account, it soon became—is perhaps the more entertaining of the two.

KIDNAPPING THE POPE.

There is a detailed account of the plan and execution of the attack on the Pope in the Quirinal Palace, in which, suspecting the design against him, he had endeavoured to secure himself at least against a sudden surprise. Miollis was the French commandant at Rome; the general dispositions made by him were carried into effect by General Radet, who "had formerly been penitentiary canon in a French cathedral, and was at this time inspector of the

French gendarmerie and of police at Rome." But, says the writer:—

"Their greatest merit was their having brought with them the galley-slave, Francesco Bossola, who had formerly served in the palace in the quality of porter, and who, having committed a robbery in the apartments of his Holiness's private chaplain, had obtained the pardon of his life from the clemency of the Pope himself; being reserved for the present occasion, to perform the part of guide to the satellites who were destined to the attack of the palace, and the seizure of the person of the venerable Pontiff, Pope Pius VII. For this service he was to receive 100 piastres; and he accordingly pointed out to them all the doors, stairs, and passages, by which they would have to proceed."

The number of French troops in the city was trifling; and even when joined by some hundreds of conscripts from Naples, and a number of "degenerate sons of the capital," and ill-affected people from the provinces, the force was still so inconsiderable as to render the commanders extremely anxious to execute the design with a secrecy and rapidity which should prevent any alarm and insurrection of the population of the "beloved city," which the narrator says, would easily have frustrated the enterprise. It is to the credit of the Pope that he does not seem to have been disposed to avail himself of this expedient, which would probably have been, at all events, the cause of great bloodshed. The achievement was performed late in the night.

There is much liveliness of description in the account of the circumstances of the Pontiff's self-possessed and moderate deportment, of the manners of his captors, and of the successive stages of his journey into France, and back again into Italy. We cannot fairly afford more space for the story; we must be content to state in general that, in spite of all the precautions of the French agents, the journey soon came to resemble a procession of some most favourite and popular Pagan idol. The intelligence constantly preceded him with inconceivable rapidity, and everywhere the roads, the inns, and towns, were beset with innumerable crowds of people, of all classes, and from all distances, who came to pay homage and receive benedictions. His conductors hoped that as soon as he should be once

fairly on French ground, this offensive enthusiasm would abate; but the inundation became the more formidable the farther he advanced; and in the route through Grenoble and Valence, to Avignon, he involuntarily exercised the supreme sovereignty of the country,—a sovereignty which took hold of the inmost souls of the people. In vain the appointed directors of the journey bustled, and threatened, and raged; in vain the local magistracies attempted to interfere; in vain was it attempted, in some instances, to keep the idol secluded from the people's sight, to which expedient that idol itself made not the slightest objection. The vast populace collected, and pressed, and demanded, with tumult irresistible. The sound of the most dreaded name in all France (Napoleon), was completely lost on their fears, and some of them were heard to pronounce that name with very irreverent associations:—

“It was in vain that the vice-prefect, the military commandant of Grenoble, and Boazar himself, employed every possible precaution, by keeping the Holy Father under the strictest watch, to prevent or disperse the assemblage of the populace: for, from the very first day of his arrival in this city, so vast a multitude flocked from all the adjacent country, to behold the Supreme Pontiff, and kiss his feet, that it became necessary to devise means for giving safe vent to this pious ardour. So that, at last, having fixed upon a convenient spot in an adjacent garden, where the general desire might be accomplished without danger, several hours were devoted to the reception of the crowds that poured in from all quarters. The same method was observed during ten succeeding days.”

At Avignon the frenzy grew to a still more victorious defiance of all restraint or measure. But it should seem that before this time the august head of the Gallican Church had become alarmed in his palace of the Tuileries; for he immediately issued an order to take the Pontiff back again, by a different route, to Italy.

ABYSSINIA.*

FOR the last twenty-four years Abyssinia has been regarded, by the greater number of the people among us, who take some little account of the different regions of the world they inhabit, much in the light of a newly discovered country. Previously to that time it was seldom recollected to be in existence; the relations of foreign missionaries and historians of a long anterior period, were very little known among us, excepting that of Lobo, translated by Dr. Johnson; and how much of that might be accurate no one presumed to have any confident judgment. The name always conveyed an idea of utter estrangement; and the very locality, secluded on all sides by such a breadth of impervious frontier, had to the imagination a certain dark air of vast remoteness, which was no longer retained by the regions of the great Southern Ocean.

This character of profound retirement was at length broken in upon, and dissipated by, a most daring and accomplished adventurer from this country. When Bruce published his travels, Abyssinia became, all at once, far more familiar to our imaginations than a great part of our own island. Its leading personages, the general condition of its population, its institutions, the face of the country, its grand river, its most remarkable animal and vegetable productions, were suddenly displayed before us in one comprehensive picture of most vigorous delineation and glowing colours. So vivid was his representation, and in so natural and interesting a manner was he himself brought forward in it, that he has associated his name, his character, his history, inseparably with the country. Abyssinia may exhibit its long list of emperors, and its ample memorials of wars, revolutions, and missionary enterprises; but in popular recollection, in this country at least, it will, for a long time to come, have no distinction so marked, so instantly and inevitably suggested to thought, as that it is the country that Bruce visited. He had, morally, some-

* A Voyage to Abyssinia, and Travels into the interior of that Country, executed under the Orders of the British Government, in the Years 1809 and 1810. By Henry Salt, Esq. Royal 4to. 1814.

thing very like that quality, or happy accident of being, which some of our voyagers to the South Sea islands found possessed by the king of a portion of one of them, that whatever ground he walked upon became thenceforward his own.

Bruce's representation has, partly by means of its priority, but not less by the power of mind which inspirits it, taken such effectual occupancy of the general imagination (like Milton's representations of Eden and the infernal world), that it is not without some little reluctance that many of his readers are yielding to the evidence which is accumulating to correct his involuntary errors or intentional impositions.

THE INTERIOR OF ABYSSINIA INACCESSIBLE.

Bruce stands, as yet, above all danger of rivalry in practical achievement in that part of the world. He went where no other of his countrymen has penetrated since, or is likely to penetrate for an indefinite time to come; and the brilliant enterprise was accomplished by his own single energy, aided by none of that influence which now accompanies, in so many regions of the East, a man belonging to a nation known to have acquired the ascendancy at sea, and the dominion of a considerable portion of Asia. His fame admits no other individual for a moment in heirship or competition but Mr. Salt; and he, with all the influence and the facilities that accompanied him, has not been able to approach that central region of Abyssinia which Bruce found the means of invading, and traversing with protracted, privileged, and intimate inspection.

Having read, with much interest, Mr. Salt's former journal of travels in Abyssinia, forming a part of Lord Valentia's splendid work, we heard, with great pleasure, of his being appointed by our government to make a more formal attempt on that country, in a mission which, with overtures for opening a commercial intercourse as its most palpable object, would necessarily, in such hands, include whatever could be accomplished in the way of general inquiry, vigilant and accurate inspection, and graphical representation. We ventured to hope that at his return we should be enabled to travel once more in imagination

to Gondar, for the first time with a guide on whom we could in all respects implicitly rely. It was, therefore, with a strong feeling of disappointment that we learned at length that he had, with still more mortifying disappointment to himself, found insuperable obstacles to his design of penetrating into the interior province of Amhara; that he had not, indeed, been able to approach very materially nearer to Gondar than Antálo, the capital of the grand eastern province denominated Tigré, the same town which formed the limit to his former advance into the country.

Still, though all his readers will very sensibly share his own disappointment, and though they are to be informed, besides, that he failed in the specific object of his mission; they will all testify that he has given us a very pleasing book.

ABYSSINIAN SLAVE MARKET.

Slavery and the slave trade were brought, in various forms, fully before the traveller's view. He saw some Portuguese vessels leave the harbour (of Mesuríl) with about five hundred of these unhappy beings on board, 'bought at this place at the price of ten, fifteen, and twenty dollars a-head, that is women and children at about the rate of three and four pounds a piece, and able-bodied men at the price of five pounds!' Five ships loaded with slaves had gone that year to the Brazils, each vessel carrying from three to four hundred; and it is considered a lucky voyage if not more than sixty die in each ship. He went to the market where some native traders had just arrived, from a remote part of the interior, 'with a cafila of slaves, chiefly female, together with gold and elephants' teeth for sale.' To amuse the English gentlemen in the evening, the slaves were assembled, and, according "to the usual practice for keeping them in health, *permitted* to dance." He adds, "I subsequently saw several dances of the same kind in the slave-yards on the island of Mosambique; but on these occasions it appeared to me that the slaves were *compelled* to dance."

"I shall never forget the expression of one woman's countenance, who had lately, I understood, been brought from the interior. She was young, and appeared to have been a mother,

and when constrained to move in the circle, the solemn gloom that pervaded her features spoke more forcibly than any language the misery of her forlorn condition.

"If there be still a sceptic who hesitates to approve of the abolition of the slave-trade, let him visit one of these African slave-yards a short time before a cargo of these wretched beings is exported, and if he have a spark of humanity left, it will surely strike conviction to his mind."

EUROPEAN IGNORANCE OF THE INTERIOR OF ABYSSINIA.

The Portuguese have very little certain information respecting the regions and the nations of the interior. This ignorance is attributed to the very narrow limits which have always invincibly repelled and confined the extension of their power inland. They have made some desperate efforts to advance their dominion to a considerable distance from the coast; but they have always been immediately or ultimately frustrated by the unconquerable spirit of the inhabitants, aided by those noxious powers of nature commonly found in activity in such a climate. The ambition of the invaders was reduced, like that of the ocean, to expend itself along the coast, on which their possessions have extended to great length.

"It appears that the consequence and value of this colony has always been greatly overrated; still, during the prosperity of the Portuguese monarchy, it was of real importance to that nation. It furnished very large supplies of gold and ivory, and afforded a valuable place for the Indian ships to touch at."

THE MAKOOA NATION.

The Portuguese have just behind them a long array of fierce and irreconcilable enemies, who not only preclude all possibility of their extending their dominion westward, but formidably menace, and have often ravaged, their narrow possessions on the coast. These dangerous neighbours are the Makooa, or Makooana, as they are often called, a people consisting of a number of very powerful tribes lying behind Mosambique, which extend northward as far as Melinda, and southward to the mouth of the river Zambezi, while hordes of the same nation are to be found in a south-west direction, perhaps almost to the neighbourhood of the Kaffers bordering on the Cape of Good Hope.

"The Makooa are a strong athletic race of people, very formidable, and constantly in the habit of making incursions into the small tract of territory which the Portuguese possess on the coast. Their enmity is inveterate, and is confessed to have arisen from the shameful practices of the traders who have gone among them to purchase slaves. They fight chiefly with spears, darts, and poisoned arrows; but they also possess no inconsiderable number of muskets, which they procure in the northern districts from the Arabs, and very frequently, as the Governor assured me, from the Portuguese dealers themselves; who, in the eager pursuit of wealth, are thus content to barter their own security for the gold, slaves, and ivory, which they get in return."

ABYSSINIAN LUXURIES.

A remarkable singularity was observed in the epicurism of these people—for even they have their epicurism,—they hold in abhorrence the flesh of common fowls, and account that of young eagles a banquet for the gods.

"During one of our excursions on the Island of Anto Sukkeer, we met with a party assembled round a fire, enjoying a feast, consisting of about a dozen young eagles of a half-grown size, recently taken from their nests, and about two bushels of shell-fish, all of which, after being broiled, were eaten without either bread or salt; and the natives seemed to consider it as a most delicious repast; while the screams of the parent birds hovering over their heads, furnished very appropriate music to this savage entertainment."

Occasionally, and indeed somewhat too frequently, they have an opportunity of feasting on locusts, a luxury which they can enjoy, like the Indians eating their enemies, both as food and revenge. After broiling them, they separate the heads from the bodies, and devour the latter in the same manner as Europeans eat shrimps and prawns. During our author's stay in this quarter, a large flight of these insects came over to one of the islands on the coast, and in a few days destroyed nearly half the vegetation upon it, not refusing even the bitter leaves of the rack-tree.

TRIPLE DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM OF ABYSSINIA.

The kingdom of Abyssinia is in three great divisions, independent of one another, and independent of any central or comprehending power. The limits and the included pro-

vinces and districts of these three divisions, are indicated in different colours on a most splendid map. The first of them, comprehended under the denomination Tigré, forming the eastern part of Abyssinia, is the most powerful of the three, owing to the natural strength of the country, the warlike disposition of its inhabitants, and its vicinity to the sea coast, an advantage that has secured to it a monopoly of all the muskets imported into the country, and, what is of still more consequence, of all the salt required for the consumption of the interior. The second grand division is called by the natives Amhara, though that is strictly the name of a province which it does not include, and which has been conquered and occupied by the wild southern tribes denominated Galla. This division comprises the main eastern portion of the kingdom or empire, including Dembea, and, of course, the capital, and is governed by an unprincipled barbarian, named Guxo, who is, perhaps, the enemy most dangerous to the governor of Tigré.

The third, or southern grand division, consists of the united provinces of Shoa and Efat. This is separated from the others by the intervention of those encroaching barbarous Galla. This division has acquired the decided form of an independent state, the government having descended, for many generations, in a right line from father to son. This chieftain is reported to be little less powerful than Welled Selassé, his military force consisting principally of horsemen, much celebrated for their courage in battle. His province of Shoa is noted for the richness of its land, and contains many large towns, and an immense number of monasteries. In some parts of this third division there is just reason to suppose that Ethiopic literature might be found in a more flourishing condition there than in any other part of Abyssinia.

It is evident that the only chance for the restoration of any thing like union and regular government to this distracted country, would be in the augmented preponderance of Tigré; in other words, the ability of Tigré to reduce by arms the other portions of the country, for we can conceive no other way in which its ascendancy could materially avail. There is no imaginable principle of mere policy that would draw them into harmonious combination,

or even keep them quiet. No deputation of the prime of the world's philosophers, counsellors, orators, and intriguers, bearing the concentrated illuminatism of our cabinets, senates, and colleges, would convince any one of these chiefs of the duty or wisdom of merging a lawless independent power in one general system of orderly government.

With a view to the desirable ascendancy of Tigré, Mr. Salt is anxious for the removal of the obstructions which interrupt its communications with the coast, and for establishing a free intercourse between it and the English settlements in India. "Were such a measure to be accomplished, it might revive the political importance of the country, and ultimately lead to the most desirable results."

THE AGOW CHRISTIANS.

In passing among a tribe of the people called Agows, once worshippers of the Nile, and converted to Christianity so late as in the seventeenth century, he had occasion to notice that they have not, like so many *Christians* nearer home, taken up nominally and nationally this religion, as if on purpose to try with how much neglect and contempt it may with impunity be treated.

"Like the people of Dixan, they are very regular in their morning's devotion; for which purpose the inhabitants of each village assemble before the door of their respective chiefs, at the earliest dawn, and recite their prayers in a kind of rude chorus together."

SHOOTING AT THE HIPPOPOTAMUS.

The description of this amusement, and of its intended victims, is extremely curious. The channel of the river about this place is an alternation of shallows and very deep pits: it is in these latter that the animal delights. A place was soon found where several of them appeared at intervals, with an action "resembling the rolling of a grampus in the sea." The shooting was, of course, the first thing that could be thought of. Accordingly:—

"Having soon found a place adapted to the purpose we had in view, we stationed ourselves on a high overhanging rock, and had

not long remained in this spot before we discovered a hippopotamus, not more than twenty yards distant, rising to the surface. At first it came up very confidently, raising its enormous head out of the water, and snorting violently in a manner somewhat resembling the noise made by a porpus. At this instant three of us discharged our guns, the contents of which appeared to strike on its forehead; when it turned its head round with an angry scowl, made a sudden plunge, and sunk down to the bottom, uttering a kind of noise between a grunt and a roar. We for some minutes entertained very sanguine hopes that we had either killed or seriously wounded the animal, and momentarily expected to see the body float to the surface; but we soon discovered that a hippopotamus is not so easily killed; for, shortly afterwards, it again rose up close to the same spot with somewhat more caution than before, but apparently not much concerned at what had happened. Again we discharged our pieces, but with as little effect as at the first shot; and though some of the party continued on their posts constantly firing at every hippopotamus that made its appearance, yet I am not sure that we made the slightest impression upon a single one of them. This can only be attributed to our having used leaden balls, which are too soft to enter the impenetrable skulls of these creatures, as we repeatedly observed the balls strike against their heads. Towards the latter part of the day, however, they began to come up with extreme wariness, merely thrusting their nostrils out of the stream, breathing hard, and spouting up the water like a fountain. It appears from what we witnessed, that the hippopotamus cannot remain more than five or six minutes at a time under water, being obliged to come up to the surface in the course of some such intervals for the purpose of respiration. One of the most interesting parts of the amusement was, to observe the ease with which these animals quietly dropped down to the bottom; for the water being very clear, we could distinctly see them so low as twenty feet beneath the surface. I should conceive that the size of those we saw did not exceed sixteen feet in length, and their colour was a dusky brown, like that of the elephant."

"While we were thus engaged, we occasionally observed several crocodiles, called by the natives agoos, rising at a distance to the surface of the river; they appeared to be of an enormous size, and of a greenish colour."

LIVING RUMP STEAKS.

Among the peculiarities of this Abyssinian warfare, we have evidence of one very remarkable fact, which by its

perfect correspondence to one of those descriptions in Bruce which contributed to destroy all confidence in his veracity, is available in his vindication. This fact is no other than the cutting of pieces of flesh from a living cow, by soldiers who then proceeded to drive the animal forward on their march. The testimony, now no longer questionable, to the existence of such a practice, is here produced in the terms of the deposition:—

“On the seventh of February Mr. Pearce went out with a party of the Lasta soldiers on one of their marauding expeditions, and in the course of the day they got possession of several head of cattle. They had fasted for many hours, and still a considerable distance remained for them to travel. Under these circumstances, a soldier attached to the party proposed ‘cutting out the shulada’ from one of the cows they were driving before them, to which the others having assented, they laid hold of the animal by the horns, threw it down, and proceeded without further ceremony to the operation. This consisted in cutting out two pieces of flesh from the buttock, near the tail, which together weighed about a pound: these appeared to be part of the two ‘glutei maximi,’ or ‘larger muscles of the thigh.’ They then sewed up the wounds, plastered them over with cow dung, and drove the animal forward, while they divided among their party the still reeking steaks. The animal after this barbarous operation, walked somewhat lame, but nevertheless managed to reach the camp without any apparent injury, and, immediately after their arrival, it was killed by the Worari (the denomination of the soldiers of the marauding parties) and consumed for their supper.”

AN ABYSSINIAN ELEPHANT HUNT.

Among various other curious particulars is a brief notice of a hunt, or rather massacre, of elephants:—

“On one occasion a whole herd of these tremendous animals were found feeding in a valley; and the troops having completely encircled them, no less than *sixty-three* trunks of these beasts were brought in and laid at the Ras’s feet, who sat on a rising ground, which commanded the whole scene, directing his soldiers in the pursuit. During the progress of this dangerous amusement, a considerable number of people were killed, owing to a sudden rush made by these animals through a defile, where a large party had been assembled, to stop their advance.”

MERCANTILE ADVENTURE.

The concluding part of this volume gives an account of a most vexatious, perilous, and ably conducted enterprise, into which Mr. Pearce had been drawn by the urgency of the English agent from Mocha, in spite of his own decided conviction of its being a desperate undertaking. It was that of giving effect to a project of a trading experiment in Abyssinia, by conveying a quantity of rather costly merchandize by a direct route from Amphila Bay, through the country overrun by those villanous Arabs. After a series of the most harrassing plagues, and the narrowest possible escape from being murdered, he accomplished the enterprise, to the astonishment of the Ras and all the Abyssinians.

A FIFTY-TWO DAYS' FAST.

Our author's visit to the court of Tigré happened to be in Lent, which lasts fifty-two days, with a rigorous and effectual prohibition not only of every kind of meat at all times, but of all food till after sunset, so that towards the end of the season "many of the stoutest," he says, "began to look pallid, and to express an anxious desire for its conclusion." The whole party attached to Mr. Salt had been absolved from the duty by a priest—"a privilege which it appears the priests of the country are entitled to grant to all persons engaged in travelling, or similar pursuits." It is easy to imagine, or rather perhaps *not* easy to imagine adequately, the ravenous spirit and execution in which the revenge for all this tyranny of their superstition began on the morning of the fifty-third day, the happy hour of their escape from purgatory, to what we should not have wondered to hear that they denominated heaven. Perhaps the most obvious mischief of the austerities of superstition, is the notion of their high religious merit; but we question whether it be not a still greater mischief, that they tend to magnify, to an indefinite degree, the estimate of the felicity of sensual indulgence—an estimate always so dangerously excessive without any artificial aggravation. -

ABYSSINIA ESSENTIALLY CHRISTIAN.

This country, surrounded by the immense empire of

African barbarism, presents a gratifying and memorable spectacle,—a people equally invulnerable to the two grand aggressions on Christianity: that from Rome, and that from Mecca. As to the latter we quote our author :—

“The Mahometan power soon overwhelmed all the countries adjoining Arabia, spread to the remotest parts of East, and penetrated across the unsocial regions of Africa ; while Abyssinia, unconquered and true to the Christian faith, remained within two hundred miles of the walls of Mecca, a constant and galling opprobrium to the followers of the prophet. On this account, unceasing and implacable war ravaged her territories ; the native princes on the borders being supplied with arms and money, and occasionally rewarded with splendid presents by the reigning sheriffs, whose constant attention was directed towards the conquest of the country.”

With respect to the advantage possible to be imparted to a remote nation in the most serious of all its interests, that of religion, it is an extraordinary circumstance, that the first statesman and hero in Abyssinia and the first ecclesiastic concur in avowing a conviction that they want our aid in this concern, in words to this effect: “We all say this is right and that is right, but I believe we shall only wander about in the dark until we receive a lesson from you.”

CONJEVERAM, NEAR VELLORE.*

CONJEVERAM is a place of peculiar sanctity with the Hindoos, situated about forty-seven miles west of Madras, on the road to Vellore. Mr. Wathen and his friend visited this depôt of shrines and sacred monkeys with merely the ordinary privileges of Englishmen, which of course were insufficient to open to them any of the secrets of the sanctuary. The scene, nevertheless, presented enough to fill and elate our author's imagination, and offered plenty of subjects to his pencil. A succession of objects captivated his attention by the way ; among the rest a strolling party of jugglers, who played some frightful tricks with serpents, and one of whom thrust a short sword down his throat to

* Journal of a Voyage to Madras and China. By James Wathen. 4to. 1814.

the hilt, a performance perfectly free from all deception. A school taught by a Brahmin presented a spectacle of order, liveliness, and, as far as could be judged, as much readiness in literary as in manual exercises. The groves of tamarind and banian trees, imparted the most luxurious sensations. The ground on each side of the embowered road, near Conjeveram, was thickly planted with odoriferous shrubs and the most beautiful flowers; the air was perfumed by their odour, and the scene altogether realized the description of the groves of Shadaski, in the *Tales of the Genii*.*

MAGNIFICENT PAGODA AND TEMPLE.

"Our admiration was extreme when, on entering the gateway, we saw the great number of buildings, of costly materials, and of more costly workmanship, which glittered before us. One in particular claimed our admiration. It was a monumental pillar, erected by a Brahmin, who was at the time of our visit the chief priest of this pagoda, to the memory of his father. The pillar was made of copper, richly gilt with burnished gold, was thirty feet high, and about six in diameter at the base; it stood on a pedestal twelve feet in height, with steps to the shaft of the pillar. Not far from the golden pillar stood a large, spacious, and beautiful temple, which was the largest of all the numerous buildings within the walls. We ascended into it by a flight of twelve steps. The roof at the entrance is supported by pillars twelve feet high, each pillar being ornamented by grotesque, and some disgusting figures. The interior of the buildings is disposed into four long aisles, or passages extending from the one end to the other. We were permitted to walk through one of the aisles, and had an opportunity of seeing the vast extent, richness, and beauty of the building. It contained one thousand pillars; each pillar, highly ornamented, supports six lamps, which are all lighted at some of the festivals celebrated in honour of Vishnou. These festivals are not permitted to be seen by any but the worshippers of Vishnou."

The town appears to consist chiefly of a regular street, nearly a mile long, with verandahs, and fine trees planted in front of the houses, which, being for the most part inhabited by people who have business with the gods, are, as might be expected, more handsome and commodious than the houses of ordinary towns. The Choultry where the Englishmen

* A series of oriental fictions, written by the Rev. James Ridley, son of Dr. Gloster Ridley, and lately republished in Bohn's Illustrated Library, at 5s.—Ed.

were to lodge, was found in the full occupancy of "white and brown spotted squirrels, and a species of crows, all perfectly tame and familiar." A little less of this familiarity would sometimes have been more agreeable to their visitors, on whose viands they committed alarming depredations. The extensive garden also was found to be inhabited, but by a tribe whose familiarity would have been considerably less amusing. It was in a neglected state, and over-run with long thick grass of luxuriant growth. "Attempting to explore this enclosure, they were soon obliged to relinquish their design, perceiving that at every step they disturbed large snakes and other noisome reptiles, the curse of this in other respects most happy climate."

LOFTY PAGODA DEDICATED TO SEEVA.

Much as Vishnou has to show in this consecrated territory, he is forced to acknowledge himself in the neighbourhood of his betters. The loftiest structure attests the superiority of Seeva. From a basis of great extent, this edifice towers up to its summit by fifteen stories or stages, progressively contracting in horizontal dimensions nearly to the top, and each ascended by a ladder of fifteen rounds. No satisfactory inspection, however, was permitted of the form or contents of the interior. But certainly nothing to be seen there would have deserved a look in comparison with what he was so elated in contemplating from the summit, and has really thrown himself into a little extravagance of language in celebrating.

"Never had I witnessed so beautiful and so sublime a prospect. It so far surpassed every idea which I had or could have formed of its grandeur and effect, that I was almost entranced in its contemplation. I forgot all the world beside, and felt as if I could have continued on this elevated spot for ever. To whichever point of the compass I turned, the view was equally wonderful, new, and enchanting. The eye of man, I am persuaded, never could, from any other spot in the universe, survey a scene more grand, beautiful, and interesting. I distinctly saw above forty villages, with their pagodas and temples, embosomed in trees of the most lively verdure, presenting every shade of green according to the distance; each village having its spacious tank, glistening like a mirror. I could even discern the tombs adorned with drooping cypresses, and distinguish some of the villages at the extreme distance of near forty miles."

TEMPLE TO VISHNOU.

The secondary style in which Vishnou is obliged to hold his court here, perhaps induces an affectation of peculiar and extraordinary sanctity and mystery. "On approaching," says our explorer, "another small temple, we were not permitted to enter. We peeped through the door, and plainly perceived a frightful representation of Vishnou, with a lamp burning before it, and Brahmins performing some of their rites. This small temple was a kind of *sanctum sanctorum*, as we were informed that none but the priests were at any time permitted to enter it."

BRAHMIN MODE OF RECOVERING CASTE.

Two young Brahmins, who had for some offence forfeited their privileges and lost their *caste*, suffered the voluntary punishment of being swung in the air by hooks fastened in their backs, which they endured with the most perfect fortitude. They thus, according to the account given to him, regained their *caste*. It has been very commonly asserted by writers on the Hindoo institutions, that forfeited *caste* can never, in any way, be retrieved; but certainly we have learned, from experience, to place little reliance on the accuracy of any professedly systematic exposition of their "religious" economy. It would appear that the vast rubbish of their sacred literature and laws, taken together with their practical customs, forms an infinite jumble of all manner of contradictions, from which it is not for mortal man to draw out any consistent and authentic scheme of doctrinal and preceptive institutes.

SOUTHERN AFRICA.*

In 1798, the London Missionary Society commenced an attempt to communicate the benefits of Christianity and civilization to the heathens of Southern Africa, by the agency of several pious men, of whom Dr. Van der Kemp, a Dutch physician, was the principal. The unremitting labours of these excellent men, for a number of years, had the effect of establishing several stations for regular missionary exertions, under the Doctor's superintendence. After his removal by

* Travels in South Africa, undertaken at the request of the Missionary Society. By John Campbell, Minister of Kingsland Chapel. 8vo. 1815.

death, it was judged necessary that some active and intelligent person should be deputed to examine the actual state of these establishments, in order to promote their prosperity by any measures found immediately practicable, and to judge of the best future expedients. Mr. Campbell sailed from England, June 24, 1812, and arrived at the Cape on the 24th of October.

“He then proceeded to Bethelsdorp, about five hundred miles west of the Cape; thence northward, to Graaf Reynet, then to Griqua Town, and thence to Latakoo, a populous city scarcely known to Europeans. He afterwards visited several tribes of people, some of whom had never before seen a white man; several of their chiefs expressed their readiness to receive Christian instructors. Mr. Campbell then returned to Griqua Town and travelled southward, parallel with the west coast of Africa, till after a laborious and perilous journey of nine months, he reached Cape Town again in health and safety.”

At Cape Town Mr. Campbell met Mr. Kicherer, from Graaf Reynet, who was seconded by other friends in strongly dissuading Mr. Campbell from commencing his great circuit till the hot season should be past. He was advised, and his own judgment coincided with the advice, to stay several months about Stellenbosch, which would commodiously serve as a position from which he might make a number of little excursions, which would tend to season him for his enterprise. Three months of this prudent forbearance allowed him to collect a variety of information, and familiarize himself with the African aspects of nature and of human beings, at Cape Town, Groene Kloof, Stellenbosch, Bavian's Kloof, and Caledon. He very soon enters with interest into the distinguishing character of the region, and comes upon us with anecdotes of wild beasts, serpents, and earthquakes; and the benevolence he had previously felt for the Hottentots was augmented not a little by the manifestations of piety, gratitude, and affection, which he had opportunities of witnessing among them, especially at the Moravian settlements of Groene Kloof, and Genadendal, or Bavian's Kloof. His visit to this latter place just fell in with a numerous meeting by which they solemnize the conclusion and beginning of the year. He found their chapel capacious enough for more than a thousand people, and on this occasion every part of it was filled with Hottentots.

On the 13th of February, 1812, Mr. Campbell and his atten-

dants set off on the expedition, in the direction of Bethelsdorp, in two waggons, one drawn by twelve, the other by fourteen oxen. They had a number of supernumerary oxen for occasions. Such a caravan gave full occupation to four men and two women, all Hottentots but one, who was a Gonaqua.

It is long enough since there was need of any additional evidence that the sensibility to the fair and the majestic in the natural world is no endowment of uncultivated man ; it is, nevertheless, curious to observe the exemplification of this truth in the Hottentots.

“To find a fountain after dark, one of our people lighted a fire among the tall reeds where it was. Contrary to his intention, the fire spread over the whole plain, and produced one of the grandest objects I ever beheld, like the burning of a city ; but grand as it was, hardly one of our people looked over their shoulders to observe it : there was a reason, however, for they were hungry, and were either eating or expecting soon to eat, with which nothing must interfere ; yet they often fast long without uttering a complaint. Three things, exclusive of religion, comprehend all that engages the attention of South Africans,—money, food, and tobacco. The wonders of God’s creating power around them are viewed with the eyes of cattle.”

STOICISM OF THE HOTTENTOTS.

There were innumerable occasions for observing their exemplary stoicism in suffering the greatest inconveniences incident to the expedition. When, for instance, the oxen had sometimes strayed in the night, and the Hottentots had made a wide and toilsome search of many hours, perhaps in heavy rain, to recover them, they would rejoin their company without making the slightest remark on this vexatious and extra labour, nor would the rest take the smallest notice of the matter, or make a single inquiry, or appear to think at all about it. They saw one another to be alive and safe, the oxen were in their place again, and it was all right. Thus passed away in philosophic silence incidents and adventures which, among Englishman (though a race not deemed the most remarkable for loquacity), would have furnished long narratives and conversations, with no little industry on the part of the relaters, to expose in full light and merit the courage, the skill, and the perseverance, evinced on the occasion. Every frequenter of society will acknowledge that

an exemption from egotism—an exemption not merely exterior and practical, through an effort of caution and self-command, but an absence of the prompting principle itself—is one of the very rarest and most dignified distinctions among civilized men : behold it here in perfection among barbarians.

DANGERS OF AN AFRICAN STATION.

There was great joy on all sides at the arrival at Bethelsdorp, though he acknowledges a very sensible disagreement between the images fixed and cherished in his mind in Europe, and the actual first appearance of the place and people.

Many curious particulars, which we cannot notice, occurred during their residence here. The result of the author's investigations was, on the whole, a favourable judgment of the religious and moral condition of the settlement ; while his statements tend very much to repress all sanguine expectations of rapid advances in prosperity and civilization. There is a grievous combination of hostilities against the welfare and strength of the community ; its miserable local position—the indolent habits in which most of its members have been bred up—the extreme difficulty of making such an allotment of the land, or of the labour, or of its produce, as should most effectually stimulate individual self-interest against this indolence—the excessive demand upon the men for the military or other service of government—and the constant dangers of attacks from Caffres and wild beasts. As a remarkable exemplification of the last of these evils, Mr. Campbell mentions being visited by three aged Hottentot women, one of whom “has had ten children, but not one, she said, died a natural death, being killed by lions, tigers, or serpents.”

Our author gradually made quite as much acquaintance as was desirable with the brute possessors of these deserts. With the ostriches, indeed, the spring-boks, and quachas, he would have had no objection to a little more familiarity ; but he was well content to be on terms of ceremonious distance with the buffaloes, the elephants, and the lions. Even the least formidable of these three ranks is not to be treated with a careless presumption.

“The buffalo is often extremely furious when wounded and not disabled. Should the person climb a tree in order to escape,

he is far from being out of danger, for the buffalo will run with violence and strike the tree with his massy horns, which cover as with a helmet the crown of his head ; the stroke of which will so shake the largest trees, as to require a firm hold indeed to prevent the person from falling to the ground, and being consequently tossed into the air by the horns of the enraged animal."

Elephants were seen sometimes, but a most marked and respectful deportment was maintained towards them, from a just apprehension of their power. After crossing Buffalo River, he saw the very fresh track of elephants, in the narrow steep path from the bank, where, had they happened to come down at the time, the caravan would have been utterly destroyed. Lions were seen often, sometimes several in company, and the armed men were numerous enough to venture, in a few instances, to wage war on them successfully ; but in some instances straggling individuals had very narrow escapes. Mention is made of a Hottentot, who was sleeping in the night in a tree, and fell down on a lion that had lain down under it. The startled beast sprang to some distance, and kept there long enough to allow the assailant to recover his position in the tree, who was perfectly content, probably, that there should be but one such exploit recorded in his history.

The Bushmen are said to be greatly afraid of lions ; and not without reason, for it is affirmed that these tremendous epicures eat more Bushmen than sheep, in consequence of a special partiality to their flesh ; insomuch that were a lion to find a white man and a Bushman asleep together, he would take the Bushman by preference. The Hottentots asserted this special liking to have grown from the practice of the Bushmen of "throwing their children to the lions to preserve themselves."

DIFFERENT ESTIMATES OF SOLITUDE.

Mr. Campbell was kindly welcomed at Graaf Reynet. He had travelled for a considerable time near the border of Caffraria, but he was now leaving it far to the east, and advancing fast towards the northern limit of a colony as waste and desolate, with respect to human inhabitants, as Death himself could wish to reign over. The view of the boundless solitudes disagrees violently with our author's cheerful, social disposition. We find him again and again deploring

that so many fine tracts which he passed over should not be populous with men. We will acknowledge some defect of sympathy here. Unless men were better than they are found to be in any part of the world (excepting, perhaps, the Feroe Islands and Iceland), we do not comprehend how he is to justify his wish for the transformation of this vast stillness, quietness, and silence,—solemn, as bringing the apprehension of an invisible omnipresent Being more directly and simply on the mind, and sublime, by the immeasurable extent of their prevalence—into the din of populous cities and frequented roads. Let him but reflect a moment. How small in comparison is the portion of moral evil diffused over these silent plains and hills! From these expanded fields of Nature, no insults, no curses, no blasphemies, are flung at Heaven. Here the physical elements are not perverted to the endless purposes of wicked ingenuity. Here there are not millions of beings not knowing, or knowing but to neglect and despise, the grand object of their existence, and becoming, through each added year and day of their abode on earth, less fit for a happy removal from it. Where is it that our author would find the scene to which he could wish this vast wilderness to be assimilated? Where is it that, exulting in the infinity of the human crowd, he would take his stand? At Pekin—at Benares—at the temple of Juggernaut—at Constantinople—at Madrid—on the brow of Montmartre—on the monument of London? Which of these would be the scene to look upon and deplore the solitude of the African regions? On which of these awful assemblages could he thoughtfully look, without being overwhelmed with the conviction of the dreadful fact, that the great preponderating proportion of them are at war with their Creator, while unnumbered myriads of them are burning and raging in deadly competition with one another? And is it with such a race that he could wish to invade the profound quiet of those deserts? Why did he not rather feel an insuppressible elation of spirit to think that there he could look over so ample a region unoccupied by sin?

We do not all this while forget, that even these enormous African wastes are in a small degree defective in that profound solitude and stillness indicative of the absence of moral evil. Even they contain what may be called a popu-

lation, barbarous and wretched enough, of Caffres and Bushmen, who do what they can towards keeping their country faithfully in the grand relationship of depravity with the other divisions of the earth; but this population is so inconceivably diminutive, that it gives, if we may so express it, but a very slight tinge of moral colour to this vast domain of Nature. How diminutive it is may be imagined from the fact, that in completely crossing what is named the Bushmen's Country, by a somewhat winding route of about two hundred miles, the party "did not meet with one human being," excepting one family on the day they entered it. "That even the part where we crossed it," says Mr. Campbell, "has some inhabitants I have no doubt, from the remains of huts which we discovered in two or three places; but their number must be very small. It fills the mind with regret to see so large and beautiful a portion of God's earth so destitute of population, and to think of its producing year after year provender to support millions of cattle, whilst only a few wild beasts roam over it. Many of the ways of God seem inscrutable, and the permission of this seems to be one of them." When any fact in the Divine government of the world is pronounced with emphasis to be "inscrutable," there is an implication that had the *opposite* of that fact existed, it would have been much more within the compass of our understanding. But would there have been less of what defies that understanding, in an appointment of the Divine government, which should have made the regions in question the abode of crowding millions of guilty beings, than there is in the actual appointment which has kept that part of the earth so clear of them?

MINERAL COLOURING POWDERS IN AFRICA.

The general features of the country during this long march to the north do not appear to have been romantic, though considerable mountains are sometimes mentioned. There was in one place a hill partly composed of a stone resembling the black lead of which pencils are made. This substance the Bootchuanas and others grind to powder, and use in the same way as hair powder is used in England. The red stone with which 'the surrounding nations paint their

bodies comes also from this hill.' The widely-extended and permanent fashion of rouge and hair-powder among these gentlefolks, has rendered this Blink or Shining Mountain a place of great resort from time immemorial. The hill is pronounced to be of volcanic origin.

THE CITY OF LATTAKOO.

The description of the manners and customs of the people of Lattakoo is highly entertaining. The city is divided into a number of districts or wards, to each of which there is a head man. Some modification of royalty inheres in one family, of which the chief has very considerable, though it does not appear whether defined, authority. There are some kinds of manufacture among the people, and they supply the deficiency of their resources in cattle and hunting, by sowing and reaping some proportion of their ground. What was least to be expected, there is a good degree of cleanliness about their persons and their town. A great portion of gaiety might be attributed to their character, if the appearance of things at the particular time of Mr. Campbell's visit might be taken as a fair and simple exhibition; but that appears to have been a period peculiarly devoted to games and frolic, in celebration of an annual circumcision. These games consisted chiefly in dancing in various modes, accompanied with singing, screaming, and all possible violences of vociferation. The women appear to have been exclusively the performers, the young ones taking the larger share. No rank was held to be degraded by mingling in the tumult, for even *queens*, and the ladies of the city magistrates, contributed personally to the uproar.

With respect to labour, it would be too much to expect that a barbarian economy should not assign to them the heavier share :—

"It is the province of the women to build their houses, to dig the fields, to sow and reap; and that of the men to milk the cows, make their clothes, and go to war."

"The women are the farmers. Even the *queen digs the ground* along with the other females. The instrument they use is a kind of pickaxe. They all sing while at work, and strike the ground with their axes according to time, so that no one gives a stroke more than another; thus they make labour an amusement."

"The *royal family* were at dinner, in the corner of their yard, outside of the house. The king's distinction seemed to consist in his sitting next the pot that contained the boiled beans, on which they were dining, and having the only spoon that we saw, with which he helped himself and his friends, by putting a portion into each hand as it was held out to him. One of the *princesses* was employed in cutting, with an axe, a dried paunch into small pieces, and putting them into a pot to be boiled, either to complete that repast, or to serve for another, soon after. One of the king's sisters was cutting up a filthy-looking piece of flesh and putting it into the same pot. Certainly an Englishman would be dying for want of food before he accepted an invitation to dine with the king of Lattakoo."

RELIGIOUS NOTIONS OF THE LATTAKOOS.

His Majesty King Mateebe set out on a hunting expedition, and continued so a good many days. This interval gave opportunity for a great variety of conversations, of course by means of but moderately qualified interpreters, with many of the principal, as well as other persons, of the city ; in which intercourse it was endeavoured to convey some notion of the nature of the errand on which the travellers were come, as well as to ascertain whether these pagans had any ideas analogous to religion. Some of them sometimes attended the worship of the party, and on being informed that they prayed to the Great Being, one of them said, "they believed there was a Great Being, but they did not know him, for they had never seen him." The same benighted confession of faith was afterwards made by Mateebe: "I believe there is a God who made all things, who gives prosperity, sickness, and death ; but I do not know him." On this acknowledgment of the first principle Mr. Campbell observes, without the slightest hesitation, "The knowledge he has undoubtedly came from the missionary station at Klaar Water." It is possible the fact may be so ; but surely it was not to be asserted on mere presumption. We wish the very defective means of interchanging ideas had enabled our author to investigate a little way back the history of this tenet among these people. In a conversation with Mahootoo, the superior of the two queens, he was asked by her, "evidently," he says, "as things she had formerly thought of, 'Will people who are dead rise up again ?'

‘Is God under the earth, or where is he?’” Mr. Campbell questioned some of them on the origin of mankind :—

“They said they came from some country beyond them, pointing to the north, which is the direction in which Judea lies. That two men came out of the water, the one rich, having plenty of cattle; the other poor, having only dogs. One lived by oxen, the other by hunting. One of them fell, and the mark of his foot is on a rock to this day.”

AFRICAN NOTIONS OF MISSIONARY OBJECTS.

The king's return was immediately followed by negotiations on the subject of his admitting missionaries to instruct his subjects. He made a number of objections, the answers to which were admitted with a facility which appeared to prove he had not any very serious dislike to the proposition. His ultimatum was, “Send instructors, and I will be a father to them.” He readily apprehended the avowed object of the proposed residence of missionaries, and must have been convinced that instruction really was intended to be their employment; but the disinterested motive of the project was quite beyond his understanding; for some time after his gracious act of permission, he said, “Whenever the missionaries have got enough they shall be at liberty to depart;” “having no idea,” says Mr. Campbell, “that they can have any other view in coming but gain.”

EMPLOYMENTS AT LATTAKOO.

The city was calculated to consist of about fifteen hundred houses, containing at the least seven thousand five hundred people. “It is reported,” says Mr. Campbell, who surely could not, however, believe any such thing, “that they have more than a thousand places called outposts, where there are people and cattle.” We should think if they had half the number they would find their account in driving thither some of the crowd and mob of stout, healthy, well-made, young people, whom the visitors were so justly and violently scandalized to see passing their whole time in play and idleness. At the same time, a considerable number of men appear to be employed in manufactures; for each district of the city, of which our author conjectures there may be fifty, has a place enclosed for public resort, where the men spend the greater part of the day together,

dressings skins, and making knives, and various other articles, such as axes, adzes, &c. But he will have it that this is done only for "amusement in the public place ; as if a London engraver were to carry a plate of copper to the Royal Exchange, to engrave upon, while conversing with his friends." This seems to us a rather strange representation of the chief motive to the manufacturing of articles, many of them of the first necessity, manufactured assuredly *because* they are so, while, no doubt, the workmen are glad to exhilarate the employment by the social gaiety and rattle. The place where useful work, on a large scale, is done mainly for amusement, is the locality on earth which will remain the very last to be discovered. Geography will be complete when it is found.

NATURE OF AFRICAN GLORY.

A worse feature than their idleness is their utter insensibility to suffering which they behold or inflict. There were several revolting instances, besides the high self-complacency with which a distinguished personage, acting as lieutenant-governor of the city, spoke of a plundering expedition a great way to the eastward, in which he and his associates, having fallen in with a people who had no instruments of defence, had the more easily pillaged them, and murdered great numbers, which he regarded as a fortunate and laudable affair.

THE WANKETZENS AND THEIR MURDEROUS PROPENSITIES.

Mr. Campbell made, during his sojourn at Lattakoo, every proper effort to collect information concerning the inhabitants still further in the interior ; and he has enumerated many nations or tribes, with brief notices respecting the strength, character, and habits, of several of them. The Wanketzens, whose city Melita is five or six days' journey from Lattakoo, make a very considerable figure, and have an additional prominence from the circumstance of being the murderers of Dr. Cowan and his attendants, who had been sent from the Cape on an expedition of discovery. Mr. Campbell received the most unquestionable evidence, and some of the details of this fact, which appeared to have produced a great

sensation through a wide extent of country. The party discovered, on the first day of their residence at Lattakoo, that the visit was very strongly suspected by the inhabitants of being upon some design of revenge, in which even they might be involved, insomuch that it was afterwards learned that numbers had quitted the city under this apprehension. Prompt measures were taken by Mr. Campbell to obviate this suspicion. The Wanketzens and their chief were represented and proved to be systematically treacherous and cruel, the plunder and destruction of foreigners, most especially of whites, being a perfectly established principle of their policy. The plundering and murdering expedition before alluded to as performed, and with such delight related, by one of the highest of the *nobility* of Lattakoo, was an active career of no less than ten months' duration.

AN AFRICAN DESERT.

A very large portion of the several hundreds of leagues which our party had yet to travel, lay through tracts of that most perfect kind of desert to which so large a part of Africa is doomed to the end of time, that is, moveable sand. It must truly be dreary almost to horror to labour day after day through this most dread and hideous kind of waste, the progress heavy and slow, no water sometimes for several days together, the draught cattle toiling painfully on while pining with hunger and thirst, now and then one of them lying down totally exhausted, and left to perish; and all the while the burning heat of the sky fiercely reflected by the ground, and no one circumstance in all the elements to alleviate the effect of a temperature of more than a hundred degrees of the thermometer—unless a chill night following such a day may be called relief.

ADVENTURE WITH LIONS.

Among the remarkable incidents in the journey to Griqua Town, was the falling in with a brace of lions, and two different herds of that strange animal, the giraffe. It was indeed only one of the men, advanced somewhat a-head of the waggons, that saw the lions. He

came on them suddenly, and had the fortitude to stand firmly looking at them, till, at the great noise of the approaching waggons, they chose to move away. Our author asserts, we presume much too generally, that "so long as you can steadily look a lion in the face, he will not attack you." The giraffes were in the one instance to the number of eleven in a herd; in the other their height is noticed, as being probably, at the head, eighteen feet from the ground. They are harmless and timid animals, and flee at the approach of man.

ASBESTOS MOUNTAINS.

A few stages to the west of Griqua Town, the party found themselves among mountains abounding with asbestos.

"Some of us walked after breakfast to examine the asbestos rocks, where we found plenty of that rare mineral, between strata of rocks. That which becomes, by a little beating, soft as cotton, is all of a Prussian blue colour. When ascending a mountain alone, I found some of the colour of gold, but not soft, or of a cotton texture like the blue; some I found white, and brown, and green, &c. Had this land been known to the ancients in the days of imperial Rome, many a mercantile pilgrimage would have been made to the asbestos mountains in Griqua-land. A considerable portion of it is used in making the roads. It is very remarkable that it is called by the Grikwas, *handkerchief-stone*."

SUPINENESS OF THE BUSHMEN.

The Bushmen do not neglect to infest, with their positions or incursions, the tracts contiguous, on the south side, to the Great River, very far along its course to the west, indeed even to its mouth; but the Corannas have a trifle more of something like proprietorship, though they seem far enough from being ambitious of leaving any proud time-defying monuments of their possession, their only structures being the wretched huts which it would amuse a few of our mischievous school-boys to beat down with sticks. They are of the shape of half an orange, placed with the flat side down, and are, at the highest part, about the height of a man. One of the more considerable of their kraals is thus described:—

"They neither sow nor plant, but depend entirely on their

cattle for subsistence; of course, having no labour to engage their attention, it is probable they sleep away the greater part of their life. They appear to be a dull, gloomy, and indifferent people. Our arrival seemed to make no impression on any mind, except in producing a little curiosity; and they were as indifferent about our departure, as if they had said, You may come, or stay, or go; it is the same to us."

MONSIEUR LE VAILLANT DRUBBED BY A LADY.

Arrived within the colony of the Cape, they stopped at the house, or "place," of Mrs. Vandervesthuis, who well remembered the noted Frenchman Le Vaillant having taken his station at her house, from which she said he was "never more than ten days absent when he went further up the country, and these he spent among the Kamis mountains opposite, seeking birds, stones, and flowers, which appeared to her very idle employment." To all the pretty incidents in this noted traveller's book, it seems he forgot to add the one which would have made a prettier figure than all the rest:—

"Having mentioned to Mrs. Vandervesthuis that Vaillant had published an account of his travels in Africa, and had mentioned her in it, she inquired very anxiously if he had mentioned in his book that she had given him a good drubbing with a *sambuk* (a kind of whip made of the skin of the sea-cow), when they were travelling together to the Cape, for speaking improperly of her daughters; but, she added, 'had I been alone, he would have given me a drubbing too, but two of my sons were present, both stout young men.' She is a tall, and still a strong woman, though in her seventy-fifth year. While speaking of Vaillant I may venture to say thus much, that though his account has much of the romantic in it, yet he gives the best account of the manners and customs of the Hottentots I have seen."

INTENSE HEAT.

Though at every step still further removed from the peculiar region of the sun's tyranny, they had the thermometer at one time at 101, and at another at 102 when "completely shaded from the sun." He says,—

"My silver snuff-box in my pocket felt as if lately taken out of the fire, though I sat under covert of the tent; all the water

was warm, and our butter turned into oil. Our dogs, though covered from the rays of the sun, lay breathing quick, with their mouths open, and their tongues hanging out, as if in a high fever. My ink, though mixed with water, got thick in a few minutes. All was silence around; the crows were walking about our waggons as if we had been all dead."

The whole party returned to the Cape, with the exception of one man who perished by a Bushman's poisoned arrow, and in as good health as when they set out, our author indeed in much better; and after several months' stay at the Cape he embarked for England, touched at St. Helena, saw the grandeur of a storm on the ocean, and in due time found himself once more at home.

THE SOLITUDES OF AMERICA.*

THIS is one of the grandest of the achievements that have laid open the unknown parts of the globe. To take no account of the immense distance some of the party had to travel, to reach the starting place at the confluence of the Mississippi and Missouri, they were destined, at setting out from that point, to make a progressive movement to the amount of nearly nine thousand miles before they were to see it again. Add to this, all the lateral excursions and traverses made in hunting, and their examinations, which they prosecuted with a most meritorious and indefatigable industry, of the country to some distance along many of the rivers which fall into the Missouri. It may fairly be assumed as certain, that a very large proportion of this enormous space had never before been marked with the footsteps, nor beheld by the eyes, of any mortal belonging to the civilized tribes of mankind.

Had it been possible for a man of philosophic and imagina-

* Travels to the Source of the Missouri River, and across the American Continent to the Pacific Ocean. Performed by Order of the Government of the United States, in the years 1804, 1805, and 1806. By Captains Lewis and Clarke. 4to. 1814.

tive spirit to accompany such an expedition, in such a manner as to have his perceptions and reflections uninterrupted by its bustle, and by the character of the adventurers,—rather we should say, had it been possible for such a man to travel alone,—he would have felt a certain mysterious and solemn impression in beholding vast regions which no reflective being in a human form had looked upon since the beginning of time. What an originality of expression, in what Nature would have to say for the first time to a being that could comprehend her! It would have seemed as if all those dictates, those mysterious notices, those sublime illusions, those monitions of the shortness of human life, those intimations of a Deity, which there had not been a succession of perceptive intelligences to receive, had been reserved to come with inconceivable augmentation of emphasis on him. How every stream, and rock, and mountain, would seem charged with the accumulated significance of thousands of years!

Or would he rather, with pensive and humbling emotion, feel as if man were unnecessary and of no consequence in these vast regions; as if the immensity of scene rendered him contemptible in his littleness; as if the majesty of Nature repelled him from all communion, preferring the gloom of an eternal solitude, scarcely disturbed by wild beasts and a few wild men, to the intrusive impertinence of research and admiration; as if the grand operation of the elements had no relation to his concerns; as if, in short, the sublimities of nature had an economy so entirely their own, that the annihilation of him and of all his race would be a circumstance infinitely indifferent to it?

The party set out from near St. Louis, May the 14th, 1804, in a bateau or barge, and two perioques or open boats.

“They consisted of nine young men from Kentucky, fourteen soldiers of the United States army, two French watermen, an interpreter, a hunter, and a black servant; all these, except the last, were enlisted to serve as privates during the expedition, and three sergeants were appointed from among them by the captains. In addition to these were engaged a corporal and six soldiers, and nine watermen, to accompany the expedition as far as the Mandan nation, in order to assist in carrying the stores, or repelling an attack, which was most to be apprehended between Wood river and that tribe.”

THE OSAGE INDIANS.

The first tribe of consequence to whose territories the party advanced were the Osages, whose encampments they reached after about a fortnight's contest with the gigantic stream. Captain Clarke says:—

“We ascended a very difficult rapid, called the Devil's Race-ground, where the current sets for half a mile against some projecting rocks on the south side. We were less fortunate in attempting a second place of equal difficulty. Passing near the southern shore, the bank fell in so fast, as to oblige us to cross the river instantly, between the northern side and a sand-bar, which is constantly moving and banking with the violence of the current. The boat stuck on it, and would have upset immediately, if the men had not jumped into the water and held her till the sand washed from under her.”

The Osages are twelve or thirteen hundred warriors. In person they are among the largest and best formed Indians, and are said to possess fine military capacities; but residing as they do in villages, and having made considerable “advance in agriculture, they seem less addicted to war than their northern neighbours.” Their complacent adherence to the belief, as here stated, concerning their origin, is an illustration of the omnipotence of self-love: they think never the worse of themselves from being all descended from a snail.

THE OSAGES LINEALLY DESCENDED FROM A SNAIL AND
A BEAVER.

“According to universal belief, the founder of the nation was a snail, passing a quiet existence along the banks of the Osage, till a high flood swept him down to the Missouri, and left him exposed on the shore. The heat of the sun at length ripened him into a man, but with the change of his nature he had not forgotten his native seats on the Osage, towards which he immediately bent his way. He was, however, soon overtaken by hunger and fatigue, when happily the Great Spirit appeared, and giving him a bow and arrow, showed him how to kill and cook deer, and cover himself with the skin. He then proceeded to his original residence; but as he approached the river, he was met by a beaver, who inquired haughtily who he was, and by what authority he came to disturb his possession. The Osage answered that the river was his own, for he had once lived on its borders. As they stood disputing, the daughter of the beaver came, and having by her entreaties reconciled her father to this young stranger, it was proposed that the Osage

should marry the young beaver, and share with her family the enjoyment of the river. The Osage readily consented, and from this happy union, there soon came the village and the nation of the Wasbasha, or Osages, who have ever since preserved a pious reverence for their ancestors, abstaining from the chase of the beaver, because in killing that animal they killed the brother of the Osage. Of late years, however, since the trade with the whites has rendered beaver skins more valuable, the sanctity of these maternal relatives has visibly diminished, and the poor animals have nearly lost all the privileges of kindred."

THE AMERICAN PRAIRIES.

The landscape, for many hundred miles of the progress, was chiefly a succession of extensive "prairies," sometimes on the level of the river; sometimes a little rising, and widening into an upper plain; undulated sometimes; intersected by a prodigious number of streams falling into the Missouri; often broken by inconsiderable hills, which, when coming to the river, formed the kind of precipice called "bluff." There was generally wood of some kind near the courses of the rivers, and among it various fruit trees, such as plums, and some kinds of cherries: with gooseberry bushes, currants, and vines; but there was on the whole no very large proportion of anything to be called fine timber. It would appear that a deficiency of wood is one of the most obvious characteristics of this vast western part of the continent. This nakedness would be quite unaccountable but for the Indian modes of employing fire, in consequence of which the country has been overrun with conflagrations, kindled in the long withered grass, devouring copse and underwood, and destroying the largest trees. Such burnings are often intentional, one object being to attract the buffaloes by the young sweet grass by which, at some seasons, the operation is sure to be speedily followed.

At several points in the progress towards the station at the Mandans, the party saw ancient burying-grounds of the Indians, mounds of earth of various forms and sizes, some of sand, and some of both earth and sand. Two hundred acres in one place were covered with them. At a spot on a hill (and the Indians affect elevated situations for sepulchres) there was a large recent one, raised over a distinguished chief of the Mahas, who had died of the small-pox, a malady which had destroyed a great portion of the tribe,

and which is regarded with the utmost horror by all the Indians. When the Mahas saw their nation hopelessly perishing, "their frenzy was extreme :"—

"They burnt their village, and many of them put to death their wives and children, to save them from so cruel an affliction, and that all might go together to some better country."

THE SIOUX INDIANS.

On reaching the domains of one of the sections of the Sioux, a nation distinguished into ten tribes, it was necessary for the party to exhibit conspicuously all the insignia and peremptory qualities of their nation. All went off, to use a very favourite word of our Captains, very "handsomely." Flags were displayed, councils were held, speeches were made, medals, and decorated dresses, in gradations of value appropriate to ranks, were presented, or rather conferred, in the way of condescending recognition of the chiefs, on the part of the United States Government. The "Great Father" was alluded to in terms which could not have displeased, in his proudest times, the Great Mogul. There are, indeed, very few more striking phenomena on earth, than the rapid formation, under the auspices of the President, over a daily increasing extent of a vast continent, of the rudiments of a nation which may require much less than a century from this time, to grow to a number, a strength, and an importance, which may empower it to look down on the inferiority of any European state.

THE YANKTONS.

The Yanktons are the most numerous branch of the Sioux, though not reckoned in all at more than seven hundred warriors. They were stout in person, and had a certain air of dignity and boldness. They promised to make peace with their enemies, and begged that American traders might be sent among them with powder and ball, and seemed anxious to be supplied with some of "their Great Father's milk," the name by which they distinguish ardent spirits. The most remarkable circumstance in their economy, and which is common to them with the Kite Indians, is an institution strikingly contradistinguished from the usual cautious spirit and stealthy mode of savage warfare.

"It is an association of the most active and brave young men, who are bound to each other by attachment, secured by a vow, never to retreat before any danger, or to give way to their enemies. In war they go forward without sheltering themselves behind trees, or aiding their natural valour by any artifice. This punctilious determination not to be turned from their course became heroic or ridiculous, a short time since, when the Yanktons were crossing the Missouri on the ice. A hole lay immediately in their course, which might easily have been avoided, by going round. This the foremost of the band disdained to do, but went straight forward, and was lost. The others would have followed his example, but were forcibly prevented by the rest of the tribe. These young men sit, and encamp, and dance together, distinct from the rest of the nation; and such is the deference paid to their courage, that their seats in council are superior to those of the chiefs, and their persons more respected."

FOUR ACRES OF LITTLE DOGS.

Near this spot they found a space of four acres all worked into narrow deep holes, inhabited by a race of animals called little dogs, which may sometimes be observed sitting and whistling at the top of the holes. These partly resemble a diminutive dog, and partly a squirrel. They were seen in many other places. Some curious illustrations are given of the exquisite faculty of smelling, and the prodigious fleetness of the antelope.

THE MANDANS.

About the end of October the adventurers reached the villages of the Mandans, at the distance of sixteen hundred miles from St. Louis, reckoning by the serpentine course of the river, which they found still a noble one, after the surprising number of tributary streams which they had left behind. The inclemencies of the season were now coming upon them with an ominous rapidity. But with a rival rapidity they built and furnished an ample, commodious, and fortified wooden barrack.

The station soon became a very frequented and bustling scene. The Mandans are a considerable number, and the place became a rendezvous of parties of Minnetarees, Ahnaways, Knistenaus, and Assiniboins; many of whom were drawn thither by the fame of the expedition.

THE MEDICINE MAN.

It is affirmed that they hold the belief of one Great Spirit presiding over their destinies ; and they maintain the beneficial relation with this being by means of mediators : each one selects, perhaps at the suggestion of accident, some object, either a supposed invisible agent, or more commonly some of the animal tribes, to be his protector, and intercessor with the Great " Spirit."

It is a remarkable circumstance that they apply the term " Medicine " to these intercessors, and also to the Great Spirit. But the application of this term does not decidedly attribute goodness, for it is applied also to whatever strikes them as mysterious ; in fact, the term is applied to some things that are dreaded.

This superstition is so sincere and strong, as to extort great sacrifices. " I was lately owner of seventeen horses," said a Mandan to us one day, " but I have offered them all up to my medicine, and am now poor." He had in reality taken all his wealth, his horses, into the plain, and turning them loose, committed them to the care of his medicine, and abandoned them for ever. The occasion of a man's making any considerable sacrifice to what he may have adopted as his tutelary genius, or " medicine," is solemnized with a festive ceremony called the " medicine dance."

INDIAN FEROCITY.

There is a pleasing instance or two of affectionate kindness in these savages, counterpoised by instances of flagrant barbarity. The mention of a visit from the grand chief of the Minnetarees, introduces a story of one of his wives having eloped with a paramour, whose desertion of her compelled her to take refuge in her father's house. Thither the offended husband went, and found her sitting near the fire.

" Without noticing his wife he began to smoke with the father ; when they were joined by the old men of the village, who knowing his temper, had followed in hopes of appeasing him. He continued to smoke quietly with them, till rising to return, he took his wife by the hair, led her as far the door, and with a single stroke of his tomahawk put her to death before her father's eyes ; then, turning fiercely upon the spectators, he said that if any of her relations wished to avenge her, they might always find him at his lodge."

This hideous transaction perhaps hardly violated the rule of right as admitted among these spectators ; for among the Mandans, at least, according to our authors, the simple fact of a wife's running away from her husband gives him the right to put her to death. Such an infliction, for such a cause, was in one instance only just prevented by the interference of the travellers. But the reader is not to fancy that these severities indicate the establishment of a high standard of conjugal morality among these rigorous justiciaries. There is nothing they hold in slighter esteem ; they most willingly make a traffic of their wives and sisters, and also make temporary presents of them where they are disposed to oblige. But *theirs* must be the gain or the merit of the complaisance ; and great is their indignation and sense of wrong, if the females presume of their own authority to dispose of themselves in such a way. Indeed, it is just the old story of lords and slaves, of owners and disposable property. The imposition of drudgery is inseparable from the degraded estimate ; and we are repeatedly told of one or other chief bringing in a present of meat, sometimes a heavy one, "on the back of his squaw," himself walking much at his ease, and no doubt in all the upright dignity of manhood.

INDIAN ENDURANCE OF COLD.

The fort was in the forty-eighth degree of latitude. The cold was sometimes quite formidable, the thermometer being in one or two instances at more than *seventy* degrees below the freezing point. To these rigours the Indians manifest the most astonishing insensibility. One night, when the cold was of the intensity here mentioned, an Indian who had not been able to reach the fort, slept on the snow, in a slight dress, and without a fire, and was never the worse. A boy, indeed, in the same predicament, had his feet so frost-bitten, that he afterwards lost his toes. We are even still more surprised at the hardihood evinced by the men of the expedition themselves, in sustaining, in their hunting excursions, the nocturnal severities of the climate.

VOLCANIC MOUNTAINS.

On the 7th of April they set off in high spirits, to the

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number of thirty-two persons, one of these being the Indian wife of their French interpreter, with an infant which had been born at the fort.

Near the place which they note as the remotest point to which any white man had ever been known to ascend the river, they observed in the cliffs many thick strata of carbonated wood ; saw one of these cliffs or bluffs on fire in different parts, and throwing out a sulphureous smoke ; perceived in the neighbouring hills unquestionable marks of a volcanic state in some former age. Many of the streams were impregnated with salt. There were various deserted Indian camps. Near one of these was a scaffold about seven feet high, on which were two sleds with their harness, and under it the body of a female, carefully wrapped in several dressed buffalo skins ; near it lay a bag made of buffalo skin, containing a pair of moccasins, some red and blue paint, beaver's nails, scrapers for dressing hides, some dried roots, several plaits of sweet grass, and a small quantity of Mandan tobacco. These things, as well as the body itself, had probably fallen down by accident, as the custom is to place them on the scaffold. At a little distance was the body of a dog not yet decayed, who had met this reward for having dragged thus far in the sled the corpse of his mistress, to whom, according to the Indian usage, he had been sacrificed.

BEAR-SHOOTING ADVENTURE.

Beyond the confluence of the Yellowstone river, a noble stream, with the Missouri, the banks and sandbars were, in one of the stages, covered with a white incrustation of salt-like frost. In this region they found immense quantities of game, and had some perilous rencounters with white and brown bears, whose astonishing tenacity of life renders their ferocity and strength doubly formidable. Our English gentlemen of the field would doubtless be much at their ease in such a predicament as the following :—

“Towards evening the men in the hindmost canoes discovered a large brown bear lying in the open grounds, about three hundred paces from the river : six of them, all good hunters, immediately went to attack him ; and concealing themselves by a small eminence, came unperceived within forty paces of him. Four of the hunters now fired, and each lodged a ball in his

body, two of them directly through the lungs. The furious animal sprang up, and ran open-mouthed at them; as he came near, the two hunters who had reserved their fire gave him two wounds, one of which, breaking his shoulder, retarded his motion for a moment; but before they could reload he was so near them, that they were obliged to run into the river, and before they reached it he had almost overtaken them; two jumped into the canoe; the other four separated, and concealing themselves in the willows, fired as fast as each could reload; they struck him several times, but instead of weakening the monster, each shot seemed only to direct him towards the hunter, till at last he pursued two of them so closely, that they threw aside their guns and pouches, and jumped down a perpendicular precipice of twenty feet into the river. The bear sprang after them, and was within a few feet of the hindmost, when one of the hunters on the shore shot him in the head, and finally killed him; they dragged him to the shore, and found that eight balls had passed through him in different directions."

In another instance one of these brown bears survived twenty minutes, and swam to a sand-bar in the river, notwithstanding five balls through the lungs, and other wounds. Much about the same time one of the men came running breathless and speechless to the river, having been chased half a mile by a brown bear which he had "shot through the centre of the lungs." A party landed and tracked him by the blood to a place more than a mile from where he had stopped in the pursuit of the man. Two hours, at least after he had received the wound, they found him alive, lying in a kind of bed or grave which he had dug for himself with his talons, in the earth, two feet deep and five feet long.

BUFFALO DECOY.*

The notice of the remains of a vast number of the carcasses of the buffaloes lying by the edge of the river, at the foot of a precipice a hundred and twenty feet high, introduces a very curious description of a most murderous contrivance of the Indians, for obtaining in the speediest way, for themselves and the wolves, a grand revel in carnage. An Indian, selected for his swiftness and dexterity, is disguised in a buffalo skin, with the horns and ears disposed in a way to resemble their appearance in the living animal.

* See an interesting account of this in Catlin's *North American Indians*, Vol. I., p. 126—30.

He places himself between the river, where the bank is a precipice, and any herd of buffaloes conveniently near it, the other Indians at the same time contriving to get behind and on both sides of the herd. The buffaloes, suddenly assailed thus on three sides, run of course in the direction of the decoy, who runs before them to the precipice, on reaching which he suddenly betakes himself to some crevice previously fixed on. "The herd being thus brought to the brink of the precipice, it is in vain for the foremost to attempt to retreat or even stop; they are pressed on by the hindmost rank, who, seeing no danger but from the hunters, goad on those before them till the whole are precipitated, and the shore is strewn with their dead bodies." Sometimes the treacherous Indian proves mistaken as to the safety of his position, and is involved in the destruction.

THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS.

It was near this spot that an appearance highly interesting to our adventurers presented itself,—the snowy summits of the grand ridge called the Rocky Mountains, in which they were to lose the Missouri, and on the other side of which they were anxiously to look for the streams that should bear them to the Pacific Ocean. A still nearer object of anxiety, however, was, when at the confluence of two large rivers, to determine which was the true Missouri, or rather, now, the Ahmateahza of the Indians, which they had described as approaching, at its source, very near the great river of the West, the Oregon, or, as the Americans choose to name it, the Columbia. The question cost a laborious investigation of a number of days; and the two captains must have gained considerably in the respectful estimation of the men, when they proved to be right in the opinion they had decidedly entertained, against the opposite opinion as decidedly entertained by all the party. The proof was to be a succession of cataracts; and in following the more southern stream, Captain Lewis came at length within the sound of falling water, and soon after saw at a distant spot an appearance of spray, rising like a column of smoke, and driven by the wind across the plain. As he advanced the sound became tremendous; but he had walked seven miles from the point

where he first heard it, before he came in sight of the magnificent scene.

AMERICAN CATARACTS.

The succession of falls, including what are called rapids, amounts to more than twenty, occupying about fifteen miles of the course of the river. Within this length it has a descent of three hundred and fifty-two feet. Though the greater number of falls and rapids are inconsiderable, they would make no mean figure if they were in other situations; there is one fall of nineteen feet, one of near fifty, and one of eighty-seven. In approaching this tremendous precipitation the river descends thirteen feet in two hundred yards, and is compressed by its channel of rock, to the breadth of two hundred and eighty yards. About one-third of this breadth falls in a "smooth even sheet."

"The remaining part of the river precipitates itself with a more rapid current, but being received as it falls by the irregular and somewhat projecting rocks below, forms a splendid prospect of perfectly white foam, two hundred yards in length. This spray is dissipated into a thousand shapes, sometimes flying up in columns of fifteen or twenty feet, which are then oppressed by larger masses of the white foam, on all which the sun impresses the brightest colours of the rainbow. As it rises from the fall it beats with fury against a ledge of rocks which extend across the river at one hundred and fifty yards from the precipice."

The formidable impression of these cataracts was aggravated by the frequent spectacle of buffaloes carried down, sometimes ten or a dozen within a few minutes. They "go in large herds to water about the falls, and as all the passages to the river near that place are narrow and steep, the foremost are pressed into the river by the impatience of those behind. Their mangled bodies, when cast on the bank, become food for the multitude of bears, wolves, and birds of prey, that frequent this vicinity. The number of buffaloes seen on the adjacent plains was most prodigious; one of our captains computed those he saw at one view upwards of ten thousand."

But an accessory to the scene, more striking than all the rest, was a mysterious sound heard from the mountains to the north-west. It resembled the report of artillery dis-

charged at the distance of a few miles. It occurred at any time, indifferently, of the day or night, and was sometimes a single explosion, and sometimes five or six in quick succession. It is a permanent circumstance, for the party had long before been informed by the Indians, that they would have such a sound when at the falls. It is loud and very imposing. No attempt to account for it is hazarded. The only reasonable conjecture is, that among those "Black Mountains," as they are here denominated, there must be a volcano, habitually in action.

But this region, so much surpassing the pictures of romance and poetry, was to the party a place of severe hard labour ; for these magnificent cataracts caused them nearly twenty miles of land carriage for their boats, stores, and baggage, excepting what they lodged in a kind of vaults, or *caches*, under ground.

Resuming the voyage, the party soon advanced into what are denominated the "Gates of the Rocky Mountains," a cleft apparently forced and worn, during unknown ages, by the stream, which here has a channel to be matched by few other streams ; for on either hand the rocks rise perpendicularly to the height of *twelve hundred feet* ; and so precisely from the very edges of the water, that for miles there is not a spot nor a ledge where a man could stand. The water is deep at the edges, and the current is strong. "Nothing can be imagined more tremendous than the frowning darkness of these rocks, which project over the river and menace destruction."

THE SNAKE INDIANS.

They soon after arrived at what they call the "three forks" of the river, across the mountains to the great River of the West. Here, at the last navigable point of the stream, the band were to find their way across the mountains. In order to this it was absolutely necessary to hunt out the Indians ; and at length they discovered a camp of the tribe denominated Shoshonees, a division of the widely scattered and undefined nation called Snake Indians. The moody fickleness of these wild animals, and the state of excessive suspicion and apprehension in which they were kept by the deadly hostility of a stronger tribe of savages, required a

course of the nicest management to bring them to trust themselves to meet the white men. It was not that they were in the least afraid of the white men ; on the contrary, they had manifested an excessive joy on ascertaining that he and his attendants were of that species ; but they were afraid lest they should be inveigled into a very different rencounter. This object accomplished, all was immediately exultation and confidence. Sacajawea, the Indian woman of the expedition, was almost overwhelmed with affectionate emotion on meeting a young female friend, who had at the same time as herself been carried away captive by the Minnetarees, and on suddenly recognising soon afterwards her brother in the Indian camp.

The manners and conditions of this tribe are very interesting. As game is scarce in the country, and they have no better weapons than the bow and arrow, they seem in constant danger of perishing by hunger, notwithstanding the aid afforded them in the chase by their fine horses, which they ride with consummate skill and daring. It was quite deplorable to see the whole numerous band put into the most eager and tumultuous commotion, by the intelligence of one of Captain Lewis's hunters having killed a deer, and to see them falling upon the offal with more than the ravenousness of wolves. It was very striking, at the same time, to observe the punctilious sense with which they abstained, while their numbers would have made them irresistible, from touching any better portion of the animal, which they regarded as belonging to the white hunter and his companions. There are several other facts concurring to prove a very unusual degree of integrity in these unfortunate people.

CROSSING THE SNOWY MOUNTAINS.

The travellers had now very great cause to be anxious about the passage to be sought through the mountains. All the geographical knowledge of the Shoshonees was put in requisition, and the results were in no small degree intimidating. An impetuous river, which at no great distance was to be found flowing first to the north-west, and afterwards to the west, among rocks and mountains, was represented as totally unnavigable. There was no resource, therefore, but to cross the mountainous track altogether by land. Having

purchased, with considerable difficulty, about thirty horses of the Shoshonees, to carry their stores, they commenced the most formidable part of their adventure, and after a month's journey reached the western base of the mountains. The exertion was most severe for both the men and the horses; and to the men it was aggravated by such a deficiency of sustenance as amounted, during the latter part of the time, to absolute famine. They were consequently reduced to great debility.

At every stage numbers of Indians, of various denominations, came to behold the strange spectacle, and to barter provisions, consisting of roots, dried salmon, and dogs, for which last dainty the civilized men had acquired much more courageous stomachs than the savages. The quantity of salmon, in the process of curing, or already prepared and stowed, by the Indians, or lying dead on the banks, or returning down the river to the sea, was incredible.

DESCENDING THE RAPIDS.

The vast number of rapids the party had descended had well prepared them for the furious currents denominated the Falls, not very far from the sea. Through deep rocky channels the torrent dashes and boils and whirls with indescribable tumult and violence. As there was no possibility of taking the canoes on land, to be carried below the falls, the most valuable of the stores were put on shore, with such of the party as could not swim; the rest addressed themselves to the dreadful career, and in a few moments found themselves riding in safety on the gulfs below. Another impetuous rapid ended in an absolute cataract; here, of course, the canoes were taken overland.

A WINTER CAMP.

At a short distance below this, the adventurers perceived the tide, and about a week afterwards had a view of the Pacific Ocean. This was an exhilarating triumph; but of slight and temporary efficacy against the constant and harassing pressure of their situation; for they had heavy rain every day for a month, were several nights forced to encamp on a confined shore where they were in extreme peril from the waves, slept drenched in rain, had

their clothes and bedding rotted, and most of their stores damaged or spoiled, and were buffeted about many days before they could find an eligible spot for constructing a fort for the winter. This was at length accomplished, and they remained in the station more than four months.

The transactions of the winter, besides numerous adventures, bring into view an extensive illustration of the character and condition of the various Indian tribes in the neighbourhood, and of the whole race on the waters of the Columbia. In general, they are sufficiently cunning, self-interested, and inclined to theft; but are not particularly formidable.

AMERICAN INDIAN NOTIONS OF PHRENOLOGY.

Their persons are displeasing to the last degree, a combination of repulsive circumstances being crowned by that artificial and superlative ugliness, the flattened head. A little compressing machine is fixed on the head of each infant, and kept on as much as a year, so that it determines the form for life. That form is a broad flat forehead, in a right line from the nose to the top of the head, which top of the head is a thin ridge like the edge of a cake. Both sexes are thus finished off, but the women in a broader and thinner disc than the men.

The women and the old people are treated with more consideration by these pacific fishing tribes than among the more dignified and martial hunting nations of the Missouri. The men take a much larger share in the labours necessary for subsistence. The virtue of the women is quite as cheap as in any other part of the continent. All the people of the coast are very sharp and avaricious barterers, taught partly by their intercourse with the American and the English traders, who sometimes appear in these seas.

Towards the end of March our adventurers broke up their camp, to return, and, after numerous adventures and perils, they finally came in triumph to St. Louis, where their friends received them with the greater joy, from having for a long time been convinced that they had perished.

RUSSIAN CONQUESTS IN ASIA.*

A great military empire, with boundaries imperfectly, or on some sides not at all defined, may be compared to a monstrous animal, of fearful power and ferocity, ranging loose in a country,—no chain, no high and massive wall, no kind of fence but what he will easily dash through in the wantonness of enraged strength. No one can say what is the appropriate domain of this monster at large. No one is surprised to hear of his attack and ravage at any point in the widest sweep of country. No one dares indulge in self-felicitation that his own vicinity is beyond the probable excursions of the formidable belligerent. No confidence is felt by the inhabitants of one quarter, that the people of any other will be able to despatch or disable him; and each person has the impression that there is no manner of certainty he shall not, at one time or other, be one of the victims.

This would seem to be a true, though rather feeble image, of what the condition has been, and continues to be, as respecting the Russian power, of the nations occupying the northern regions of two of the grand divisions of the globe. Perhaps, at the time of the earlier encroachments of this power on adjacent territories and subjugation of their inhabitants, the remoter tribes might scorn the pusillanimity of the conquered, exulting in their own independence and security. But, in the lapse of one or two score of years, they found themselves brought into an equivocal and formidable kind of neighbourhood to this still advancing and never-receding domination. In spite of their pride, they felt themselves beginning to hesitate in naming as their territory, or even as their boundary, the eminences or the river-courses on every side of which they had formerly dwelt or encamped or roved, without ever dreaming of interference. But they were not doomed to remain long in uncertainty; Russian standards and Russian forts were soon to instruct them to whom they and their country belonged. In proportion to the rapidity of the course of acquisition by which a great number of territories and states had been

* Travels in the Caucasus and Georgia, in 1807 and 1808, by Command of the Russian Government. By Julius Von Klaproth. 4to. 1814.

thus put in doubt, and thus brought to certainty, the condition of the surrounding regions, to an undefinable distance, was becoming dubious ; and the people might well begin to feel as if the Russian boundary line were already hovering in the air over the land of their fathers, just ready to attach upon and appropriate it. This irresistible extension has been going on without cessation, till at length this power is, upon a line of many thousands of miles, in formidable contiguity, and with a boundary quite as impatiently moveable as ever, to divers tracts, kingdoms, and empires, the people of which, a few generations back, heard of Russia as a distant, obscure state, striving, in a rude and inartificial manner, to raise itself into some importance. No prognosticator of the fortunes of states dares draw on the map in advance beyond the present certain or unsettled confine of this empire, the line which shall not be lost within the confine twenty years hence.

In the meantime, it is perfectly proper and laudable, that while this vast process of acquisition is advancing unintermittingly, there should be in as constant operation a system of exploring and describing, by divisions, the almost immeasurable territory comprehended in the empire, of which far more than a million of square miles is ground nearly as little known by the grand Proprietary, as that at the centre of Africa.

RELIGION OF THE CIRCASSIANS.

Of the economy of the Circassians—or, as we are required to write and call them, Tscherkessians—the Ingushes, and the Mongols, in their civil, moral, and religious habits, the author gives an extended and elaborate exhibition. Their religion occupies a very conspicuous place in the representation. It is that of the Lamas : in other words that of a Buddha or Fo ; which is the religion of Tibet and of China. Many parts of the frivolous and endless ritual, as observed by the Mongols, are recounted, and with all imaginable seriousness on the part of the philosophic describer. If the representation is accurate, it would appear that the worshippers of Buddha have not much to boast, on the score of liberty or rationality, over those of the Hindoo triad. The system is mainly composed

of ridiculous trifles, and every concern of life almost is implicated with them. It is marvellous it should have been possible for a race so irregular and excursive, to become subjected to so punctilious and insatiable a ceremonial.

CIRCASSIAN PRAYING MACHINES.

There is nothing in which the human mind has manifested more ingenuity, than in relieving itself under the exactions of conscience, by contrivances for the abridgment and facilitation of duty. One of the most admirable things of this kind in the whole world has been fallen upon by these overtasked barbarians. The device in question may be denominated a praying machine, or a prayer-wheel, or a prayer-mill.

“ Among the most remarkable of the sacred utensils of the temples, is the *Kürdä*, a cylindrical vessel of wood or metal, either very small or of immense size. The interior of the cylinder, which is quite hollow, is filled with sacred writings, the leaves of which are all stuck one to another at the edge, throughout the whole length. This paper is rolled tightly round the axis of the cylinder, till the whole space is filled up. A close cover is fixed on at each end, and the whole *Kürdä* is very neatly finished, painted on the outside with allegorical representations, or Indian prayers, and varnished. This cylinder is fastened upright in a frame by the axis; so that, by means of a wheel attached to it below, it may be set a-going with a string; and with a slight pull kept in a constant rotatory motion. When this cylinder is large, another, twice as small, and filled with writing, is fixed for ornament on the top of it. The inscriptions on such prayer-wheels commonly consist of masses for souls, psalms, and the six great general litanies, in which the most moving petitions are presented for the welfare of all creatures. The text they sometimes repeat a hundred or even a thousand times, attributing from superstition a proportionably augmented effect to this repetition, and believing that by these frequent copies, combined with their thousands of revolutions, they will prove so much the more efficacious. You frequently see, as well on the habitations of the priests as on the whole roof of the temple, small *Kürdä* placed close to each other, in rows, by way of ornament; and not only over the gate, but likewise in the fields, frames set up expressly for these praying machines, which instead of being moved by a string, are turned by means of four sails by the wind.

"Other similar Kùrdä are fastened to sticks of moderate thickness; a leaden weight is then fastened to the cylinder by a string, which, when it is once set a-going, keeps it with the help of the stick, in constant motion. Such like prayer-wheels, neatly wrought, are fastened upon short sticks to a small wooden pedestal, and stand upon the altars for the use of pious persons. While the prayer-wheel is thus turned round with one hand, the devotee takes the rosary in the other, and at the same time repeats penitential psalms.

"A fourth kind of these Kùrdä is adapted to be hung up by a cord in the chimneys, where they are set in motion by the smoke and the current of air.

"A fifth kind of Kùrdä is erected on a stream, upon a foundation like that of a mill, over which a small house is built to protect it from the weather. These water-Kùrdä are maintained at the joint expense of the inhabitants of a whole district. They have a reference to all aquatic animals, whether alive or dead, whose temporal and eternal happiness is the aim of the writings contained in them: in like manner as the object of the fire Kùrdä is the salvation of all animals suffering by fire."

WOODEN PRAYER-BOOKS.

The other parts of the apparatus of the superstition are numerous and diversified. A very important and valued portion of it consists in the books. "All the works of India and Tibet," says our author, "are not only translated in the Mongol language, but likewise cut in the neatest manner in wood, and printed; so that these nations, after the example of several Chinese Mongolian provinces, perform the whole of their religious worship in their mother tongue." The devoutest bibliographer could not manifest more reverence for his collections, than all these people seem to do for their sacred literary rubbish, no piece of which must be looked into without previously obtaining its blessing by touching it with folded hands and bowed head. Near large collections of books a small altar is expressly erected, at which offerings are made and incense burned for the works. At a public removal of them, particular ceremonies, accompanied with prayer and music, are observed. All of them, "with regard to the subject-matter, are of Indian origin, and you meet with no alterations in religious customs, and the service of the temples."

THE MASTER BOOK OF THE WORLD.

They participate with the Chinese the glory of possessing the master-book of the whole world, written at the immediate dictation of their superhuman prophet Schigimunih, by his disciples.

"It is denominated by these people *Gandshuhr*, or miraculous Pillar of Religion. It consists of 108 prodigious volumes, to which belong twelve more of mythology, called *Jömm*, and with the exposition entitled *Dandshuhr*, comprises in the whole 240 volumes. No part of their sacred writings is so highly valued as this. In all Mongolia and Tibet, no person can, under a very severe penalty, procure or keep this work without a written permission from the Dalai Lama, or the Emperor of China. At the reading of these books particular ceremonies must be observed: the rich only can yearly defray the heavy expenses attending it, on account of the great number of ecclesiastics required on the occasion, and that not without the consent and permission of a great Lama."

PRIESTCRAFT.

Priestcraft is flagrantly manifest in all possible ways. Turn wherever they will, these poor idolaters meet the priest. They are to dismount from their horses when they see him coming; they are to bend down their heads before him; they must provide his sustenance unpaid; they must send for him and reward him in capacity of physician, if they are sick. And then, he is not an animal the plague of whose *omni*-voracity is alleviated by the small number of his genus: it is a genus abounding and swarming on all sides, to a degree indeed that would make us wonder how the rest of the community can live.

SANCTIFICATION OF SHADOWS.

There is a very curious account of the examination for priests' orders, and of the process of ordination. We transcribe a short paragraph. The examination having been gone through, and the candidate's determination being unchanged:—

"At an appointed hour both master and disciple go out into the open air: here in the sun-shine the shadow of the scholar, who sits engaged in prayer, is accurately traced upon the ground, while he repeats the confession prescribed by the

forms of the examination. To this sketch of the shadow are added some highly mystical astrological figures, which relate to various problems, by the solution of which all the steps and stages to the demonstration of the formula of this ordination are determined."

The more of solemn juggle the better, for the purpose of giving the priests that importance and complete ascendancy which it is the very object and essence of the whole system to secure for them, and which, according to our author, they do actually maintain. "The clergy," says he, "govern all minds, and whether in unity or discord they invariably guide the helm. In all joint undertakings they are very resolute, but at the same time very circumspect."

MONGOL SUPERSTITIONS IN THE BUILDING OF TEMPLES.

A very particular account is given of the superstitious prescriptions indispensable to be observed in the building of temples, which are constructed after the fashion of Tibet. So many local circumstances must meet to make an approved site for a temple, that we might almost be disposed to thank the gods for exempting ninety-nine hundredths of the surface of the earth from the hazard of being so defiled. These temples could not fail, and have not failed, to be constituted as general receiving offices for the tributes of superstition, paid during life, and by bequest after death: for even people of moderate fortune, says our author, at their death bequeath part of their property not only to the clergy, but to the possessions of the temple.

THE LAMA RELIGION.

No clear notion is afforded of the dogmas of the Lama religion; but several of the forms of devotion are translated from the Mongol language, and are sung once a month in the most solemn manner in their temples. These forms appear composed for the most part of unconnected sentences: some of them are pure nonsense, overspread with a glimmer of mysticism; and some are petitions essentially absurd, to whatever power they were addressed. Of this last description are such as these:—"May hailstorms, and stones that wound the feet of the traveller, be henceforth changed into flowers, and showers of flowers;" "May the voice of death be no more heard," &c., &c., &c.

DOMESTIC ALTARS OF THE MONGOLS.

The sincerity of the Mongols in their superstition is attested by the extension of its apparatus and rites into all their abodes.

"Besides the public temples, and the numerous habitations of the priests in the country, which are in every respect the representatives of temples, all the nomadic tribes professing the Lama religion have in each habitation a holy place and altar, and certain sacred utensils for their domestic worship. This place is invariably on the side of their huts opposite to the entrance, and a little to the left as you go in. Wealthy people keep in their spacious houses large decorated altars and utensils for their service, which are not inferior to those of the temples in value and magnificence. Even the poorest Mongol cannot live without an altar or consecrated palace in his habitation."

THE TSCHERKESSIANS, OR CIRCASSIANS.

The Tscherkessians, though a race of so much less local extension than the Mongols, are next in importance. They are fierce barbarians, in a state of utter predatory wildness. They are suspicious and revengeful, and will for a mere trifle or punctilio cut a man down. At the same time they fulfil all the laws of hospitality with a proud honour, and inviolable fidelity. Within the last half-century they are become for the most part Mahometans, being previously little other than absolute heathens. Their language is affirmed to be "totally different from every other." There is no writing in it. Their political state is completely feudal. There is a class called princes. Each of these is the proprietor of a number of families, by courtesy called nobles; and these nobles inherit the men-cattle beneath them. There are no regular taxes; whatever is required by the upper people is furnished by the lower. These requisitions are not seldom as oppressive as they are arbitrary. The highest value is set on the true ancient quality blood, insomuch that no man is deemed to be of noble blood whose family is ever known to have been ignoble, even though it may have given birth to several kings. A prince commits his son, when only a few days old, to the care of one or other of his

nobles, and never sees him till the time of the young man's marriage. Hence, says our author, results the utmost indifference between the nearest relations. A prince reddens with indignation when he is asked concerning the health of his wife and children, makes no reply, and commonly turns his back on the inquirer in contempt.

It would be in vain for us to attempt to enumerate the multitude of tribes that are scattered among the villages, mountains, lakes, and steppes of the wild region of the Caucasus, or to trace the line of the Russian boundary, or to state the precise kind of relation between the frontier authorities of that empire and such tribes as may not yet be quite swallowed up. By our author's account it should seem that this great monopolist (the emperor) is very cordially hated by these innumerable hordes of wild people; at the same time that their hostility to one another enables the Russian government to maintain its power among them by means of a military force quite contemptible in point of number and fortresses.

CLARKE AND HUMBOLDT.*

DR. CLARKE's lot, in the great distribution of the business of authorship, is one of the most enviable of the age. Probably he himself, in looking round on his contemporaries, sees scarcely one with whom, if that were possible, he would exchange; certainly not one among the multitude of travellers, with the single splendid exception of M. Humboldt.

The first volume traced him across the Russian empire, from north to south, and left him at the metropolis of the Mohammedans. Thence the narration in the second volume carried him to the Troad, to Rhodes, to Egypt, to Cyprus, and to the Holy Land, and left him at Acre on his return towards Egypt.

* Travels into various Countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa. By Edward Daniel Clarke, LL.D. Part II. Greece, Egypt, and the Holy Land. Vols. II. and III. 4to. 1816.

THE PACHA OF ACRE.

The traveller and his companion quitted Acre for the last time, under the renewed and final benediction of the famous old Djezzar Pasha, who did not long, it seems, survive their visit. He was evidently fast declining at the time, and was sensible of it himself, but with good reason was very careful to conceal it from his subjects, well knowing the advantage that would be taken. In his last moments he felt an *amiable* concern to secure tranquillity to his successor in the government; and, not content with a mere idle avowal of this benevolence, he gave it practical effect by an "energetic" act, which very characteristically consummated the glory of his whole life.

"The person whom he fixed upon for his successor, was among the number of his prisoners. Having sent for this man, he made known his intentions to him; telling him at the same time, that he would never enjoy peaceful dominion while certain of the princes of the country existed. These men were then living as hostages in Djezzar's power. 'You will not like to begin your reign,' said he, 'by slaughtering them; I will do that business for you.' Accordingly, ordering them to be brought before him, he had them all put to death in his presence. Soon afterwards he died, leaving, as he had predicted, the undisturbed possession of a very extensive territory to his successor, Ismael Pacha; described by English travellers, who have since visited Acre, as a very amiable man, and in everything the very reverse of this Herod of his time."

The notice of the ruins of an ecclesiastical building with pointed arches, at Acre, leads the author into a refutation of the notion, that this mode of architecture had its origin in England. He abounds with proofs to the contrary.

THE SERPENT-EATERS.

Among a variety of curious notices of Rosetta, we have a description of

"a most singular exhibition of the *Serpent-eaters*, or *Psylli*, as mentioned by Herodotus, and by many ancient authors. A tumultuous throng, passing beneath the windows of our house, attracted our attention towards the quay; here we saw a concourse of people following men apparently frantic, who, with every appearance of convulsive agony, were brandishing live serpents, and then tearing them with their teeth; snatching them from each other's mouths, with loud cries and distorted

features, and afterwards falling into the arms of the spectators, as if swooning; the women all the while rending the air with their lamentations. Pliny often mentions these jugglers; and as their tricks have been noticed by other travellers, it is only now necessary to attest the existence of this extraordinary remnant of a very ancient custom."

THE PLAGUES OF EGYPT.

In his passage towards Cairo the author was struck with the prodigious fertility of the soil of the Delta, of which the best watered portions produce three crops a year, the first of clover, the second of corn, the third of rice; and then there are "never-ending plantations of melons and of all kinds of garden vegetables; so that, from the abundance of its produce, Egypt may be deemed the richest country in the world." But never was superlative applause more completely neutralized by an account of the other parts of the character, than in this instance:—

"To strangers, and particularly to inhabitants, of northern countries, where wholesome air and cleanliness are among the necessities of life, Egypt is the most detestable region upon earth. Upon the retiring of the Nile, the country is one vast swamp. An atmosphere impregnated with every putrid and offensive exhalation, stagnates, like the filthy pools over which it broods. Then the plague regularly begins, nor ceases until the waters return again. The ravages in the French army, caused by the plague during the month of April, at one time amounted to a hundred men in a single day. Throughout the spring, intermitting fevers universally prevail. About the beginning of May certain winds cover even the sands of the desert with the most disgusting vermin. Lice and scorpions abound in all the sandy desert near Alexandria. The latest descendants of Pharaoh are not yet delivered from the evils which fell upon the land when it was smitten by the hand of Moses and Aaron: the 'plague of frogs,' the 'plague of lice,' the 'plague of flies,' the 'murrain, boils, and blains,' prevail, so that the whole country is 'corrupted,' and *'the dust of the earth becomes lice, upon man and upon beast, throughout all the land of Egypt.'* This application of the words of Scripture, affords a literal exposition of existing facts, such a one as the statistics of the country do now warrant. Sir Sydney Smith informed the author, that one night, preferring a bed upon the sand of the desert to a night's lodging in the village of Etoko, as thinking to be secure from vermin, he found himself entirely covered with them."

TUMOURS PRODUCED BY IMPURE WATER.

Drinking the water of the Nile during the period of its overflow, is apt to produce a disorder called "prickly heat," which often "terminates in those dreadful wounds alluded to in Scripture by the words 'boils and blains.'" Such an effect will not be wondered at after hearing what are the ingredients of the potion. "The torrent is everywhere dark with mud;" a ladle or bucket dipped into it will bring up a quantity of animalculæ; "tadpoles and young frogs are so numerous that, rapid as the current flows, there is no part of the Nile where the water does not contain them." Putting, however, the drinking out of the question, and regarding the river as an element to float and journey upon, Dr. Clarke says it affords a most delightful contrast to the heat, the sand, the dirt, and the vermin, which co-operate to plague almost out of his life the traveller by land.

THE CITY OF CAIRO AND ITS INSALUBRITY.

At Cairo, by means of a canal which intersects the city, the Englishmen visited the different quarters of it. There was great superabundance of diseases and plagues, the ophthalmia, dysentery, and "boils of the Nile," with all manner of vermin that crawls or flies. "Such a plague of flies covered all things with their swarms, that it was impossible to eat without hiring persons to stand by every table with feathers or flappers, to drive them away." Lizards were crawling about in every apartment equally in the houses of rich and poor, and could fasten themselves on pendent mirrors and the glass of the windows.

We have very lively descriptions of the people and customs of Cairo, while liveliness, our author says, is the thing totally wanting in all the inhabitants but the Arabs. Their disposition is "to exist without exertion of any kind; to pass whole days upon beds and cushions, smoking and counting beads." This dulness generally pervades the habits and families of the residents from Europe.

The people of Cairo were suffering much, at the very time the English were in possession of the city, from the barbarity of the Turks. One form in which it was exercised was particularly atrocious. They murdered, without ceremony or restraint, wherever they met with them, the women

who were known or suspected to have been married to, or to have cohabited with, men of the French army. They even accounted this a meritorious sort of religious sacrifice to the sanctity of the true faith. Multitudes were abandoned to this fate at the departure of the French, while some accompanied the embarkation. Our author and his companions aided the escape of four young women, by dexterously managing to conceal them in their *djerm* in descending the Nile.

SCENES ON BOARD A TURKISH FRIGATE.

The Turkish frigate in which our travellers were privileged to pass over to Asia, was one of the most remarkable scenes into which they had ever been thrown, and would have been one of the most amusing if there had been no danger of starvation or of foundering. It was such a medley and hubbub of nations, and jargons, and customs, and passions, and fooleries, crammed and conflicting together, as might well have obliterated all remembrances and images of any objects less striking than those of Egypt. The seamanship too was incomparable, as might be guessed from the fact, of which they were assured, "that the superannuated captain of the frigate had never been to sea before his present voyage; that at the age of seventy he had espoused a relation of the Capudan Pasha, and obtained in consequence his appointment to the frigate: his nephew, a young man, had rather more experience, and held a station similar to that of first-lieutenant in our ships."

"At night the spectacle on board was perhaps one of the most striking which persons unaccustomed to venture with Turkish mariners can possibly witness. The ship seemed to be left pretty much to her own discretion; every officer of the watch being fast asleep, the port-holes all open, an enormous quantity of canvas let loose, and the passengers between decks, with paper lanterns, snoozing over their lighted pipes; while the sparks from these pipes, with pieces of ignited fungus, were flying in all directions. Now and then an unexpected roll called forth murmuring ejaculations of 'Allah!' or 'Mahmoud!' and a few were seen squatting singly, counting their prayers by their beads."

One anecdote in this unparalleled story of a voyage, is exquisitely characteristic of the true believers. Dr. Clarke having casually met with a sextant, which had been taken

from a French prisoner, made an observation to ascertain the ship's position, and sent a respectful message to the captain, to inform him of "the latitude, and the probable distance from Rhodes, Finica Bay, Cyprus, &c." He was immediately summoned, and asked how he could pretend to know. The Doctor mentioned the sextant, and the observations daily practised on board English and other ships. The sextant was instantly ordered to make its appearance:—

"This instrument being altogether incomprehensible to him, he contented himself with viewing it in every direction, except that in which it might be used; and stroking his long beard, said to a Ragusan, 'Thus it is always with these poor *djours* (infidels); they can make nothing out without some peeping contrivance of this kind: now *we* Turks require no sextants—*we* (pointing with his finger to his forehead)—*we* have our sextants *here*.'"

REFINEMENT OF MOHAMMEDAN JUSTICE.

They quitted the ship at the island of Cos, where they stayed long enough to witness the refinement of Mohammedan jurisprudence, in a conviction of homicide by implication. A young man had destroyed himself in consequence of his being unsuccessful in his addresses to a young woman; the father of the girl was arrested and prosecuted on the incontrovertible allegation, that "if he had not had a daughter, the deceased would not have fallen in love; consequently, he would not have been disappointed; consequently, he would not have swallowed poison; consequently, he would not have died." The father was sentenced to pay, to the state we suppose, eighty piastres, the rated value of the young man's life.

GREEK MANUSCRIPTS AT PATMOS.

At Patmos, our active adventurers eagerly invaded the library of the Monastery of the Apocalypse; and a highly entertaining account is given of their researches and negotiations. The whole collection of books was in a state of extreme neglect and disorder. The printed books indeed had the accommodation of shelves, and some of them were in good condition; and though the visitants soon discovered that the superior could not read, he said those were his favourites. Being asked respecting a pile of parchment

volumes which were seen on the floor at the end of the apartment, evidently in the manner of rubbish, he said, with an expression of contempt, they were manuscripts :—

"It was indeed," says Dr. Clarke, "a moment in which a literary traveller might be supposed to doubt the evidence of his senses, for the whole of this contemned heap consisted of Greek manuscripts, and some of them were of the highest antiquity."

Our author fell to digging in this heap with the most avaricious curiosity, and found "the fairest specimen of Grecian calligraphy which has descended to modern times, a copy of the twenty-four first dialogues of Plato, written throughout upon vellum, in the same exquisite character." This and a few others were purchased, and by means of a great deal of management, clandestinely got on board the *caïque*; the monks were extremely solicitous, and with reason, that the people of the island, and the Turkish authorities, should not know that they had touched a trifle of money.

CLASSICAL AND SCRIPTURAL ASSOCIATIONS.

In passing over Egypt and Greece, imagination itself is baffled in any attempt at a rapid flight; it is fascinated and brought down to the ground, as birds are said to be by the bright eyes of some serpents; and then it is surrounded, enthralled, and bemazed, by an infinity of spectres, returned as from Tartarus and Elysium, to haunt every region, track, and ruin. It is no easy matter to make an expeditious progress through such an empire of captivating associations, antique solemnities, mysteries, muses, and splendours of Nature, with *any* guide; but the difficulty is considerably increased in the company of our author. We suffer a perpetual *incubus*; the potencies of the Chaldean are so strong upon him, that at will, or even involuntarily, he fixes us to stones, or in caves, or in tombs, or on mountain summits, at the mercy of endless companies and flights of ideal shapes.

THE IDEAL FORMS OF ART.*

THERE is a mixture of gratification and mortification in looking at such human forms as some of those in this work. It is flattering to see what the human lineaments are capable of ; but considerably mortifying to observe the palpable fact, that the human visage has not actually happened, in one instance in millions, if in any instance, to realize the high ideal form of dignity or of grace. It is really a very marvellous thing to reflect on, that a beauty and a grandeur of conformation which human hands have so often worked out of a block of stone, should most rarely or never be found in the living existence of that race whose form is the prototype for all this excellence in art ; that man should be able to make images of himself of far nobler aspect than that which Nature ever makes *him*, or ever will make him, while the race is mortal. What may be his form on being made a second time from the dust, it is in vain to conjecture. If it were supposed (but we are infinitely far from being willing to suppose), that the re-created and immortal bodies of good men will be modified to any form and lineaments analogous to the present corporeal frame, it would be somewhat pleasing, as relative to this anticipation, to observe the wonderful *capabilities* of these general human lineaments, as exemplified in the finest works of art.

There can at the same time be no doubt that these ancient artists, while they aspired to and attained something superior to all the real objects around them, did actually behold finer models of the human countenance than are ordinarily to be found in this part of the world in the later course of time. Among these marbles are several purporting to be, and admitted by the critics in art as probably being, portraits. There are heads of Pericles, Hippocrates, Periander, and Epicurus ; and several of them, especially the last very dignified one, are well adapted to intimate that heads and visages were cast in a finer mould at that time of day than now.

There are several Fauns of fine form ; but it requires no

* A Description of the Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum. Parts I. and II. 1812, 1815.

small degree of classical perversion of taste, to take any strong impression of human beauty beset with tail, horns, and pointed ears : the whole conception appears to us a very degraded part of the elegant Pagan imagination.

THE CELTIC CONTROVERSY.*

SIR R. HOARE commences the volume with a kind of motto with which he also closes it : "We speak from facts, not theory."

Notwithstanding this prudent resolution, and the hopelessness of the controverted questions respecting the Celtic race, as to their origin and the exact extent of the regions which they at any period occupied, he does venture a little on the treacherous ground. In the commencement of his introduction, he derives the Celts, without hesitation, from a Scythian origin ; whereas it is probably impossible to ascertain their origin, either by any attempt to define the extent of countries occupied by them, or by an assumption of the entirely separate and Celtic nationality of people so far in the interior as Wiltshire, as contradistinguished from the Belgæ, who were found by Cæsar in possession of the south-eastern coast. He is confident that this more interior population was the absolutely primary colonization ; and that its original entrance into the island from Gaul was at its south-west extremity. He says:—

"The progress of population may still be traced from this remote corner along the western shores of our island. Numerous remains of stone circles, cromlechs, rocking stones, and *tumuli*, still exist in the Scilly islands, and are continued along the coasts of Cornwall and Dorset, to the widely extended plains of Wiltshire ; all, from their rudeness, bespeaking a very ancient, and I may pronounce, a Celtic origin, and corresponding in a very striking degree with those on the opposite shores of our mother country, Gaul."

Except as for means of unavailing controversy, we have

* The Ancient History of South Wiltshire. By Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart. Royal folio. 1812.

very small obligations to the Greek and Roman writers for their careless, ignorant, and confused statements respecting the origin, distinctions, progresses, and localities of the ancient nations.

TRACES OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS.

Our author, however, very wisely ceases to "tread the crude consistence" of written history, and comes on ground of which he is manifestly the master. He observes how uninteresting, how nearly devoid of character, is the general face of the Wiltshire downs, to an uninstructed beholder. But by long and inquisitive and experimental attention a perception is acquired, to which this blank surface presents itself marked with innumerable traces and signs of most striking import; and that exclusive of the tumuli which are so palpable to the most ordinary observation.

"In traversing the extensive downs our attention is continually arrested by the works of the ancient Britons; strong fortresses, circles, barrows, and other inequalities of the ground. Whoever has studied attentively the formation of our chalk hills will observe that all maiden downs, by which I mean all land untouched by the plough, bear a most even and smooth surface; and wherever we find the appearance of that surface altered by excavations and other irregularities, we may there look, with a prospect of success, for the habitations of the Britons; and especially if the herbage is of a more verdant hue, and the soil thrown up by the moles of a blacker tint. There, on turning up the soil, will be found convincing proofs of ancient residence, such as animal bones, pottery, brick tiles, and coins of the lower empire. Such are the certain *indicia* which have led us to the discovery of numerous British towns and settlements."

CLASSIFICATION OF BARROWS.

Our author's long attention to barrows has enabled him to form a classification, of twelve distinctions. He denominates them: long barrow, of two classes—bowl barrow—bell barrow—druid barrow, of four classes—pond barrow—twin barrow—cone barrow—and broad barrow. It seems there would be an exception or two to the general rule that these exterior forms supply no index of the specific nature of the contents. In the Pond Barrow, indeed, Sir Richard never found any sepulchral remains; and it is as unaccountable, as to

its use, as it is singular in form: "It differs totally from all the others, and resembles an excavation made for a pond; it is circular, and formed with the greatest exactness; having no protuberance within the area, which is perfectly level." A succession of experiments on the Long Barrows, which surpass all the other classes in magnitude, had so uniform a result, that after awhile he passed them by in his exploring operations:—

"They differ very materially from the circular barrows in their contents, for we have never found any brass weapons or trinkets deposited with the dead, nor the primary interment deposited within the funeral urn. With a very few exceptions, we have always found skeletons on the floor of the barrow, and at the broad end, lying in a confused and irregular manner, and near one or more circular cists cut in the native chalk, and generally covered with a pile of stones or flints. In other parts of the *tumulus* we have found stags' horns, fragments of the rudest British pottery, and interments of burnt bones near the top. These *indicia* attest the high antiquity of the long barrows."

LONG BARROWS OF HIGH ANTIQUITY.

We transcribe the account of a second experiment on Corton Long Barrow, which, even after encroachments on both sides by the plough, measures two hundred and sixteen feet long, and twenty-five broad, its highest elevation being nine feet:—

"After clearing away the earth, near the eastern extremity, for the depth of two feet, he came to a large stone, which required the strength of three men to lift out. This proved to be the top of a pyramid of loose flints, marl stones, &c., which became wider near the bottom, where the base of the ridge measured more than twenty feet in length, and about ten feet in width. Beneath this ridge were found eight skeletons, lying promiscuously in various directions. Seven of them were adults, the eighth a child; they had been deposited on the floor of the barrow, between two excavations in the native soil, of an oval form, and seven feet apart. These oval cists or pits were about four feet long, and two and a half deep; they were cut in the chalk, and, with the skeletons, were covered with a pyramid of flints and stones."

Of the so-called Druid Barrows (a denomination given to them by Dr. Stukeley), his opinion is, that they were

appropriated to females, "because in most instances they have been found to contain diminutive articles, such as small cups, small lance-heads, amber, jet, and glass beads."

BURNING BODIES A REFINEMENT ON SIMPLE BURIAL.

The modes and circumstances of the funeral deposits are exceedingly various. The grand difference is that of cremation and interment of the body entire. The simpler mode of burying entire was unquestionably man's earliest manner of separating and concealing the dead from the living; but our author found innumerable proofs that both modes were in use at once at a very ancient period of British sepulture. He found the skeletons of some bodies which had been placed with the legs gathered up towards the thighs; these he judges, from a consideration of circumstances, to be examples of the primitive mode of disposing the dead.

The interments entire were far exceeded in number by the cremations. The burnt bones were often found simply deposited on the floor, that is, on the original surface of the ground previously to the raising of the tumulus; sometimes in the cist, that is, the grave dug below that surface, of various forms and depths, often circular and only a foot or two deep. Sometimes they were in an urn of rude earthenware, and sometimes placed on the ground with such an urn inverted over them. Quantities of ashes and charred wood were generally near them, and not unfrequently intermingled with them. In the minute circumstances attending these deposits, there were many diversities, perhaps caprices. In two instances the ashes were deposited within the urn, and the interment of bones in the cist. In one barrow there was a large urn and a considerable number of cists without interment. "Can we suppose," says Sir Richard, "that the Britons entertained the same ideas as the Greeks and Romans, who erected to the memory of those whose bodies could not be found, a *tumulus honorarius*, or *cenotaphium*, from a superstitious notion that the soul could not otherwise rest?"

DEEP GRAVES OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS.

The peculiarity and excess of ancient zeal manifested in very extraordinary instances, to secure a profound and eter-

nal quiet to a dead friend, was met and rivalled by a proportionate excess of excitement in the curiosity of the modern detector ; the inquisitive feeling became every moment more intense, in proportion to the greater remoteness of the concealed object :—

“ At the depth of *seven* feet, after the very laborious removal of an immense quantity of flints, we discovered a skeleton of large proportions, lying north-east by south-west, on its left side, with both legs gathered up, according to the most ancient and primitive usage. Near its side was deposited a most beautiful brazen dagger, that had been gilt, and protected by a wooden scabbard, some part of which was still seen adhering to it ; also a large and a small ornament of jet, perforated with two holes for suspension. Near the thigh-bone was another ornament of jet, resembling a pulley, four very perfect arrow-heads of flint, as well as some pieces of flint chipped and prepared for similar weapons, and a small brass pin. A fine urn, probably the drinking cup, lay broken at the feet of this British hero.”

The quality of the weapons, in point of material, leaves no doubt of this interment being anterior to the Roman invasion ; but the workmanship of the dagger, by the description, would seem to indicate something superior in art to any probable attainments of the very earliest period. Mr. Bowles, indeed, in a poem on the subject, makes this dagger to be the gift of “ kings of distant ocean.”

TUMULI OF FEMALE BRITONS OF RANK.

Among the burnt bones in another tumulus—

“ Were found upwards of forty amber beads of various forms and sizes, some of jet, others of the vitrified sort called pulley-beads, and two of horn. Besides these articles, was a very curious ornament of amber, consisting of six separate pieces which, when strung together, formed a decorative part of the Briton's dress. There were also the fragments of a small ornamented cup, and a little brass pin. From the nature and size of the articles found in this barrow, we may rationally conclude it contained the relics of some distinguished female.”

Sets of beads which appeared to have been strung for necklaces, were repeatedly found : with one interment there were no less than “ forty-eight beads, sixteen of which were of green and blue opaque glass, of a long shape, and notched between, so as to resemble a string of beads ; five were of cannel coal or jet ; and the remaining twenty-seven were of

red amber ; the whole forming a most beautiful necklace, and such as a British female would not in these modern days of good taste and elegance disdain to wear." One interment combined weapons of war with such trinkets as Sir Richard judges to be indicative of a female ; and he, therefore, confers on this supposed British fair the denomination of amazon.

TUMULI OF HUNTERS AND WARRIORS.

So much of the apparatus of war was found with the human relics in some of the barrows, as to indicate unequivocally the resting place of some distinguished inflicter of death, himself possibly the victim of the illustrious trade.

The "mighty hunter" was conspicuous by the memorials found in others, of the investigation of one of which we transcribe the account :—

"The first object that attracted our attention, was the skeleton of a small dog, deposited in the soil, three feet from the surface ; at the depth of eight feet ten inches, we came to the bottom of the barrow, and discovered the following very perfect interment collected on a level floor. The body of the deceased had been burned, and the bones and ashes had been piled up in a small heap, which was surrounded by a circular wreath of horns of the red deer, within which, and amidst the ashes, were five beautiful arrow-heads, cut of flint, and a small red pebble. Thus we most clearly see the profession of the Briton here interred. In the flint arrow-heads we recognise his fatal implements of destruction ; in the stags' horns we see the victims of his skill as a hunter ; and the bones of the dog deposited in the same grave, and above those of his master, commemorate his faithful attendant in the chase, and perhaps his unfortunate victim in death."

In digging another—"the workmen threw out the bones of several dogs, and some of deer, and on the floor found a human skeleton, which had been originally interred from north to south ; but displaced by a later interment of burned bones."

ANCIENT BRITISH POTTERY.

A large proportion of the tumuli contain funeral urns, of baked clay, some of them of rude shape, and unornamented ; but many of them ornamented, and of a shape evincing some slight conception of elegance. The embellishments were

effected while the clay remained soft, with a sharp instrument, with which were cut and dotted round the urn girdles of spots, and Vandyke or other patterns, worked with considerable regularity, and some of them requiring so many applications of the tool as to challenge our admiration of the quickness of hand which could finish them before the clay became dry. The sizes are extremely various ; the largest ever found by our author is twenty-two and a half inches high, and fifteen inches diameter at the top ; it has rude embossings round the brim, and in lines from the top to the bottom :—

“ Though we are informed by Strabo, that pottery was one of the articles of barter between the Britons and the Phœnicians, I cannot persuade myself that any of the vases found in our Wiltshire *tumuli* could have been transported thither from so civilized a region. They are composed of very coarse materials, and so imperfectly baked, that some of them taken entire out of a barrow, have shivered into a thousand pieces by the mere action of the atmosphere upon it. They were probably baked either in the sun or the fire of the funeral pile. Such, without exception, have been the urns found in our barrows ; all claiming a rude and remote British origin. After the conquest of our island by the Romans, a new species of pottery was introduced among the Britons, beautifully moulded, finely glazed, and richly ornamented ; numerous fragments of which are to be found in the villages of the Romanized Britons, but not the smallest morsel in any of the Wiltshire *tumuli* we have opened. The extreme rudeness of our sepulchral urns, as well as the articles deposited within our barrows, evidently prove their very high antiquity, and mark them of an era prior to the Roman invasion.”

The small vessels, properly called by our author drinking cups, were found in considerable number, and with much variety of form and decoration ; in both of which respects several of them are really beautiful. Many of them are quite diminutive ; and very few are of a capacity at all adapted to the high style of conviviality. They are but very rarely, we think, of equal dimensions with that favourite kind of drinking cups, which awaited the Scandinavian heroes after death, in the Hall of Odin. These vessels were placed indifferently, near the head or the feet of the person entombed. One solitary instance has occurred of a *lid* to one

of these vessels. The art of turning was unknown to the fabricators of this earthenware ; they are all moulded by the hand, and, of course, have very seldom a perfect and symmetrical regularity of shape. There is another class of vessels, of shallower and flatter form, with perforations ; these our author has denominated incense cups, as deeming it probable from these perforations, and from the extreme smoky blackness observed on some of them, that they might have been suspended with some substance which was to melt into the funeral fire.

A very large proportion of these vessels were found broken, from the superincumbent weight ; and some of those that remained entire, could not, by any care, be removed whole from their ancient position.

TUMULUS OF AN ANCIENT WARRIOR.

In the sepulchral tumulus of an ancient warrior, the skeleton extended at full length, was found, together with a large cone of iron, which formed the *umbo* of a shield, and was certainly affixed to wood, some of which still adhered to it. Near it were found two studs plated with silver, another small piece of the same metal, and a buckle and clasp of brass ; all, most probably, appertaining to the shield. Besides the above articles, this warrior had a variety of iron arms buried with him, viz., a two-edged sword, two feet six inches long, and one and three quarters wide ; a knife three inches long ; a spear head, eleven inches long, and one and a half wide, and another six and a half long, and one and a quarter wide.

IRON NOT FOUND IN THE MOST ANCIENT TUMULI.

Iron in the funeral deposits, is the decided constant evidence of an age subsequent to the highest British antiquity, that metal being never found in those interments which have the most unequivocally primitive signs ; for instance, never by the side of those skeletons which have the lower extremities drawn up. Nevertheless, these interments with iron, if not remote from the coast, may be of an age preceding that of Cæsar, since he mentions that the inhabitants of the "maritime regions," had a little of this metal among them. We should not forget to notice that in several of the inter-

ments bearing characters of the highest antiquity, small pieces of pure gold were found, constituting ornaments of various forms. Several of them were met with in the grave of a skeleton with the limbs gathered up.

SEPULCHRAL ORNAMENTS.

Two of the richest deposits that were brought to light in the whole series of researches, were in barrows of the Normanton group, in the district of Amesbury. One of them was the funeral accompaniment of a large-built skeleton, whose thigh-bone measured twenty inches. Besides a shield, and a variety of weapons, implements, and ornaments, there was a plate of gold, of the dimensions of seven inches by six, lined with wood, placed on the breast of the hero, the same situation which it probably held when he was alive. It was marked with indented lines, cheques, and zig-zags, forming lozenge within lozenge, diminishing gradually towards the centre. But even this portion of the panoply was less ornate than another of the articles—the handle of a dagger, studded with thousands of gold rivets as minute as the points of ordinary pins would be if cut off at the length of the eighth of an inch. These are driven into the wood perfectly close together, but at the same time in such an arrangement as to form beautiful zig-zag or Vandyke patterns. A good portion of the handle retained entire this elegant enchase-ment; but from spaces of it the pins had fallen off, and were found mixed with the mould. Sir Richard pronounces this refinement of ancient art to excel anything previously found, and to be, both in design and execution, such as “could not be surpassed (if indeed equalled) by the ablest workmen of modern times.”

Among the equipments of gentler order were several times found neatly made tweezers of ivory, and often rings and bracelets of various materials. A considerable number of articles occurred of which the use could not be even conjectured. One specimen was met with of the beads called *adder-stones*, which are recorded to have been held in great value among the Britons, either as objects of superstition, or *insignia* of distinction.

Among a number of little beads lying near the neck of a female skeleton, was a circular clasp of brass on which was

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cut or stamped a rude imitation of the human face. This is noted as a very remarkable object, being the solitary instance of any such attempt having occurred in the investigation of barrows. Even this, inartificial as it is, was too much for the genius of the primitive age ; for some corroded remains of iron articles in the deposit indicated a later period of antiquity.

INDICATIONS OF PRIMEVAL VILLAGES.

It has been already stated, that the signs which betray the primeval villages, are slight irregular mounds and cavities ; and a richer appearance of the vegetation, springing from a darker mould : signs which seldom fail to be confirmed on digging, by quantities of bones not human, broken earthenware of the ancient British kind, the finer Roman pottery, and some Roman coins. Our indefatigable chorographer has noted many of these now solitary seats of ancient society ; but he avails himself of one which he examined on Knook Down, in the district of Heytesbury, and which he describes as exhibiting the characteristic features with peculiar clearness.

RUDE HABITATIONS OF ANCIENT BRITONS.

“ We have undoubted proofs, from history and from existing remains, that the earliest habitations were pits or slight excavations in the ground, covered and protected from the inclemency of the weather by boughs of trees and sods of turf. The high grounds were pointed out by nature, as the fittest for these early settlements, being less encumbered with wood, and affording a better pasture to the numerous flocks and herds, from which the erratic tribes of the first colonists drew their means of subsistence ; but after the conquest of our island by the Romans, when, by means of their enlightened knowledge, society became more civilized, the Britons began to quit the elevated ridge of chalk hills, and seek more sheltered and desirable situations. At first we find them removed into the sandy vales immediately bordering on the chalk hills ; and at a later period, when the improved state of society under the Romans ensured them security, the valleys were cleared of wood, and towns and villages were erected in the plains near rivers, which, after the departure of the Romans, became the residence of the Saxons. But a considerable period must have elapsed before these important changes took place ; for on our bleakest hills we find the luxuries of the Romans introduced into the British settlements, flues, hypocausts, stuccoed and painted walls, &c., &c. Yet not

a single inscription has ever been discovered in any one of these British villages, that can throw any positive light on the era in which they flourished or were deserted for a less exposed climate."

"The site of these villages (two, on Knook Down) is decidedly marked by great cavities and irregularities of the ground, and by a black soil. When the moles were more abundant, numerous coins were constantly thrown up by them, as well as fragments of pottery of different species. On digging in these excavations we find the coarse British pottery, and almost every species of what has been called Roman pottery, but which I conceive to have been manufactured by the Britons from Roman models; also *fibulæ*, and rings of brass worn as *armillæ* or bracelets, flat-headed iron nails, hinges of doors, locks, and keys, and a variety of Roman coins, of which the small brass of the Lower Empire are the most numerous."

STONEHENGE.

An ample share of attention is given to that grand but enigmatical phenomenon, Stonehenge. Sir Richard states fairly and fully the various theories, if they may be so denominated, and the monkish legends, respecting the origin and design of this mysterious structure. And it is really curious to see with what confidence, and, in some instances, with what palpable deficiency of even the attainable information, ingenious or learned men have been capable of pronouncing on the subject. The plan which Sir Richard judges to be the most accurate, was published by Dr. Smith, in 1771, in a work in which Stonehenge is maintained to have "been erected by the Druids for observing the motions of the heavenly bodies." This plan differs but slightly from that of Dr. Stukeley, for whose discriminating judgment, and industry in research, our author testifies the greatest possible respect, considering his work as far more valuable than all others on the subject.

It should seem that Stukeley was the first detector of a circumstance which alone was sufficient to put several of the theories to flight, namely, that in the barrows in the vicinity there are chippings of stone of identical qualities with the stones of the structure (of one of which qualities there are no stones found elsewhere in Wiltshire), and therefore clearly showing whence they came. Such chippings repeatedly

occurred in our author's excavations in the neighbourhood. This proof of the priority, in time, of the structure to the tumuli, combined with the proofs supplied by the primitive characteristics of the interments, that the tumuli are more ancient than the Roman period, makes an instant end of no small share of vain speculation, and at one sweep clears the view all the way up to the British period ; but then it closes in utter and final darkness.

Our author is extremely cautious of speculating on the design of this mysterious monument. He does not even, with any confidence, associate its origin and uses with Druidism, though he sometimes employs the denomination of Temple. Some of the acutest of our recent investigators of Celtic and Druidical history have shown, that even if Druidism was ever established in the part of Britain where Stonehenge remains, there is no evidence that the horrid solemnities of that superstition were perpetrated in structures of stone. Dark groves are uniformly represented as its temples; and it is justly remarked that the locality and vicinity of Stonehenge, afford no traces or traditions of having ever been overshadowed with the gloom of deep forests of oak. After all the learning, enthusiasm, ingenuity, and confident opinion, of which this colossal circle, this "Chorea Gigantum" has been the subject, and after the important and interesting process also of excavations in the surrounding tumuli, we must submit to acknowledge, that though this grand array of rocks must have constituted an object and a place of the highest imaginable importance to the Britons, we have absolutely no means of deciding what it was that was done in its *adytum* or precincts ; no means of knowing whether the scene now so solitary and silent, but once probably animated at some seasons with a vast assemblage of wild and inspirited countenances, was the grand court of barbarian judicature, or was the central imperial seat of a gloomy superstition, or drew the multitudes to the solemnities of both these national concerns.

Our author thinks—and we agree with him—that the two circles of smaller uprights are a later addition, foreign to the primary plan ; they spoil its noble simplicity, and they are of a quite different kind of stone. The matter of taste is made extremely clear in an engraved view which is given

of the structure as it probably looked when complete in its grand exterior circle, and its exterior oval of still more majestic trilithons.

TIMBUCTOO.*

ALL the inquisitive imaginations in Europe were longing, and till lately almost despairing, to have the prospect opened across the vast African deserts as far as Timbuctoo. Conjecture, speculation, legends, had accumulated through centuries, concerning that city and its precincts, and the formidable intervening tracts. While such are the fancies and wishes of a curious and restless ignorance, and while possibilities are weighing, and enterprises planning, there is thrown on the African coast a common sailor, who can neither write nor read, who had never heard the name of Timbuctoo, and who is nearly stripped of his clothes by barbarians as soon as he comes to land. This man, thus unfurnished with any one terrestrial thing for the purposes of enterprise and geographical discovery but the limbs and organs of which his person is composed, accomplishes what no man of the Christian name ever before accomplished, however commissioned or provided—however ardent or brave. He traverses the hideous region very far towards its centre; resides a number of months, sometimes in royal society, at Timbuctoo; has the intimate inspection of Mahometan and Pagan manners and character; and after several years spent at various positions in the fiery desert, comes as a ragged beggar into London, and by the merest chance falls into the company of some of the most learned, philosophic, and powerful persons of that metropolis, to whom he describes what no other individual in the civilized world could have described, authoritatively compelling at length their reluctant belief that the far-famed

* The Narrative of Robert Adams, a Sailor, who was wrecked on the Western Coast of Africa, in the year 1810; was detained three years in Slavery by the Arabs of the Great Desert, and resided several months in the City of Timbuctoo (edited by Joseph Dupuis, British Vice-Consul at Mogadore). 4to. 1816.

Timbuctoo is an accumulation of mud-huts, the royal palace being the mud-hut-in-chief. Nor was the fact that this city is the seat of a Negro, instead of a Mahometan government, the point in which his evidence had the least force of prepossession to overcome.

ADVENTURES ON THE WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA.

Adams sailed in June, 1810, from New York, in the *Charles*, a merchantman, bound to Gibraltar, whence she made a voyage down the western coast of Africa, and was, in October, wrecked, in consequence of the ignorance of the captain, on a low sandy beach, at a spot named *El Gazie*, judged to be about the 22nd degree of north latitude, or four hundred miles north of the Senegal. All on board, about ten men, escaped to land; but it was to fall immediately into the power of forty or fifty Moors, who were fishing at the place. Without a moment's delay began a series of indignities and hardships which stimulated the captain's rage and despair to a deportment so hostile and provoking to these barbarians, that in less than ten days he became a victim to their resentment,—a fate which he made no effort, and even appeared to have no wish, to avoid. The prisoners were divided among the captors, one party of whom had for their share Adams and two others, who, just a fortnight after they had been in the state of free citizens of the only real republic (America) on earth, found themselves constituting a portion of the goods and chattels of a gang of the vilest barbarians, and obsequiously attending them in a march over burning sands,—to what termination or fate they must patiently wait to see. The direction was a little to the south of eastward, and they proceeded thirty days without seeing a human being, or, which was much worse, any such thing as a spring, or pool, or puddle of water. They ended their walk for the present at the village or camp of their owners, consisting of thirty or forty tents, at a pool of water. Here they were soon joined by another of their ship's crew, and a Portuguese youth, and they were all set to tend goats and sheep; but they were soon separated, and two of them taken away by some of the Moors in a northerly direction.

Adams and the Portuguese were made to accompany their lords in an expedition to a place named *Sondenny*, to catch

negroes for slaves. Their sufferings from disappointment of finding water at the halting station in this long march, and their patience in lurking, concealed a whole week among the hills and bushes about the Negro village, lying in wait for the inhabitants, were compensated by the lucky opportunity of seizing upon a woman with a child in her arms, and two children (boys) whom they found walking in the evening near the town. They doubtless lauded the Prophet for this commencement and omen of their good fortune, and wisely determined to await the sequel. It was at hand; and may such sequel always follow such beginning:—

“During the next four or five days the party remained concealed, when one evening, as they were all lying on the ground, a large party of negroes, consisting of forty or fifty men, made their appearance, armed with daggers and bows, who surrounded and took them all prisoners, without the least resistance being attempted, and carried them into the town; tying the hands of some, and driving the whole party before them. During the night, above one hundred negroes kept watch over them. Next day they were taken before the governor, or chief person, named Mahamoud, a remarkably ugly Negro, who ordered that they should all be imprisoned. The place of confinement was a mere mud wall, about six feet high, from which they might readily have escaped, though strongly guarded, if the Moors had been enterprising; but they were a cowardly set. Here they were kept three or four days, for the purpose, as it afterwards appeared, of being sent forward to Timbuctoo, which Adams concluded to be the residence of the king of the country.”

Thus our forced adventurer was fairly on the king's high road to Timbuctoo, under the perfect safeguard of a strong escort, little dreaming of the fame of this city in Europe, or of the passionate desire to obtain a sight of it, which had inflamed more enlightened spirits. A great proportion of his late captors and masters had their final earthly reckoning to pay on the road. Several of them attempted to escape:—

“In consequence, after a short consultation, fourteen were put to death, by being beheaded at a small village at which they then arrived; and as a terror to the rest, the head of one of them was hung round the neck of a camel for three days, until it became so putrid that they were obliged to remove it.”

On the arrival at the city, the Europeans were immediately distinguished from the Moors, as objects at once of

attention and indulgence. The King ordered the Moors into prison, but treated Adams and the Portuguese boy as curiosities, taking them to his house, where they remained during the residence at Timbuctoo.

"For some time after their arrival, the Queen and her female attendants use to sit and look at Adams and his companion for hours together. She treated them with great kindness, and at the first interview offered them some bread baked under ashes."

"The King and Queen, the former of whom was named Woollo, the latter Fatima, were very old grey-headed people. The Queen was extremely fat. Her dress was of blue nankeen, edged with gold-lace round the bosom and on the shoulder, and having a belt or stripe of the same material half way down the dress, which came only a few inches below the knees."

The dress, Adams says, does not at all suffice for the original purpose of dress ; but that is no reason for neglecting the other purpose, of embellishment, for which it seems to be oftener studied :—

"Besides the blue nankeen turban, worn only upon occasions of ceremony, or when she walked out, the Queen had her hair stuck full of bone ornaments of a square shape about the size of dice, extremely white ; she had large gold hoop ear-rings, and many necklaces, some of them of gold, the others of beads, of various colours."

There is something remarkably familiar and paternal—something extremely contrasted with the stately and sullen distance of Turkish and other oriental tyrants, in the manner in which the King receives the homage of his subjects :—

"When he walked through the town, he was generally a little in advance of his party. His subjects saluted him by inclinations of the head and body ; or by touching his head with their hands and then kissing their hands. When he received his subjects in his palace, it was his custom to sit on the ground, and their mode of saluting him on such occasions was by kissing his head."

Nor does the style of the royal mansion appear intended to overwhelm the imaginations of the good citizens :—

"The King's house, or palace, which is built of clay and grass (not whitewashed), consists of eight or ten small rooms on the ground floor ; and is surrounded by a wall of the same materials, against part of which the house is built. The space

within the wall is about half an acre. Whenever a trader arrives, he is required to bring his merchandise into this space for the inspection of the King, for the purpose, Adams thinks, (but it is not certain), of duties being charged upon it. The King's attendants, who are with him all the day, generally consist of about thirty persons, several of whom are armed with daggers, and bows and arrows. Adams does not know if he had any family.

"In a store-room of the King's house, Adams observed about twenty muskets, apparently of French manufacture, one of them double-barrelled ; but he never saw them made use of."

Timbuctoo is on a level plain, with a river, which Adams names La Mar Zarah, running almost close to it on the south-east side. Any river here becomes an object of considerable curiosity, from the very great interest which so many causes have concurred to fix on the Niger, which is uniformly reported to pass near this city, in its progress to a region where it has hitherto defied, but we trust will not long be permitted to defy, all European inquiry. The La Mar Zarah flows in a direction from the north-east to the south-west, according to the best of Adams's recollection, and therefore must somewhere, at no very great distance, fall into the Niger, perhaps at the place which, under the name of Kabra, has been spoken of as the port of Timbuctoo, twelve miles from the city. But if the distance be no more than that to the Niger, it appears somewhat unaccountable that Adams should not have heard of so important and magnificent a stream in terms too strong to be easily forgotten.

SULPHUR MOUNTAINS.

His excursions to the south of the city did not reach beyond some mountains, at two or three miles' distance, to which his curiosity was attracted by an appearance of fire which he sometimes saw there in the night, and where he "found a considerable quantity of sulphur, which the natives collected. The only use to which he has seen them apply this mineral, was to mix it with a substance, which, in black lumps, looked like opium, for the purpose of making a liquid into which they dipped the heads of their arrows." The editor judges this black poisonous substance to be the same as that described by Park as in use among the Mandingoes, a preparation obtained by boiling the leaves of

a shrub called *kooma*. Adams witnessed the effect of it in the instance of a huge wild elephant, which being wounded in the shoulder with a slight poisoned arrow, was found three days afterwards lying on the ground in a dying state. But, what a slow power of destruction is this, in comparison with what has been described of a poison called *wourali*, prepared by a tribe of the Indians of South America.

DESCRIPTION OF TIMBUCTOO.

Nothing could move our obstinate matter-of-fact vagrant to transform Timbuctoo into a magnificent imperial city.

"It appeared to him to cover as much ground as Lisbon. He is unable to give any idea of the number of its inhabitants; but as the houses are not built in streets, or with any regularity, its population, compared with that of European towns, is by no means in proportion to its size. It has no walls, nor anything resembling fortification. The houses are square, built of sticks, clay, and grass, with flat roofs of the same materials. The rooms are all on the ground floor, and are without any article of furniture, except earthen jars, wooden bowls, and mats made of grass, on which the people sleep. He did not observe any houses, or any other buildings, constructed of stone."

There appear to be no wells in the place; the people therefore drink the water of the river, which is a little brackish. The chief articles of sustenance are rice and guinea-corn, which latter production grows "five or six feet high, with a bushy head as large as a pint bottle, the grain being of the size of a mustard seed, of which each head contains about a double handful." It makes a fare sufficiently homely, even when, in preparing it for the King and Queen, they sometimes use butter, produced from goats' milk, which though soft, and mixed with hair, appeared to be considered a great dainty. In eating it, their Majesties, like their subjects, make use of their fingers, "having neither knives, forks, nor spoons." There are some supplementary and more dainty edibles; several sorts of fish, cocoa-nuts, dates, figs, pine-apples, carrots, turnips, sweet potatoes, and cabbages. The principal animal food is goats' flesh; an agreeable meal is sometimes made on that of ostriches.

BUTTERING THE SKIN.

"The natives of Timbuctoo are a stout, healthy race, and are

seldom sick, although they expose themselves by lying out in the sun at mid-day, when the heat is almost insupportable to a white man. It is the universal practice of both sexes to grease themselves all over with butter produced from goats' milk, which makes the skin smooth. This is usually renewed every day ; when neglected, the skin becomes rough, greyish, and extremely ugly. They usually sleep under cover at night ; but sometimes, in the hottest weather, they will lie exposed to the night air, with little or no covering, notwithstanding that the fog which rises from the river descends like dew, and, in fact, at that season, supplies the want of rain."

Adams bears strong testimony, and it is corroborated by the information acquired by Mr. Dupuis, to the mildness and humanity of the people of this city, and of the Negroes of Soudan in general. In this respect these pagans appear strikingly contrasted with everything that has been poisoned with the detestable superstition of Islam.

The criminal law, if the will of the monarch, acting according to a settled usage, may be so denominated, is more lenient perhaps than that of any other nation :—

TIMBUCTOO CUSTOM OF SELLING CRIMINALS.

"Adams never saw any individual put to death at Timbuctoo, the punishment for heavy offences being slavery ; for slighter misdemeanours the offenders are punished by being beaten with a stick ; but in no case is this punishment very severe, seldom exceeding two dozen blows with a stick the thickness of a small walking cane."

It is very true, as the editor remarks, that some deduction from the attribute of mercy in this legal institution, may justly be made on account of commercial interest, it being more profitable to the government to sell a criminal than to put him to death ; this consideration of gain and loss has a restraining force even upon the ferocious malignity and fanaticism of the Moors and Arabs, inasmuch that in several instances it saved Adams's own life. Still it will be acknowledged, that the observation does not altogether neutralize the ascription of leniency to the criminal law of Timbuctoo. when it is stated, that only *twelve* criminals were condemned to slavery during the six months of Adams's residence there. Their offences were "poisoning, theft, and refusing to join a party sent out to procure slaves in foreign countries."

PREDATORY EXCURSIONS FOR SLAVES.

The capture and barter of slaves seem to form a prominent feature in the political economy of this mildest of the African nations :—

“ About once a month, a party of a hundred or more armed men marched out to procure slaves. These armed parties were all on foot except the officers ; they were usually absent from one week to a month, and at times brought in considerable numbers. The slaves were generally a different race of people from those of Timbuctoo, and differently clothed, their dress being for the most part of coarse white linen or cotton. He once saw among them a woman who had her teeth filed round, he supposes by way of ornament ; and as they were very long they resembled crow-quills. The greatest number of slaves that he recollects to have been brought in at one time was about twenty, and these he was informed were from the place called Bambarra, lying to the southward and westward of Timbuctoo ; which he understood to be the country whither the aforesaid parties generally went in quest of them. The slaves thus brought in were chiefly women and children, who, after being detained a day or two at the King’s house, were sent away to other parts for sale. The returns for them consisted of blue nankeens, blankets, barley, tobacco, and sometimes gunpowder. This latter article appeared to be more valuable than gold, of which double the weight was given in barter for gunpowder. Their manner of preserving it was in skins. It was, however, never used at Timbuctoo except as an article of trade.”

ADAMS RANSOMED BY THE MOORS.

At length a party of Moors arrived to ransom those of their fellow-believers who had been taken as prisoners to Timbuctoo with the sailor. It was accomplished, though with difficulty ; and he also, and the Portuguese youth, were ransomed, that is to say, bought as slaves destined to pass through several transfers, and endure a tedious and cruel captivity. A prodigious length of march, for some days to the north-east, afterwards to the north-west, over the sandy desert, in which they all suffered the severest toil and deprivation, brought them (or rather some of them, for several of the Moors, who had been weakened by their imprisonment, perished by the way) to a village named Woled D’leim, inhabited entirely by Moors, who, from their dress, manners, and general appearance, seemed to be

of the same tribe as those of the encampment to which Adams had been conveyed from El Gazie. Here the two Europeans were employed in tending goats and sheep, suffering much from exposure to the intense heat, and hard usage. The master, named Hamet Laubed, had at first held out the hope that his slave should be taken to Mogadore to be ransomed; but after nearly a year had been consumed, he frankly answered, to Adams's remonstrances, that he had no such intention. Upon this, Adams, with the resolution of despair, refused, and in spite of merciless castigations persisted to refuse, to take care of the flocks any longer; and after a time took a camel and attempted his escape towards the coast. He was overtaken just as he had reached El Kabla, another station inhabited by Moors, who were on no friendly terms with his master's tribe. Hamet demanded him, but was compelled to accept a very trifling equivalent for him, and resign him. With Mahomet, his new proprietor, he had a somewhat easier service, till his detection in a commerce with one of his master's wives, compelled him to throw himself into the hands of a new owner, who had given assurances of taking him to Wed Noon, a station near the coast. Here he found three of his former ship-mates, now slaves to the governor's sons; and here he was sold to one Bel-Cossim-Abdallah, "for seventy dollars in trade, payable in blankets, gunpowder, and dates."

ADAMS'S FURTHER ADVENTURES.

This last stage of his slavery, which continued more than a year, was by far the worst. A complication of toils and cruelties reduced him near despair and death. Two of his companions renounced their religion, and so ceased to be slaves; he repelled all the overtures to this effect. He gave a perilous demonstration, first of his audacity, and next of invincible constancy. He refused to go to work, at the order of his master's son, on the Mahometan Sabbath, on which the slaves are exempt. On receiving for this a blow on the forehead with a cutlass, he knocked down the miscreant Moor with his fist. The other Moors instantly fell upon him with sticks with murderous violence; and the young man's father and mother insisted he should humbly kiss their son's hands and feet, on pain of being put in irons. He firmly refused, and suffered all the consequences, for

many weeks, in spite of the most savage threatenings, renewed at intervals, and the persuasions and even entreaties which were resorted to when the owner began to apprehend that, rather than submit, his slave would die, and so he should lose the money which he was worth. Adams declares he would rather have died. When there was evident and near danger of this consequence, he was released from irons ; and not long afterwards was ransomed by Mr. Dupuis, the British Vice-Consul at Mogadore, who soon after brought him to England.

LAROCHEJAQUELEIN AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.*

THIS volume will excite, we should think, in most of its readers, a wish that every memorable war could have had a sensible and accomplished woman involved in its transactions, and acquainted with its chiefs in the council and the field, and then prompted, by motives little mingled with vanity, to relate its course of events, and describe its leaders, in a written and permanent memorial. Such a production, coming after the generals had written their memoirs, and the historians had elaborated their narrations, would have been an invaluable addition. Often it would have afforded a much more genuine *moral* estimate of the warfare, and a much more vivid picture of some of its scenes, than those generals and historians had the perceptions or the sincerity requisite for displaying. How much there is in war of what is odious and melancholy, that finds no faculty capable of recognising it in the hardened veteran soldier by profession, or in the less war-worn and mechanical, but ardent adventurer for glory ! Nothing less than the virtues of a Sidney could preserve an undepraved sensibility through a career of martial achievement.

Besides, it is to be recollected, that women constitute half the human race ; and not only having their general share of the evil inflicted on mankind by war, but being exposed also to peculiar and severe aggravations of that evil, they seem to require an historian representative of their sex, that the

* *Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein. With a Map of the Theatre of War in La Vendée. 8vo. 1816.*

full malignity of war may be manifested, by showing, with the vividness of the writer's direct sympathy with the sex, its additional malignity as affecting them. In this female historian's account of the war in La Vendée, there are a multitude of striking and affecting circumstances, many of which could not have occurred in the experience of a man; and which, if they came within his knowledge, he would not have regarded and related with anything like the true and adequate emphasis of feeling; they were, however, the natural occurrences of war *as affecting the female sex*.

Madame de Larochejaquelein (the name of her second husband) was the only daughter of the Marquis de Donnissan, gentleman of honour to Monsieur (afterwards Louis XVIII.), her mother being daughter of the Duke de Civrac, and lady-in-waiting to one of the princesses. She was born at Versailles in 1772, and educated in the palace till 1789, amid the most gratifying luxuries and caresses of royal favour. She, therefore, grew up to meet, just at the commencement of mature age, the Revolution, with every imaginable predisposition to dread and abhor it. She saw in what manner its formidable career was beginning; for she was in the carriage of the princesses in the train of Louis XVI., when, on the 6th of October, 1789, he made his melancholy removal from Versailles to Paris. She and her mother were permitted to retire to their family and estate, in that western department which became the scene of the most sanguinary civil war of modern times. About two years after this retreat, she was married to the Marquis de Lescure, her cousin, for whom she had been destined by the family from her infancy,—an appointment it is not strange she should, when grown up, very willingly ratify, since, if we may depend on her testimony in his favour (and it has every mark of sincerity), he was eminently estimable and accomplished.

When the rage for evincing loyalty by emigration had begun, our author and her husband thought themselves bound to follow the example. But on their reaching Paris on their way out of the kingdom, their intention was arrested by the queen, and abandoned in compliance with her wishes; a great effort of loyalty on the part of Lescure, as he foresaw, what happened, imputations and reproaches from the emi-

grants. He appears to have been a man fully capable of making the sacrifice of even his reputation to his sense of duty.

He and our author remained in Paris till the memorable 10th of August. She states that the attack on the Tuileries was quite unexpected at that time by the court, though there was on the 9th a rumour of approaching commotion ; in consequence of which her husband was, on the evening of that day, preparing to go armed from the hotel where they lodged, to the palace, to be ready among its defenders ; but he was prevented by a visit from one of the king's most confidential officers, who informed them that the king had certain information that no attempt would be made before the 12th. About midnight, however, there were alarming symptoms which rapidly augmented to dreadful tumult : Lescure hastened towards the palace ; but too late for any possibility of admittance, which he earnestly sought at each of the guarded avenues. The vast and impetuous crowd was pressing on, and he narrowly escaped being so involved in it as to be irresistibly forced forward to the attack, a fate which befell some of the friends of the king. By the time he had regained the hotel, the cannonade was heard, and he felt the severest grief that he could not be at his post in the palace. In the evening he and his wife (who was now within two months of her confinement) were exposed to the utmost peril in seeking a more obscure lodging, in which they remained, in danger every moment, for a fortnight, at the end of which they made their escape, through various difficulties and hazards, from Paris, to retire into Poitou. It would have been impracticable but for the kindness of a democratic officer, who from respect to the virtues of Lescure, came to their aid at the most critical moment, contrived to create for himself an official occasion for accompanying them through the most hazardous part of the journey, and displayed throughout a most admirable presence of mind. We cannot resist the temptation to go back to quote an instance of this rare quality in a Parisian grocer, who on the 10th of August saved, by an instantaneous turn of thought, the life of a royalist, M. de Montmorin :—

“ He (Montmorin) saw himself followed by four of the

national guard, drunk with blood, who wanted to fight with him. He went into a grocer's shop and asked for a glass of brandy. The four guards furiously entered with him. The grocer suspected that M. de Montmorin had come from the palace, and, assuming the air of an acquaintance, said to him, 'Ah, well, cousin, I did not expect you to come from the country to see the end of the tyrant! But, come, let us drink to the health of these brave comrades, and the nation ;'—and thus he was saved by the presence of mind of this good man, who did not even know him ; but it was for a short time, for he was massacred the 2nd of September."

LA VENDÉE AND THE LOYALISTS.

Though the Revolution had never been favourably regarded, nor its enactments and institutions fully complied with, by the majority of the inhabitants, the peasantry especially, of the departments where the civil war subsequently raged, there had as yet been no considerable disturbance. Before entering on the melancholy history, the author gives an interesting description of the physical and moral state of the tract known since the civil war, "by the glorious name," she says, "of *Vendée*," but previously, by that of *Le pays du Bocage* ; comprehending a part of Poitou, of Anjou, and of the county of Nantes ; a country differing by its aspect, and still more by the manners of the inhabitants, from most of the other provinces of France. It is in general almost level, having scarcely any hill sufficiently elevated to serve for a point of observation, or to command the country. It is woody, though without extensive forests. Each field or meadow, generally small, is fenced with a quickset hedge and trees very close together,—not high nor spreading, the branches being lopped off every five years, twelve or fifteen feet above the ground.

"It is seldom that a farm yields to the proprietor more than 600 francs a year ; the revenue is principally from grazing. The gentlemen's residences were built and furnished without magnificence, and had neither expensive parks nor fine gardens. Their owners lived without pomp, and even with extreme simplicity. When called to the capital on business or pleasure, they generally did not return to the Bocage with the airs and manners of Paris. Their greatest luxury at home was the table, and their only amusement field sports. At all times the gentlemen of Poitou have been celebrated sportsmen."

c c

The feudal state in these provinces forms a more pleasing picture than in most other places where it has prevailed, and probably, than in any other part of France. It should seem that the peasantry were nowhere else so little oppressed and degraded. A certain community of interests, and habits of friendly intercourse, existed between the seigneurs and the vassals :—

PRIMITIVE STATE OF SOCIETY IN LA VENDÉE.

"The proprietors did not lease out their land, but divided the produce with the farmer. The farms being small, a seigneur had twenty or thirty such tenants, in the midst of whom he lived paternally, conversing with them about their affairs, the care of their cattle, and taking an interest in their good or ill fortune, in which he was himself concerned. He went to the weddings of their children, and drank with the guests. On Sunday, the tenants danced in the court of the château, and the ladies often joined. When there was to be a hunt of the wolf, the boar, or the stag, the information was communicated by the curate to the parishioners in church after the service. Each took his gun, and went joyfully to the place assigned."

The religion, such as it was, had general and strong hold on the people's minds. It is needless to say it appears to have been the most humble, ignorant, uninquiring form of the national superstition. It was a religion of the very essence of which they dreaded lest political power should deprive them. The grand object proposed in one of their zealous avowals of a unanimous invincible determination for war, was literally, by our author's statement, to "*defend their God!*" "*Rendez-moi mon Dieu!*"—was the dying retort of a peasant, to the summons—"*Rends-toi,*"—from some gendarmes, whom he had resolutely fought with a pitchfork and had received twenty-two cuts of the sabre.

It was not, however, that the ceremonies of worship did not continue the same as before, if they would have attended them ; it was that the performers were changed. The greatest number of the priests, to whom they were attached by long acquaintance, mutual offices of kindness, and the familiarity of these pastors with their dialect and manners, had refused to take the prescribed oath to the new form of government. Of course, they were suspended from their functions, which devolved on conforming ecclesiastics. But in these new hands the religion was not recognised as the same by the

PRIMITIVE STATE OF SOCIETY IN LA VENDÉE.

peasants, who hated and insulted them to such a degree, that in some places they were not able to perform the public offices, even to the empty walls. Meanwhile, the non-juring priests said mass in retired places in the woods, with doubtless an additional zeal, both in themselves and their auditors, from the stimulus of what they would feel as persecution. After the 10th of August, severe measures were adopted against them by the Revolutionary government. These provoked a determined and indignant reaction :—

FIRST OUTBREAK IN LA VENDÉE.

“The harshness and insolence of the new administrators towards a people accustomed to mildness and justice, together with the news of the first successes of the coalesced Powers, influenced the public mind. The peasants assembled armed with guns, scythes, and pitchforks, to hear mass in the fields, and to defend their curate, should there be an attempt to carry him off. A particular circumstance set all the people in motion. A man named Delouche, mayor of Bressuire, had a quarrel with some other functionaries, and was driven from the town, in which he had proclaimed martial law. He then went to Montcontant, where he excited the peasants to rise, and more than forty parishes united.”

This may be considered as the commencement of the desperate and sanguinary struggle; and it gave the first full occasion to the Republicans to display an atrocity of disposition which, in whatever country it had been displayed, by a number of men promiscuously brought together, would have given a glaring demonstration of the detestable character of the political system *under which such men had grown up*. On this occasion a numerous tumultuary mass of the peasants were brought into military operation; but they were encountered and soon routed by the Republican national guards, who, having taken a number of prisoners, massacred several of them in cold blood; and then, some of these national guards, returned to their homes, carrying as trophies, at the point of their bayonets, noses, ears, and shreds of human flesh.

CHARACTER OF THE FRENCH REPUBLICANS.

Now, the character of these men had not, assuredly, been formed by the few months of the Revolution; no, it had grown to its maturity under that old government which

had ripened unnumbered thousands more of such noxious beings under its baneful auspices, to be just ready, at the breaking up of the power of that government, to rush out, like rabid wolves, to destroy its once sovereign personages, and the classes of persons sharing its power, favour, and splendour, and its humbler adherents, and then to fall upon and tear one another in pieces. A system under which such a population was formed, deserved to be destroyed, notwithstanding any merits in individuals, which ought in justice to have exempted them *personally* in the catastrophe. That political state was, in its time, detested by all liberal Englishmen, by all friends of justice, liberty, and popular improvement and happiness, in the world. And all such men would have looked back upon its fall with delight, as a beneficent and glorious event,—but for the dreadful eruption of crimes which *the depravity of the old French government itself had prepared*, and but for the calamities which have followed, as the mingled result of the enormous depravity thus previously matured in the French nation, and of the spirit of pride and despotism in the surrounding states.

THE PEASANTS OF LA VENDÉE AUTHORS OF THE FIRST
LOYALIST MOVEMENT.

The Marchioness is uniform and decisive in stating that the war did not originate with the aristocracy, but actually with the peasantry. Though in mind disaffected enough towards the new government, the gentry remained quiet till the people were in general commotion, and broke out in particular places in actual insurrection, provoked to the last excess by the addition to all the other grievances, of the demand of their quota of the immense number of men to be raised for the Republican armies :—

“The insurrection began from the impulse of the moment, without plan, without concert, and almost without hopes; for what could a handful of men, destitute of means of any sort, effect against the forces of all France? Their first success infinitely surpassed their expectations. The minds of the people being universally disposed to resistance, the first example was followed generally without previous concert or understanding. The different chiefs did not at first even know each other.

“The war was rather defensive than offensive, wholly without a plan, and had scarcely any object but the immediate security

of the country. After continued successes, the hope of powerfully contributing to a counter-revolution assuredly presented itself to all the Vendéans, but without influencing their conduct."

RECKLESS SELF-DEVOTION OF THE LOYALISTS.

No doubt there is something fine and generous in the self-devotion and bravery, and uncalculating loyalty of the Vendean chiefs; and if nothing but their own gallant persons could have been committed to the hazard, the whole affair would have been a very splendid display of chivalry. But there were the women and children, the aged and the sick, the dwellings and the gardens;—there was, in short, whatever had "the breath of life," and whatever was for the sustenance and accommodation of life: all was to be plunged into that horrible wreck and misery,—which was foreseen as an almost inevitable consequence; insomuch, that when the most melancholy presages were realized, these leaders, those of them who survived, felt they had no cause for surprise. But we are amazed that when they actually saw the inexpressible misery and hopeless perdition in which their people were involved, we find none of them deploring, with anguish, that instead of restraining them from the desperate enterprise, they had actively led them on to its fatal consummation. The infatuation was absolutely incurable. When myriads of the insurgents had perished, amidst every variety of misery, and the daily perishing remainder were making hopeless forced marches in Brittany, and other tracts to the north of the Loire, encountered at every turn by hostile armies, and in acknowledged expectation of speedy destruction, our author makes some remarks on the peasants of Brittany (who were in their hearts favourable to the Royalist cause), to the effect of reproaching them for not being so insane as the Vendéans.

FEMININE TIMIDITY OVERCOME BY NECESSITY.

In this Vendean war many of the operations were a kind of personal combats, displaying the character and the valour of individuals, many of whom were well known to the writer. She was immediately involved in a great part, and in the most tragical part, of its operations and perils, being necessitated to accompany military parties, in all manner of

alarming situations, by day and by night, in sunshine or in storm, and under the most distressing personal circumstances, such as required all the benefits of indulgence and repose. She somewhere expresses, but with far less emphasis than the case deserved, her wonder how it was physically possible for her life to be maintained through such a rugged course. She was naturally excessively timid; and, on various occasions in the course of the narrative, she confesses ingenuously how much she was terrified, among horsemen and cannon, routs, flights, and mangled bodies. At the time of the first breaking out of the insurrection, she could not sit on horseback without apprehension, even when there was a man to lead the horse; but greater causes of emotion will annihilate the less: very early in the warfare, hearing a report of her husband being wounded, at a place nine or ten miles off, she galloped a bad horse to the spot, over a rough country, in three quarters of an hour, and was never afterwards, she says, in any fear of riding on horseback. She became inured to hunger and cold, to rags, and sleeping on straw amid noise and tumult, and at last passing whole nights in the fields and woods, without the smallest shelter, to escape the searching parties of the furious Republican assassins.

Military records of crimes and miseries have often a sort of gloomy monotony, which reduces the mind, after a while, to a stupefied, gloomy loathing, and sameness of consciousness.

SAVAGE FEROCITY OF THE REPUBLICANS.

It is quite melancholy to see almost all the persons whom the author brings prominently forward to notice in the early part of the story, perishing successively in its progress. After herself, the two most conspicuous and interesting persons, are her husband Lescure, and Henri de Laroche-jacquelin, the brother of the man who afterwards became her second husband, which second husband also fell fighting at the head of another insurrection during the last short reign of Bonaparte.

The whole story (and the veracity of it is beyond all doubt), gives a horrible representation of the general conduct of the Republicans. They were a vast pack of blood-

hounds. They rioted in the massacre of the helpless, the wounded, women, and children, and even the unoffending neutral inhabitants who alleviated the sufferings of the Royalists in their retreats and wanderings. Most of their leaders were worthy of their followers. Several of them, however, are honourably distinguished; and it is not less honourable to the Marchioness that she makes the exception with a grateful emphasis. ,

INFLUENCE OF THE PRIESTS.

There are many curious instances of the influence of the priests, and the power of superstition. One priest, himself evidently a courageous man, exhorting the overpowered and flying Royalists to return to the combat, boldly and literally assured them of "paradise" if they should fall. He was believed, and they went fiercely back with him, exclaiming that they were "going to paradise." On returning successful they seem to have literally worshipped both him and his crucifix. The author says, the priests did not fight, as that would have been regarded by the whole army as a profanation of the sacred character; but they often exposed themselves with a daring and generous devotedness in helping the wounded, or performing the last offices for the dying. She says their influence was uniformly and zealously exerted against cruelty and revenge. Some worthy examples are recorded.

ECONOMY OF THE ROYALIST CAMPS.

Few things in military history will be found more curious than the economy of the Royalist camps. There was very little of the subordination essential to an army. Officers and soldiers, seigneurs and peasants, seemed to be all on an equality; and each man fought from his own individual impulse to defend the country and its social system. After a successful battle, there was no possibility of preventing most of the peasants returning to their homes for a short time; but they would promptly come again at the circular summons of the chiefs. They were never reduced to a complete military organization. They displayed a wonderful bravery; but, nevertheless, they were liable to panics, which often caused disasters, and exceedingly distressed

their leaders. Their system of fighting was formed judiciously, but indeed necessarily, upon the peculiar form of their woody and intricate country.

GRADUAL DESTRUCTION OF THE VENDEANS.

The losses in a long succession of bloody combats (in which, however, their enemies suffered a much greater destruction), and the continual augmentation of the Republican armies, reduced the main body of the Royalists at last to cross the Loire, in hopes of finding co-operation or shelter in the more northern provinces, in which they believed there was a strong disposition to favour the Royal cause. They received, however, no important accessions to their wasting strength; the Republican armies advanced upon them in mighty mass and continual reinforcement; and the spirit of the peasants was no longer the same. They had lost their beloved country, for the sake of which they had risen in arms; and they had no systematic large political view on which to prosecute a war against the Republic. They fought repeatedly and desperately, and often with temporary success. They came, however, day after day, in still plainer and nearer view of their fate,—a fate inevitable at all events, unless they could re-cross the Loire. In the attempt to do this they failed; and after some last mournful and desponding efforts, the remainder of their once numerous army disbanded and dispersed; but were for the greater part pursued, hunted out, and destroyed.

Nothing in history is more melancholy than the detail of the events subsequent to the passing to the north of the Loire. The personal story of the Marchioness after this period, is as romantic as it is mournful. She took refuge among the peasants; had a succession of alarms and most narrow escapes; was disguised in various ways; was sometimes driven from all shelter to pass whole nights in the fields and woods; was in one of her miserable hiding-places delivered of twins; obtained, or rather fell into, at last, a more comfortable asylum, harassed, however, still by repeated and terrifying incidents of danger; and, finally, received the news of the downfall of Robespierre and the Terrorists, and availed herself of the clemency and amnesty that followed.

MONASTIC AND BARONIAL REMAINS.*

MONASTIC and baronial antiquities please us by their irreparable decay, as monumental of the destruction of feudality and Popish superstition, of which these remains strongly illustrate the savage and slavish character. How grim is that vision of a former age, which rises to the view of a reflective spirit, while contemplating one of these dilapidated castles, while looking up at the remains of towers and battlements, while passing through the deep and massive gate-ways, while observing the rocky solidity and thickness of the walls, while winding through the narrow gloomy passages, and while looking down into the dungeons, where, in a dismal twilight, and surrounded closely by an impenetrable construction of stone, so many wretches have pined in protracted despair, or awaited a speedy and violent death. However disparted by time, or worn by the elements, or mantled with ivy, or crowned with wall-flowers, or enlightened now by the wide access of sunshine, the ruins may be, they retain unalterably a frowning and as it were malevolent aspect. The structure has much the same effect on the imagination, as the sight of a skeleton of some gigantic murderer. The idea of merely defensive strength is quite secondary in the beholder's reflections. The predominant impression is that of a hold of barbarous and turbulent beings, ready to rush out on enterprises of revenge, and slaughter, and devastation; or returned to riot in the spoils and the exultation of their destructive success. And when the thought is extended to the rural tracts between several of these fortresses, their condition in that age is presented in all the forms of a disturbed culture and a harassed population.

The edifices raised by Popery, and abandoned to the operation of time since the fall of that hateful domination, suggest—by their gloom, by their superstitious uncouth imagery, by their arrangements for the purpose of vain rites, and for the privilege and accommodation of the performers and teachers of them, and by their enormous expense of labour—an impressive idea of the enslaved condition of the

* *Monastic and Baronial Remains in England, Wales, and Scotland.* By G. J. Parkyn, Esq. Two vols., royal 8vo. 1816.

human mind ; and we may rejoice, with gratitude to Heaven, that in these ruins we behold so many signs of its deliverance from what was so little better than Pagan idolatry. It is a mind of very little elevation, that in contemplating the cloisters, and arches, and broken walls, can be more gratified in the way of taste than of philanthropy and religion ; more pleased by picturesque appearance, than sympathetic with the exultation of prophets and confessors, that in thus far, " Babylon is fallen ! "

Meanwhile, there is no danger of the resumption of " monastic and baronial " architecture. In this country its characteristic uses being gone irrevocably, together with the very means, in a pecuniary sense, of maintaining it, on any scale comparable to its former magnificence, the style itself, with whatever were its merits, is surrendered to the times to which it belonged. And nothing can appear more impertinent than the raising, in recent times, of some few ecclesiastical edifices, in such imitation as to seem like mockery of the temples of Popish superstition ;—unless it be that wretched caprice of wealth which, in two or three notorious instances, has been building, at an immeasurable expense, abbeys and castles, with all their now unmeaning appurtenances, for mere places of abode.

As to the relics of the ambitious labours of the older times, there can be no question whether it be desirable to have accurate delineations of them added to our elegant literature, before they are still further sunk in ruins or quite destroyed. Mr. Parkyns's work will be regarded as a pleasing and valuable addition to the numerous performances of this class.

BENJAMIN WEST.*

THIS is one of the most curious and pleasing pieces of biography that have appeared for many years. While the long-established celebrity, and the singularly amiable character of the distinguished person who is the subject of it, had

* The Life and Studies of Benjamin West, Esq., President of the Royal Academy of London By John Galt. 8vo. 1816.

made him an object of interest to a much greater extent than the circle of artists and the disciplined admirers of art, there has been but very little information generally communicated respecting the original unfolding of his talents and the course of his early life.

Mr. West's father was descended of a family who, about the year 1667, had embraced the tenets of the Quakers, Colonel James West, the friend and companion in arms of Hampden, being said to have been the first proselyte. In 1699, they emigrated to America. "Thomas Pearson, the maternal grandfather of the artist, was the confidential friend of William Penn." But there is no interruption of the complacent sentiment in coming down to the immediate parentage.

FIRST EMANCIPATION OF NEGRO SLAVES.

Everything recorded of the character of the artist's mother testifies to its excellence; and a most memorable circumstance puts beyond all question, and beyond all ordinary praise, that of his father—he gave *the first example of the emancipation of Negro slaves!*

"As a part of the marriage portion of Mrs. West, he received a Negro slave, whose diligence and fidelity very soon obtained his full confidence. Being engaged in trade, he had occasion to make a voyage to the West Indies, and left this young black to superintend the plantation in his absence. During his residence in Barbadoes, his feelings were greatly shocked by the cruelties to which he saw the Negroes subjected in that island; and the debasing effects were forcibly contrasted in his mind with the morals and intelligence of his own slave. Conversing on this subject with Dr. Gammon, who was then at the head of the community of Friends in Barbadoes, the Doctor convinced him that it was contrary to the laws of God and Nature that any man should retain his fellow-creatures in slavery. This conviction could not rest long inactive in a character framed like that of Mr. West. On his return to America, he gave the Negro his freedom, and retained him as a hired servant."

With the high advantage arising from this noble act of justice, he stood forward eminently as an advocate of good principles, and zealously pressed the subject on the reason and conscience of the other Quakers of the district; whose conferences, held for the special purpose of arguing the

question, terminated in the adoption of his principle, and the imitation of his example. The same effectual conviction soon extended through the community in other parts of the country; and finally, but at a considerably later period (about the year 1753), the question was "agitated in the annual general assembly at Philadelphia; when it was ultimately established as one of the tenets of the Quakers, that no person could remain a member of their community, who held a human creature in slavery."

BENJAMIN WEST'S EARLY INDICATIONS OF ART-LOVE.

Benjamin West, the youngest of a numerous family, was born near Springfield, in Chester county, in the state of Pennsylvania, on the 10th of October, 1738.

Parental anxiety was not left to wait long for some indications of genius, and in its earliest recorded disclosure, it took that practical form in which it was destined to shine. We cite, in the biographer's words, the incident, as one of the most pleasing and remarkable among the memorials of the dawn of talents, and as one of the most notable of the innumerable facts that throw ridicule on that notion of an affected philosophy, that all men are natively equal in mental capability.

"The first six years of Benjamin's life passed away in calm uniformity. In the month of June, 1745, one of his sisters, who had been married some time before, and had a daughter, came with her infant to spend a few days at her father's. When the child was asleep in the cradle, Mrs. West invited her daughter to gather flowers in the garden, and committed the infant to the care of Benjamin during their absence; giving him a fan to flap away the flies from molesting his little charge. After some time, the child happened to smile in its sleep, and its beauty attracted his attention. He looked at it with a pleasure which he had never before experienced; and observing some paper on a table, together with pens, and red and black ink, he seized them with agitation, and endeavoured to delineate a portrait; although at this period he had never seen an engraving or a picture, and was only in the seventh year of his age.

"Hearing the approach of his mother and sister, he endeavoured to conceal what he had been doing; but the old lady, observing his confusion, inquired what he was about,

and requested him to show her the paper. He obeyed, entreating her not to be angry. Mrs. West, after looking some time at the drawing with evident pleasure, said to her daughter, 'I declare he has made a likeness of little Sally,' and kissed him with much fondness and satisfaction. This encouraged him to say, that if it would give her any pleasure, he would make pictures of the flowers which she held in her hand; for the instinct of his genius was now awakened, and he felt that he could imitate the forms of those things that pleased his sight."

ARTISTICAL USE OF A CAT.

From the moment of this incident painting became the invincible passion of young West. Throughout his early career the power of genius is displayed in the aptitude to perceive and turn to account the capabilities of casualties and trifles; and in the inventiveness of expedients in default of the requisite implements. One of the simplest of these, the camel's-hair pencil, was too outlandish a thing to be known, otherwise than by description, in his part of the country; he was informed of the existence of it after he had worked a good while with no better implement than the pen; and he quickly fell, for a substitute, on the fur of his father's favourite cat, which the frequent repetition of this clandestine pillage reduced to an appearance which excited the worthy elder's regret and inquiries :—

"It will often appear," Mr. Galt remarks, "upon a careful study of authentic biography, that the means of giving body and effect to their conceptions, are rarely withheld from men of genius. If the circumstances of fortune are unfavourable, nature instructs them to draw assistance from herself, by endowing them with a faculty of perceiving a fitness and correspondence in things."

WEST'S PRIMITIVE CAMERA OBSCURA.

At a more advanced period, at the age of sixteen, he actually *invented the camera* in consequence of observing at first with inexpressible surprise, the moving apparitions of external objects across the ceiling of his chamber, admitted through the fissures of the window shutters, which had been kept closed on account of his weakness in consequence of a fever.

WEST'S FIRST SIGHT OF AN ENGRAVING.

In his eighth year he received from a Quaker relative, a merchant of Philadelphia, a box of paints, with six engravings, and a few pieces of prepared canvas :—

"This was an era in the history of the painter and his art. He opened it, and in the colours, the oils, and the pencils, found all his wants supplied, even beyond his utmost conceptions. But who can describe the surprise with which he beheld the engravings; he who had never seen any picture but his own drawings, nor knew that such an art as the engraver's existed! He sat over the box with enamoured eyes; and could not refrain from constantly touching the different articles to ascertain that they were real. At night he placed the box on a chair near his bed, and as often as he was overpowered by sleep, he started suddenly, and stretched out his hand to satisfy himself that the possession of such a treasure was not merely a pleasing dream. He rose at the dawn of day, and carried the box to a room in the garret, where he spread a canvas, prepared a palette, and immediately began to imitate the figures in the engravings."

In this garret he painted a *composition* from two of the engravings,—the first of a series of compositions which has been progressive through seventy years! The biographer says:—

"Sixty-seven years afterwards, the writer of these memoirs had the gratification to see this piece in the same room with the sublime painting of 'Christ Rejected,' on which occasion the painter declared to him that there were inventive touches of art in his first and juvenile essay, which, with all his subsequent knowledge and experience, he had not been able to surpass."

WEST ENCOURAGED AT PHILADELPHIA.

The Philadelphia merchant, who had given him the fascinating box, took him on a short visit to that city, where his faculties were absorbed in wonder and delight, and where he fell by accident into acquaintance with a respectable painter, who instructed and animated him, and lent him, to take home, the treatises of Dr. Fresnoy and Richardson. His knowledge and understanding were very much improved by the discerning and friendly attention of an accomplished English governess in the family of another of his father's wealthy friends. His reading having been entirely con-

fined to the Bible, and the two books on painting, she read to him the most striking and picturesque passages from translations of the ancient historians, and poetry; and it was from this intelligent woman that he heard, for the first time, of the Greeks and Romans. Some time afterwards he came within the notice, and soon became a subject of the most liberal and assiduous care of Dr. Smith, Provost of the College at Philadelphia; a man whose enlightened mind, attractive disposition, and indefatigable exertions, produced a very great and beneficial effect on the whole state of intellect and conversation in Philadelphia.

QUAKERS FORMERLY OPPOSED TO THE PAINTER'S ART.

By this time, the youth had come into very high request as a portrait painter, and was venturing, with flattering omens, into the historic department. But he had now attained an age when the adoption of a regular occupation of life was become the subject of paternal solicitude and deliberation;—deliberation, for it was by no means to be taken as a thing of course, that indications even so unequivocal and extraordinary, should be admitted as decisive in favour of a pursuit which the religious principles of the community had been accustomed to disapprove, as hardly less than criminal, though the censure had been thus far suspended in favour of this most amiable youth. It now became a matter of very serious consideration in the society to which he belonged. A meeting was called for the discussion of the subject; and we have a curious and interesting account of its deliberations. The independent and sensible reasonings of a Friend, of the name of Williamson, decided the question in favour of the young artist's wishes; and he received the solemn sanction and benediction of the community, accompanied with the most emphatic and affectionate injunction, that he should ever religiously preserve the art, in his practice, clear of those tendencies to vanity and immorality, on account of its liability to which, and evident frequent indulgence of which, the Quakers had on principle disapproved and proscribed it. Nothing can be conceived more liberal and pleasing than the whole transaction. It would have been strange if the affectionate youth had not been deeply affected; and we can well believe that the

impression then made, remained indelible through all his long subsequent life.

QUAKER SOLDIERS.

It was about this period that West became for a short time a soldier in the militia, which even the Quakers felt the necessity of forming, at the perilous crisis which followed the destruction of General Braddock's army by the Indians and French. A patriotic and martial ardour seized the young men of the province; an elder brother of the painter became a captain, and Benjamin was drilled in company with the boy who afterwards became so well known as General Wayne. He much excelled the young general in the manual exercise, and was not behind him in adventurous spirit. Captain West, the elder brother, a particularly bold man, was sent with a party, conducted by Indian guides, to search in the remote forests for the dead bodies of Braddock's army; and it appears that Benjamin accompanied him. A very striking description is given of the discovery of the skeletons; and especially of the affecting circumstance of Major Halket, a British officer, ascertaining those of his father and brother.

DEATH OF WEST'S MOTHER, AND HIS SUBSEQUENT JOURNEY.

In 1756, he was hastily summoned from a distance to see his mother die; she was only able to express by her look the satisfaction with which she saw him approach the bed, before she expired. He continued four years in America, visiting, and for a while residing in, several of the principal cities, supporting himself by portrait painting, making some aspiring essays in history, availing himself of all possibilities of improvement, but becoming, at every stage, more deeply convinced, that it would be impossible to attain anything like the perfection of his art without a view of the great works of the European artists.

His conviction and his wishes grew into a determined plan; and in order to accomplish it, he accumulated all the money which a strict invariable economy could save from his earnings by portrait painting. About the time that the sum approached towards a moderate sufficiency, a very favourable opportunity occurred for a voyage from Phila-

delphia to Leghorn, in a merchant vessel. He seized it with a pleasure which was augmented by a signal act of kind and delicate liberality, on the part of a man on whom he had no claims but such as generous spirits feel imposed upon them by merit wherever they find it. At Leghorn, where he arrived about Midsummer of the year 1760, at the age of twenty-two, he experienced the utmost kindness from the merchants to whom the cargo of the ship was consigned; and they gratified his eagerness to reach the grand metropolis of the arts (Rome), by presenting him with letters to Cardinal Albani, and several of the most distinguished characters for erudition and taste in Rome; and, as he was unacquainted with French or Italian, they recommended him to the care of a French courier, who had occasion to pass that way. It is not easy to conceive a state of mind more perfectly adapted than that of the young American genius, to receive a full and most exquisite impression of the character of art, and nature, and man, in Italy; excepting, perhaps, in the circumstance of a deficiency of classical attainment. But even as to this requisite, the assiduous care of Dr. Smith had co-operated with the artist's inquisitiveness and quick apprehension, to his attainment of a considerable share of what may be called the essence and spirit of ancient history. Probably not even Gibbon felt so powerful an emotion at the first sight of "The Eternal City."

WEST'S RECEPTION AT ROME.

"When the travellers had reached the last stage of their journey, while their horses were baiting, West walked on alone. It was a beautiful morning; the air was perfectly placid, not a speck of vapour in the sky, and a profound tranquillity seemed almost sensibly diffused over the landscape. The appearance of nature was calculated to lighten and elevate the spirits; but the general silence and nakedness of the scene touched the feelings with solemnity approaching to awe. Filled with the idea of the metropolitan city, the artist hastened on till he reached an elevated part of the high road, which afforded him a view of a spacious champaign country, bounded by hills, and in the midst of it the sublime dome of St. Peter's. The magnificence of this view of the Campagna excited in his imagination an agitated train of reflections that partook more of the nature of feeling than of thought. He looked for a spot to rest

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on, that he might contemplate at leisure a scene at once so noble and so interesting."

The young painter was introduced, almost at the instant of his arrival, into the very centre of the most brilliant assemblage of *cognoscenti* in Europe, under the auspices of Mr. Robinson, afterwards Lord Grantham: something of a transition, truly, from a Quakers' Meeting at Springfield. The circumstance of an American, and a Quaker, or a very Indian from the woods, as Cardinal Albani supposed he must be, come to study the fine arts at Rome, appeared so extraordinary, that they were all immediately swarming and buzzing about him. Their curiosity, however, was not malignant; they seem to have been all disposed with one accord to caress, and instruct, and patronize him. But they must have the amusement of making some experiments upon him.

THE APOLLO BELVEDERE LIKE A MOHAWK WARRIOR.

Their first experiment was to show him, suddenly, the Apollo Belvedere:—

"At the hour appointed the company assembled; and a procession, consisting of upwards of thirty of the most magnificent equipages in the capital of Christendom, and filled with some of the most erudite characters in Europe, conducted the young Quaker to view the master-pieces of art. It was agreed that the Apollo should be first submitted to his view, because it was the most perfect work of all the ornaments of Rome, and, consequently, the best calculated to produce the effect which the company were anxious to witness. The statue then stood in a case, enclosed with doors, which could be so opened as to disclose it at once to full view. West was placed in the situation where it was seen to the most advantage, and the spectators arranged themselves on each side. When the keeper threw open the doors, the artist felt himself surprised with a sudden recollection altogether different from the gratification which he expected; and, without being aware of the force of what he said, exclaimed: "My God, how like it is to a young Mohawk warrior!"

It was not because the terms of this sentence brought the idea of the Almighty God into connexion with a stone idol, that the superfine company present would be offended: it was the profane association of the idol with the idea of an

Indian warrior, that "mortified them exceedingly," we are told, when the speech was translated to them. Robinson signified to West their chagrin, and asked for a distinct explanation:—

"West described to him the education of the Mohawks; their dexterity with the bow and arrow; the admirable elasticity of their limbs; and how much their active life expands the chest, while the quick breathing of their speed in the chase, dilates their nostrils with that apparent consciousness of vigour which is so nobly depicted in the Apollo. 'I have seen them often,' added he, 'standing in that very attitude, and pursuing, with an intense eye, the arrow which they had just discharged from the bow.' This descriptive explanation did not lose by Mr. Robinson's translation. The Italians were delighted, and allowed that a better criticism had rarely been pronounced on the statue."

A PRESBYTERIAN AND THE POPE.

West attended several performances of the grand ceremonies of superstition, one in St. Peter's church, where his Holiness presided in person; and he felt inevitably a most powerful impression from the immensity, the magnificence, and the solemn music. A Scotch priest of the name of Grant, an adherent of the Stuart family, was his guide and director. While they were all kneeling at the elevation of the host, they suddenly heard, to the equal astonishment of the priest and the Quaker, a voice exclaiming behind them, in a broad Scottish accent, 'O Lord, cast not the church down on them for this abomination!' an exclamation, fortunately for the rash and intrepid protester, not understood by the other auditors. It was uttered by a zealous, but not quite right-headed man, who had arrived at the very time at Rome, on a self-appointed mission, to convert the Pope. The notice of the incident is followed by the curious story of his adventures in the resolute prosecution of his purpose at Rome. By the interposition of King James in his behalf, he was saved from incurring any material injury, and ultimately shipped off for England.

BENJAMIN WEST COMPARED TO RAPHAEL MENGES.

The young American's attainments as a painter were soon disclosed in a manner which very much surprised the

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Roman and English *dilettanti*. Robinson got together a large party of them, on purpose to produce before them a portrait for which he had secretly sat to West. It was known that he had been sitting for his portrait to Mengs, a painter of the very highest reputation; and he gave no hint that the picture produced was by another hand. It was admired by the company as a signal improvement of Mengs's style of colouring; and only one keen inspector could detect some inferiority to Mengs in point of drawing. It was eloquently praised by all; and all were astonished when the real artist, to whom Robinson had been the while interpreting their plausible observations, was pointed out to them. As artists are reputed, in common with poets, a jealous and irritable race, it is highly to the credit of Mengs that he was greatly pleased with the strange Quaker interloper and rival, and gave him the most liberal and beneficial advice, which he has ever since recollected with gratitude. He ingenuously told West that his attainments were above any need of a laborious course of discipline and imitative labour at Rome, and sketched to him a plan for availing himself the most effectually of all the great schools and repositories of Italy.

EFFECTS OF EXCITEMENT.

It is no wonder that so exquisitely susceptible a mind, suddenly brought from a scene of quiet and humble simplicity, and plunged among such a combination of enchantments, should have been in a state of excitement little less than feverish. He became sleepless and ill; and the result of a consultation of the best physicians in Rome, was a formal communication to Mr. Robinson, that his friend must immediately quit the capital, and seek relief from the irritated state of his sensibility, in quiet and retirement. This relief he obtained by passing a short time at Leghorn. On his returning to Rome, the same vivid unmitigated impressions reduced him again to the same condition; and the fever, from which he once more recovered at Leghorn, left an affection in his ankle, which cost him a painful confinement of eleven months, to his couch and chamber at Florence, whither he had been conveyed for the benefit of consulting an eminent surgeon.

WEST'S GRAND TOUR AND ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND.

After West's perfect recovery, he made, in pursuance of Mengs's suggestions, an extensive tour for the study of the grand works in some of the principal cities of Italy; and finally, he came by Paris to England; having experienced throughout every part of his visit to Italy the most gratifying facilities, and the most marked liberality and kindness. Indeed, the whole narrative of his life is distinguished, almost beyond example, by favourable incidents and concurrences, by happy opportunities, by little auspicious interventions of kindness and patronage. In short, almost all things seemed to arrange themselves into a plan, without his control, to promote the purpose of his solicitude and ambition.

RETROSPECT OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.*

DURING many generations, there has been a powerful excitement of mental energy in the pursuit of knowledge of all kinds; a various and wonderful fertility of literary productions; and a grand progress in sciences and arts. In several nations, and especially in our own, there has been an earnest speculation, accompanied with a multiplicity of experiments, on everything relating to the social economy, and on the principles of morals, politics, and legislation. And what has been the result of all this, at the beginning of the nineteenth century? It has been that, for a space of time nearly approaching the average term of human life, the ambitious and malignant passions have raged with an unparalleled intensity, through the civilized and Christian world, and deluged the wide field of Europe with blood. In contempt of all deprecation, remonstrance, prediction, and experience of suffering, the fury for destruction has driven on, accompanied with, and stimulated by, all kinds of crimes, irreligion, and delusion; and at its suspension at length, by a peace without the spirit

* Travels in Brazil. By Henry Koster. 4to. 1816.

or expected benefits of peace, it has left the nations in a state of internal agitation and poverty, and aggravated depravity, which depravity is punished by a continuance of despotism, the establishments of superstition, and the omens of still more miseries to come.

ANTICIPATIONS OF AMERICAN PROGRESS.

From the revolutions, counter-revolutions, and present humiliated state of Europe, a large share of inquisitive attention is passing to those parts of America, which are the scene of so much that is strange and stupendous in physical nature, and of so much that is now beginning to be important in the history of mankind. It is a striking and gratifying spectacle, to see a race, or rather a diversity of races, fantastically mingled and confused, rising from an inveterate state of oppression, degradation, and insignificance, into energy, and invincibly working their way to independence, even though it be through a wide tumult of disorders and calamities—the only course through which it appears to be the destiny of man, in any part of the world, to attain the ultimate state of freedom and peace. Melancholy as the medium is through which alone we can look forward to the happier condition of these awakening tribes, there is the stimulating prospect of many great events in the passage through it, of an advancement and unfolding of mind, of rapid changes, surprising incidents, and signal interpositions of Providence. And if it should be asked—wherein will this course of calamities, changes, and wonders, have any such essential difference from the analogous trains of events resulting, hitherto, in so little good in our own part of the world, as to authorize any pleasure in the prospect?—we may at least reply, with no small delight, that there are religious grounds for hoping that the series of errors, crimes, and miseries, will be of much shorter duration in this new region, than it has been in Europe. We firmly maintain, in spite of the actual state of things, the hope, that the better age, which inspired men have predictively celebrated, is not very far off; and we may well assure ourselves that when it shall arrive to bless one part of the world, the other portions will not be left to work through a long protracted process of failure and misery.

Nature has furnished in this New World a theatre in superb correspondence and rivalry with whatever there can be of the great and magnificent in the human drama. The images of its grand scenery will be in a measure associated with the men and their proceedings, in the minds contemplating their rise to independence and importance; so that a certain adventitious lustre will seem to be reflected on the transactions of a people, vanquishing tyrants, constituting their politics, extending their plantations, opening their schools of literature and science, and, at length, dashing to the ground their systems and institutions of superstition, amid the magnificence of the most stupendous mountains, volcanoes, and torrents, and the riches of a mighty fertility of vegetable and vital forms. It must be a spirit very little imaginative, and very little prone to enthusiastic and poetic feeling, that would not be sensible of a greater captivation in contemplating such a course of events as displayed on such a field, than if the local scene were like the Netherlands, or the steppes of Tartary. At the same time it is to be acknowledged, that this fine illusion of association will have a greater effect on contemplative minds in Europe, and on cultivated travellers, than on the people themselves, the mass of whom will not, at least for a long time to come, be refined and elevated into any ambitious sympathy with the sublimity which predominates over their territory.

SPANISH AMERICA AND HUMBOLDT.

The attention and interest now attracted, and which will be progressively more attracted, to the southern, and to what was till lately the Spanish part of the northern division of the American continent, as the scenes of momentous changes in the state of the nations, and of wonderful phenomena in nature, will ensure a favourable reception to every authentic work which brings from those quarters any considerable share of new information. Within the last few years, a number of travellers have adventured, and have brought us their contributions: far above all others, Humboldt, who has accomplished more than it would be reasonable to expect from any future individual zealot for novelty and knowledge. When we reflect on the extent of the tracts surveyed by him, on their quality, with respect to the difficulty and toil

of traversing them, and the diversity of their appearances, and on the various distinct classes of the traveller's observations and researches, it is truly wonderful to behold such an exemplification of what is practicable to a mind shut up in a frame of heavy matter, slow of movement, soon fatigued, and liable to innumerable maladies and mischiefs.*

Our author (Koster) had a pleasant voyage, of thirty-five days, from Liverpool to Pernambuco, at the latter end of the year 1809. At Recife (for that is the name of the town, Pernambuco being properly the name of the captaincy), he instantly found himself in pleasant society, native and imported, and entered with vivacity into their convivialities. The society he acknowledges was very frivolous. At many of the houses of the Portuguese, he found the card-tables occupied at nine o'clock in the morning; when one person rose another took his place; and thus excepting an interval for dinner, the battle would be gallantly fought the livelong day, against the old invading enemy—time. There were other auxiliary resources, "music, dancing, playing at forfeits," dinner parties, and rides to Recife. The habits indeed, he remarks, were very much the same, at this place of summer adjournment, as at the English watering places.

GOOD FRIDAY IN THE BRAZILS.

- There are a multitude of occasions for observing what a mighty power of ingenuity, or we may say genius, is exercised by the depravity of the human mind. The most striking of the exemplifications is, that religion, even the Christian religion, the grand heaven-descended opponent of all evil, can be perverted by this genius, to subserve absolutely *every* purpose of iniquity and vanity, every passion and taste, from the most frivolous to the most infernal. In the place of our author's Transatlantic sojourn, as indeed in some of the countries of Europe, religion is one of the most stimulant and favourite *diversions*. He witnessed all the gaieties, shows, frolics, and riotous indulgences of the Easter season; of which the zest was heightened by mummery of a more solemn cast on Good Friday.

* Alluding to his *Travels*, recently republished in 3 vols. post 8vo. 10s. 6d. Bohn. 1852.

"On the following day, Good Friday, the decorations of the churches, the dress of the women, and even the manner of both sexes were changed (from the flare of gay finery on Holy Thursday); all was dismal. In the morning I went to the church of the Sacramento, to witness a representation of our Saviour's descent from the cross. The church was much crowded. An enormous curtain hung from the ceiling, excluding from sight the whole of the principal chapel. An Italian missionary friar of the Penha convent, with a long beard, and dressed in a thick dark brown cloth habit, was in the pulpit, and about to commence an extempore sermon. After an exordium of some length, adapted to the day, he cried out, 'Behold Him!' the curtain immediately dropped, and discovered an enormous cross, with a full-sized wooden image of our Saviour, exceedingly well carved and painted, and around it a number of angels represented by young persons, all finely decked out, and each bearing a large pair of outstretched wings, made of gauze; a man dressed in a bob-wig, and a pea-green robe, as St. John, and a female kneeling at the foot of the cross, as the Magdalen; whose character, as I was informed, seemingly that nothing might be wanting, was not the most pure. The friar continued with much vehemence, and much action, his narrative of the Crucifixion; and after some minutes again cried out, 'Behold they take Him down;' when four men, habited in imitation of Roman soldiers, stepped forward. The countenances of these persons were in part concealed by black crape. Two of them ascended ladders placed on each side against the cross, and one took down the board, bearing the letters I. N. R. I. Then was removed the crown of thorns, and a white cloth was put over, and pressed down upon the head; which was soon taken off, and shown to the people, stained with the circular mark of the crown in blood. This done, the nails which transfixed the hands, were by degrees knocked out, and this produced a violent beating of breasts among the female part of the congregation. A long white linen bandage was next passed under each arm-pit of the image; the nail which secured the feet was removed; the figure was let down very gently, and was carefully wrapped up in a white sheet. All this was done by word of command by the preacher. The sermon was then quickly brought to a conclusion, and we left the church."

IMPOSED DEFERENCE.

He notices two inconveniences which Englishmen had to encounter, at their influx, a few years back, into Pernambuco. The established custom required them to take off the hat in passing a sentinel, or meeting in the streets a military

guard ; and to fall on their knees on meeting the procession of the Sacrament, carried to dying persons, and so to remain till it went out of sight. The first was intolerable, and was uniformly and firmly refused, as an improper submission, we suppose, for *freemen* : but as to the *religious* affair, the act of idolatrous homage, that was far too trifling a matter to be worth a scruple or an effort of spirit in *Protestants* : " Here Englishmen (says Mr. Koster), in some degree conformed, in proper deference, to the religion of the country." In plain terms, they repelled the one demand because it was insulting to *themselves* ; they acquiesced in the other, because it was *insulting only to God*. Has this unhappy nation, at this late and calamitous period, yet to learn, that the worst of all omens for a people's liberties, is a prevailing contempt of the claims of the Most High ? To a religious man, deeply sharing in the zeal for freedom and political amelioration, it affords but a melancholy presage to see so little hold of religion on the national mind, so little recognition of the Governor of the world, so little perception, that the oppressive evils of which bad men are the immediate inflictors, are the inflictions of His justice ; and that something more is required for the effectual vindication of rights, than the mere energy of reaction against the instruments of oppression.

VEGETABLE AND ANIMAL INCONVENIENCES.

Large tracts of the captaincy of Seara are an eternal sand, only not quite so burning and volatile as in the African deserts. Other parts are covered with thickets, completely impervious but by some narrow path which has been cut through the dense substance with billhooks and hatchets. We transcribe the description of one of the vegetable productions which contribute to render them so:—

"The *cipo* is a plant consisting of long and flexible shoots which twist themselves around the trees, and as some of the sprouts which have not yet fixed upon any branch, are moved to and fro by the wind, they catch upon a neighbouring tree, and as the operation continues for many years undisturbed, a kind of net-work is made, of irregular form, but difficult to pass through. Several kinds of *cipo* are used as cordage in making fences, and for many other purposes."

Animal nuisances were furnished in due proportion. With one of them he made an early acquaintance :—

“I *laid* down in my clothes, but soon started up, finding myself uneasy. The guide saw me, and called out, ‘O sir, you are covered with *carapatos*.’ I then perceived them, and felt still more their bites. Instantly throwing off part of my clothes, but with the remainder upon me, I ran into the water, and there began to take them off. The *carapato*, or tick, is a small flat insect of a dark brown colour, about the size of four pin-heads placed together; it fastens upon the skin, and will in time eat its way into it. It is dangerous to pull it out quickly, when already fixed; for if the head remains, inflammation is not unfrequently the consequence.”

RAPID VEGETATION IN THE BRAZILS.

It was pleasing to observe, in the sudden effect of the rain, the wonderfully sensitive state of a soil in all appearance utterly burnt up :—

“The rapidity of vegetation in Brazil is truly astonishing. Rain in the evening upon good soil will by sun-rise have given a greenish tinge to the earth, which is increased, if the rain continues on the second day, to sprouts of grass of an inch in length, and these on the third day are sufficiently long to be picked up by the half-starved cattle.”

IGNORANCE AND CREDULITY OF THE SERTANEJOS.

The ignorance of Sertanejos is extreme, few of them possessing even the commonest rudiments of knowledge. Their religion is confined to a few ceremonies, relics, and charms; some of which last are the resource of persons bitten by serpents; and as all serpents are believed by these people to be venomous, while, in fact, many of them are not, there will be plenty of reputed proofs of the efficacy of the charm. There was an amusing instance of fantastic credulity, at a house where the travellers were answered by a man from within the door, but who did not open it, nor in any way venture to look out :—

“The guide explained, that the man had been bitten by a snake, and that the bite of this species only became fatal if the man who had received it saw any female animal, and particularly a woman, for thirty days after the misfortune.”

THE MUMMY-PITS OF THEBES.*

The long descent from Essouan to the Mediterranean, was performed by the travellers without many difficulties or adventures, and with an active attention to the stupendous monuments of the labours and superstition of the ancient inhabitants. The aspirants to a personal acquaintance with the darkest solemnity of antiquity, in the sepulchral retirements inhabited now by the forms of those beings that finished their living career several thousands of years since, will be gratified to be assured that many of the remotely interior recesses of the grand excavated cemetery of Thebes, remain yet unprofaned by research. These repositories of the dead are called mummy-pits. The following scene forms a most striking picture :—

“ Our curiosity induced us, during our stay here ” (it was near Thebes), “ to descend into one of the mummy-pits that abound in this neighbourhood ; but it would be difficult to convey an adequate idea of the disgusting scene of horror we had to encounter. The entrance was through a very narrow hole, nearly filled up with rubbish, by which we made our way into a small room about fifteen feet long and six wide ; beyond, we reached a chamber somewhat larger, and containing two rows of columns. The walls were covered with paintings, and at the farther end stood two full length statues, male and female, dressed in very gay apparel, and having on one side the figures of two boys, and on the other those of two girls.

“ The whole of this chamber was strewed with pieces of cloth, legs, arms, and heads of mummies, left in this condition by the Arabs who visit these places for the purpose of rifling the bodies, and carrying off the bituminous substances with which they have been embalmed. From the chamber above described, two passages lead into the interior and lower part of the mountain, and we penetrated about a hundred yards into that which appeared the longest. Slipping and crawling among the various fragments of these mutilated bodies, we were only able to save ourselves from falling by catching hold of the leg, arm, or skull of a mummy, some of which were lying on the ground, but many still standing in the niches where they had been originally placed.”

* Narrative of a Journey in Egypt and the Country beyond the Cataracts. By Thomas Legh, Esq., M.P. 4to. 1816.

So that our countrymen obtained a sight which had been permitted to none of the French explorers during their occupation of the country,—that of entire mummies, standing in their ancient position.

DANGEROUS ADVENTURE IN THE MUMMY-PITS.

We now transcribe the account of an adventure, which we think is one of the most interesting stories to be found in any book of travels.

A Greek, whom the travellers met at Thebes, informed them that, in pursuit of some predatory Arabs, of the village of Amabdi, not far from Manfalout, he had observed several of them disappear by descending into a mummy-pit. He and his soldiers went down in search of them, but in vain. At the bottom they observed fragments of mummies of crocodiles scattered about; and the pit appeared to communicate with lateral galleries of unknown extent, where were probably deposited the crocodile mummies from among which these fragments had been rifled. Our author and his companions were determined to see what these caves did actually contain, and with considerable difficulty induced some Arabs of Amabdi to become their guides. The descent was a circular hole, of ten feet diameter, and about eighteen deep. Our author, Mr. Smelt, and an American named Barthow, descended with three Arabs, leaving one at the top with an Abyssinian merchant, and the sailors, who were to take care of the clothes; for the Arabs had recommended them to strip, which they did in part, keeping on their shirts and trousers, in the latter of which Mr. Legh concealed a brace of pocket pistols, as he by no means liked the manner, and a previous muttering consultation of the Arabs. Each had a torch, and they found their way from the bottom of this hole into a larger chamber, strewn, as the Greek had described, with fragments of crocodile mummies. From this they passed through the windings of a low gallery, and after proceeding for more than an hour, came out into a large apartment, which they recognised as the same from which they had set out. The conductors at first denied this, but, on the travellers persisting, acknowledged that it was, and said they had lost their way; but assured the party of being

led to the mummies if they would make another attempt. They next approached a chamber "guarded by a trench of unknown depth, and wide enough to require a good leap."

"The first Arab jumped the ditch, and we all followed him. The passage we entered was extremely small, and so low in some places as to oblige us to crawl flat on the ground, and almost always on our hands and knees. The intricacies of its windings resembled a labyrinth, and it terminated at length in a chamber much smaller than that we had left, but, like it, containing nothing to satisfy our curiosity. Our search hitherto had been fruitless, but the mummies might not be far distant; another effort and we might still be successful.

"The Arab whom I followed, and who led the way, now entered another gallery, and we all continued to move in the same manner as before, each preceded by a guide. We had not gone far before the heat became excessive;—for my own part, I found my breathing extremely difficult, my head began to ache most violently, and I had a most distressing sensation of fulness about the heart.

"We felt we had got too far, and yet were almost deprived of the power of returning. At this moment, the torch of the first Arab went out; I was close to him, and saw him fall on his side; he uttered a groan—his legs were strongly convulsed, and I heard a rattling noise in his throat—he was dead. The Arab behind me, seeing the torch of his companion extinguished, and conceiving he had stumbled, passed me, advanced to his assistance, and stopped. I observed him appear faint, totter, and fall in a moment—he also was dead. The third Arab came forward, and made an effort to approach the bodies, but stopped short. We looked at each other in silent horror. The danger increased every instant; our torches burnt faintly; our breathing become more difficult; our knees tottered under us, and we felt our strength nearly gone.

"There was no time to be lost—the American, Barthow, cried to us to 'take courage,' and we began to move back as fast as we could. We heard the remaining Arab shouting after us, calling us Caffres, imploring our assistance, and upbraiding us with deserting him. But we were obliged to leave him to his fate, expecting every moment to share it with him. The windings of the passages through which we had come increased the difficulty of our escape; we might take a wrong turn, and never reach the great chamber we had first entered. Even supposing we took the shortest road, it was but too probable our strength would fail us before we arrived. We had each of us separately, and unknown to one another, observed attentively the different shapes of the stones which projected into the

galleries we had passed, so that each had an imperfect clue to the labyrinth we had now to retrace. We compared notes, and only on one occasion had a dispute, the American differing from my friend and myself; in this dilemma we were determined by the majority, and fortunately were right. Exhausted with fatigue and terror we had reached the edge of the deep trench, which remained to be crossed before we got into the great chamber. Mustering all my strength, I leaped, and was followed by the American. Smelt stood on the brink ready to drop with fatigue. He called out to us "for God's sake to help him over the fosse, or at least to stop, if only for five minutes, to allow him time to recover his strength." It was impossible: to stay was death, and we could not resist the desire to push on and reach the open air. We encouraged him to summon all his force, and he cleared the trench. When we reached the open air it was one o'clock, and the heat in the sun about 160°. Our sailors, who were waiting for us, had luckily a *bardak* full of water, which they sprinkled upon us; but though a little refreshed, it was not possible to climb the sides of the pit; they unfolded their turbans, and slinging them round our bodies, drew us to the top."

The state of debility in which they emerged from this den of death, was stimulated to immediate effort by apprehensions of another kind. Not venturing to tell the plain truth of a fact of which they were aware it would be of little use to attempt to explain the cause to the barbarians of the place, they replied to the inquiries of the astonished Arab who had remained at the mouth of the pit, that his three friends would soon appear, being "employed in bringing out the mummies which had been found;" and they hastened away to reach their *cangia*, moored at Manfalout, in order to be gone before there should be time for the rage of the Arabs to be brought upon them by the belief that they had murdered their guides. The stupidity, however, of the master of the vessel detained it many hours from getting it into the stream; and when that was effected, the wind was so contrary that they had only proceeded a few miles when Turks on horseback and Arabs on foot came to the bank, and, within pistol-shot, summoned them, in the name of the cacheff of the town, to answer for the murder. On a stipulation with the Turks for their protection while walking back to the town, and an allowance to carry their arms, they returned, and were received with a shout of

revengeful joy by a large assemblage of armed Arabs of Amabdi, waiting at the house of the cacheff; and he himself, notwithstanding their explanation, and the firman of the Pasha of Egypt, affected to treat them in an angry and menacing manner. Retiring however, and summoning them into a private apartment, he quite changed his tone, admitted the truth of their story, but told them the best service he could render them, was to assist them to escape secretly, while he amused their enemies; for that he had no sufficient force to protect them if the numerous armed population of Amabdi should rise on the occasion. It was so managed, therefore, that they got again on board their boat, which they rowed with all their might; but they were soon again arrested by the appearance of a number of Arabs, who threatened to fire upon them if they did not return. On reaching the town, they met, among their vociferous assailants, the wives and children of the men who had perished, naked and smeared with mud, according to their accustomed fashion of mourning. Among the crowd at the cacheff's house, they recognised the Arab whom they had left alive, but with no doubt of his inevitable fate, in the cavern. "His appearance was most wretched, he was unable to stand, and was supported by two of his friends." This man, on being appealed to, confirmed the charge of murder, and being interrogated as to the mode, said it was by magic. The incredulity excited in some of the auditors, by this allegation, combined with the force of some of the circumstances proved in defence, produced a kind of pause of the indignant violence, of which the culprits availed themselves to demand, with a peremptory air, and with threatening references to the alliance of their king with the despot of Egypt, to be instantly sent, together with their accusers to Ibrahim Bey, the son of that despot, and governor of Upper Egypt, whose reputation for cruelty made his very name terrible to the company. At length, a moderate sum of money was suggested in the way of compromise, to which, after a short politic affectation of haughtily refusing it, the captives gladly agreed; and they were soon again making the best of their way down the Nile.

SACRED BATH AND FAIR ON THE GANGES.*

HURDWAR, the boundary of British India in the neighbourhood of Delhi is well known to be a place of prodigious resort at a particular time of the year, for the Brahmins, who have to *sell* the blessings of superstition, and the wretched dupes who have to *buy* them. Our author speaks of this superstition and of its haughty and its humiliated votaries in appropriate language of exposure and reprobation. The grand object with a great proportion of the crowding myriads, is to bathe in the river, here at its entrance, with all its celestial purity, into Hindoostan :—

“Wretches, loaded with enormities,” says the author, “and oppressed by the weight of their sins, bend annually their steps to this spot of unparalleled superstition and priestcraft. Here, lavishing on the Brahmins a portion of their wealth, they are absolved of their offences, and return to their several homes with consciences pure and unsullied as the stream in which they have immersed. The Brahmins possessing among the Hindoos the highest spiritual and temporal authority, fatten on the credulity of their worshippers. Religion, here, as in the darker ages of Europe, assumes a shape the bane and curse of the people. Its ministers enjoy all the pleasures and luxuries of this life ; and to the deluded wretch, who, with tears in his eyes, offers the few *pie*, industriously acquired by the sweat of his brow, they point to the heavens, and in promising future happiness, fail not to menace everlasting punishment for the smallness of the offering.”

At the fair, at the end of March, 1814, sixty thousand people are supposed to have been collected ; and doubtless the strangeness of the spectacle would be found to warrant the author's superlative terms in describing it :—

“The spot on which the fair is held, not exceeding a mile in length, or a third of that in breadth, presented a medley of Persians, Tartars, Seiks, and natives from every part of India. Jats, Rohillas, Goorkas, &c., of the reality of which not a bare idea can be entertained in even the most lively imagination. The astonishing variety of features, dresses, languages, and customs made the scene quite unrivalled.”

* Sketches of India, in the Years 1811, 1812, 1813, and 1814. 8vo. Black & Co. 1816.

HINDOO TOLERANCE OF ENGLISH MISSIONARY PREACHING.

To this re-assemblage of all that was scattered at Babel, was added, a striking singularity, that of an English "Anabaptist missionary," lecturing on the Bible to this many-featured mass of idolaters. What shall we think of the personal temerity of a man who could thus expose himself to the fanatical rage of so many hundreds of Brahmins, and so many thousands of devotees obsequious to their prompting?—for the personal danger attending such a provocation is immediate and extreme, as all the world has been made to hear. Nine in ten of our gentlemen from India, would at any time have pronounced that a person who should do this must be a madman, and would tempt and deserve his fate. We transcribe the story as given by our author:—

"During the greater part of this fair, which lasted nearly three weeks, an Anabaptist missionary (Mr. Chamberlain) in the service of her Highness the Begum Sumroo, attended, and from a Hindoostanee translation of the Scriptures, read daily a considerable portion. His knowledge of the language was as that of an accomplished native; his delivery impressive, and his whole manner partook much of mildness and benignity. In fine, he was such as all who undertake the arduous and painful duties of a missionary should be. No abuse, no language which could in any way injure the sacred service he was employed in, escaped his lips. Having finished his allotted portion, on every part of which he commented and explained, he recited a short prayer, and concluded the evening by bestowing his blessing on all assembled. At first, as may be expected, his auditors were few: a pretty convincing proof, when sixty thousand people were collected, that it was not through mere curiosity they subsequently increased. For the first four or five days he was not surrounded by more than as many hundred Hindoos; in ten days his congregation had increased to as many thousands. From this time, to the conclusion of the fair, they varied, but never fell below eight thousand. They sat around and listened with an attention which would have reflected credit on a Christian audience. On the missionary's retiring, they every evening cheered him home with 'May the Padre live for ever!'

"Such was the reception of a missionary at Hurdwar, the Loretto of the Hindoos, at a time when five lacs of people were computed to have been assembled, and whither Brahmins from far and near had considered it their duty to repair. What was not the least singular, many of these Brahmins formed a part of his congregation. They paid the greatest deference to

all that fell from him, and when in doubt requested an explanation. Their attendance was regular, and many whose countenances were marked, were ever the first in assembling. Thus, instead of exciting a tumult, as was at first apprehended, by attempting conversion at one of the chief sources of idolatry, Mr. Chamberlain, by his prudence and moderation, commanded attention; and I have little doubt, ere the conclusion of the fair, effected his purpose, by converting to Christianity men of some character and reputation."

As to the disadvantages under which the missionaries appear among the natives, without attendants, with the evident signs of being destitute of that wealth which the Hindoo adores, without any specific authority or protection from the government, in short, as we are told, "vagabonds," proposing a religion poor in attractions of external pomp,—they would have been truly as foolish as their bitterest haters, or rudest scoffers have ever called them, if they had entered on their design without a firm presumption that the cause to which they devoted themselves would be accompanied by a power quite different from that of exterior show, and infinitely more than a compensation for its absence.

INHUMANITY OF THE HINDOOS.

The Hindoos seem devoid of humanity and natural affection. They can with all imaginable composure take their aged parents to the banks of the river, and suffocate them with mud. And when they can thus treat the living, it is not to be wondered at that they show a contempt totally unparalleled in other regions of the globe, of all decent attentions to the dead. We transcribe a description of what a voyager on the Ganges may expect to see in that sacred stream, especially near populous places on its banks:—

"Every hour passed on the rivers of India presents sights shocking to humanity, and sickening to the most apathetic. Crows and vultures are seen daily floating on half-eaten bodies, and glutting themselves with the entrails, the 'shreds and remnants' of mortality. Near the holy city of Benares I have had my boats surrounded with dead bodies, in every stage of decay, from those just committed to the water, to others in the most loathsome state of putrefaction. I have seen the oars of the boatman strike against the mangled carcasses, and in the act of my servants drawing water to drink, have often cautioned them against the floating fragments of a human body. In extenuation of this disgraceful custom, the natives urge their

poverty ; and I have not unfrequently had the happiness of contributing a rupee's worth of wood to the decent treatment of a parent, a sister, a brother, by reducing the corpse to ashes."

THE SUTTEE, OR THE BURNING OF WIDOWS.

In the Goorka territory, the *Suttee*, or burning of widows, is actually continued. One day, in a romantic scene, our traveller's attention was caught by many rude piles of stones, four and five feet high, erected in the simplest manner, and indicating various distances of time by their appearance. He was informed they were the monuments of women so sacrificed, and that in a few days there would be an opportunity for his enjoying, if he pleased, the spectacle of such a transaction. He saw, and thus describes it :—

"At ten in the morning the ceremony began. A pile of wood, about four feet and a half high, being previously erected, the mourner appeared, and having performed her ablutions in the Assan, a clear meandering stream which ran near, walked three times round the fatal pile, and taking a tender farewell of her family and friends, prepared for the last dreadful ceremony. She was a remote descendant of one of the hill princes ; and though too short for a fine form, had a fair and interesting countenance. Her natural beauty, heightened by her resolution, would have affected a heart of adamant. Her glossy black hair hung dishevelled on her shoulders ; and attired in a yellow sheet (the garment of despair), this infatuated widow ascended the fatal pile. The noise of drums and other native instruments now became deafening. Placing the head of her husband in her lap, she sat, seemingly unconcerned, and with the continued exclamations of *Ram, Ram*, witnessed the savage exultations of the Brahmins, as they eagerly applied torches to the pile. Ghee (clarified butter) and other inflammable substances, having been profusely spread on the lower parts of the wood, it ignited in an instant. Still was heard the cry of *Ram, Ram* : her chief ambition appeared to consist in invoking her god to the last. The flames had now ascended far above the sufferer, and her agony was very apparent in the agitation of the pile. But the Brahmins immediately threw on more wood, and buried both bodies from our sight. I shall not attempt to paint the spectacle which presented itself on the flames being extinguished : it was truly horrible. Their ashes were collected and thrown into the Assan ; and shortly after, a pile of stones, similar to those before mentioned, was erected on the spot where the suttee had taken place."

AERIAL MONASTERIES OF METEORA.*

FROM the lofty desolation of the snowy Pindus our traveller descended into the beautiful valley of the Salympria, the ancient Peneus; which soon brought him to one of the most remarkable spectacles seen in all his peregrinations—the rocks of Meteora, surmounted with monasteries. A number of rocks, insulated and perpendicular, standing up like towers or enormous columns, of the height of from one to three hundred feet, sustain on their summits, ancient monastic structures, built, in some instances, to the very edge of the crown of the rock, so that the wall carries upward the continuity of the face of rock.

“Four of the monasteries actually occupy the whole summit of the insulated rocks on which they stand; a perpendicular precipice descending from every side of the buildings into the deep-wooded hollows. The only access to these aerial prisons is by ropes, or by ladders firmly fixed to the rock, in those places where its surface affords any points of suspension; and these ladders, in some instances, connected with artificial subterranean tunnels, which give a passage of easier ascent to the buildings above. The monastery, called by distinction, the Meteora, which is the largest of the number, stands in the remarkable situation just described, and is accessible only in this method. Still more extraordinary is the position of another of these buildings. It is situated on a narrow rectangular pillar of rock, apparently about 120 feet in height; the summit of which is so limited in extent, that the walls of the monastery seem on every side to have the same plane of elevation as the perpendicular faces of the rock.”

“The number of monasteries at Meteora, is said to have been formerly twenty-four; but at present, owing partly to the wearing away of the rocks on which they stood, partly to the decay of the buildings themselves, only ten of these remain. Aios Stephanos, which we visited, is among the most extraordinary of the number; its height is upwards of 180 feet.”

“A small wooden shed projected beyond the plane of the cliff, from which a rope, passing over a pulley at the top, descended to the foot of the rock. Our Tartar shouted loudly to a man who looked down, ordering him to receive us into the monastery; but at this time the monks were engaged in their

* Travels in the Ionian Isles, Albania, &c., during the Years 1812 and 1813. By Henry Holland, M.D. 4to. 1815.

chapel, and it was ten minutes before we could receive an answer to his order, and our request. At length we saw a thicker rope coming down from the pulley, and attached to the end of it a small rope net. The net reached the ground; our Tartar and a peasant spread it open, covered the lower part with an Albanese capote, and my friend and I seated ourselves in this slender vehicle. As we began to ascend, our weight drew close the upper aperture of the net, and we lay crouching together, scarcely able, and little willing, to stir either hand or foot. We rose with considerable rapidity; and the projection of the shed and pulley beyond the line of the cliff, was sufficient to secure against injury by striking upon the rock. Yet the ascent had something in it that was formidable. We were absolutely suspended in the air, our only support was the thin cordage of a net, and we were even ignorant of the machinery, whether secure or not, which was thus drawing us rapidly upwards. We finished the ascent, however, which is 156 feet, in safety, and in less than three minutes. When opposite the door of the wooden shed, several monks and other people appeared, who dragged the net into the apartment, and released us. We found on looking round us, that these men had been employed in working the windlass; and in observing some of their feeble and decayed figures, it was impossible to suppose that the danger of our ascent had been one of appearance only. Our servant, Demetrius, meanwhile, had been making a still more difficult progress upwards, by ladders fitted to the ledges of the rock, conducting to a subterranean passage, which opens out in the middle of the monastery.

"The monks received us with civility, and we remained with them more than an hour in their extraordinary habitation. The buildings are spread irregularly over the whole summit of the rock, enclosing two or three small areas; they have no splendour, either external or internal, and exhibit but the appearances of wretchedness and decay. Nevertheless the monks conducted us through every one of their dark and dilapidated rooms, and seemed to require a tribute of admiration, which, though little due to the objects for which it was sought, might conscientiously be given to the magnificent natural scenery around and beneath their monastery."

The two terrestrial visitants were led to each edge of the platform of this seclusion from the earth, after which they made a hasty repast of rice cooked in oil; a Turkish dish composed of flour, eggs, and oil; bread, and thin wine. There were only five monks, with a few attendants, resident at that time in the monastery: all of them miserable in

their exterior, and with conceptions as narrow and confined as the rocks on which they live. They were quite ignorant of the age of the foundation of their edifice, and appeared to possess no books of the smallest value. Their almost inaccessible situation has not availed them against the Albanian soldiers, who have often plundered the village and valleys below, where lies their little property, and whence their supplies are furnished, and sometimes compelled an admission for the same purpose into the monasteries themselves.

EXPERIMENTS ON THE GEYSER SPRINGS.*

THE author saw the column of the *Great Geyser* rise to a hundred and fifty feet. It was an exceedingly remarkable circumstance, that, by an experiment made in the first instance unthinkingly, he found it possible to provoke the *New Geyser* to a premature repetition of its thundering explosion, and with such an augmentation of its fury as to throw the boiling element to nearly double the most usual elevation of the column. Certainly, it were desirable there had been time to verify so strange a principle of its agency by a greater number of experiments; but the fact, taken only to the extent of the evidence afforded to Dr. Henderson, gives a strong presumption of such a law of operation as adds darker mystery to the subterraneous economy. We will give his own relation:—

“The morning after my arrival I was awakened by its explosion about twenty minutes past four o'clock; and hastening to the crater, stood nearly half an hour contemplating its jet, and the steady and uninterrupted emission of the column of spray which followed, and which was projected at least a hundred feet into the air. After this, it gradually sunk into the pipe, and I did not expect to see another eruption till the following morning. However, about five o'clock in the afternoon, after a great quantity of the largest stones that could be found about the place had been thrown into the spring, I observed it begin to roar with

* Iceland; or the Journal of a Residence in that Island, during the Years 1814 and 1815. By E. Henderson. 8vo. Two vols. 1818.

more violence than usual; and, approaching the brink of the crater, I had scarcely time to look down to the surface of the water, which was greatly agitated, when the eruption commenced, and the boiling water rushed up in a moment, within an inch or two of my face, and continued its course with inconceivable velocity into the atmosphere. Having made a speedy retreat, I now took my station on the windward side, and was astonished to observe the elevation of the jets, some of them rising higher than two hundred feet; many of the fragments of stones were thrown much higher, and some of considerable size were raised to an invisible height. For some time every succeeding jet seemed to surpass the preceding, till, the quantity of water in the subterraneous caverns being spent, they gave place to the column of steam, which continued to rush up with a deafening roar for nearly an hour.

"The periodical evacuation of this Geyser having been deranged by this violent experiment, no symptoms whatever of a fresh eruption appeared the following morning. As I wished, however, to see it play once more before I bade an everlasting adieu to these wonders of nature, and, especially, being anxious to ascertain the reality of my supposed discovery, I got my servant to assist me, about eight o'clock, in casting all the loose stones we could find into the spring. We had not ceased five minutes when the wished-for phenomena re-commenced, and the jets were carried to a height little inferior to what they had gained the preceding evening."

It will be obvious that the experiments would have been more decisive, if the intervals had been shorter between the throwing in of the stones and the preceding eruptions.

THE GREAT VOLCANO "KRABLA YOKUL."

The high and disastrous distinction held in the history of most other countries, by dreadful commotions, wars, and battles, is held and rivalled in that of Iceland by the sublimer tumults and devastations of volcanic fire. The visible monuments of these events have a magnificence and permanence strikingly contrasted with the slight and vanishing traces of most of the tragical events in the human history. The *Krabla Yokul* is one of the most memorable and formidable names in the history of Iceland. At a great distance from its position, the traveller was encountered by the signs of its character and memorials of its operations:—

"Having gained the extremity of the sand, I encountered a

prodigious stream of lava, which having insinuated itself into the valleys that open into the plain where it has collected, I had to cross several times before I reached the limit of the day's journey. Of all the lavas I had yet seen, this appeared the freshest and most interesting. It is black as jet; the blisters and cracks are of an immense size; and most of the chasms are completely glazed, and present the most beautiful and grotesque stalactitic appearances. In some places it is spread out in large round cakes, the surface of which is covered with round diminutive elevations, resembling the coils in a roll of tobacco. Where the fiery stream has met with some interruption, and got time to cool, a crust has been formed, which, on a fresh vent having been opened below for the egress of the lava, has broken, and, intermingling with the more liquid masses, has been heaved and tossed about in every direction, and now exhibits the wildest and most fantastic figures, which the imagination may easily convert into various objects of nature and art."

"According to the accounts given by those who" (between the years 1724 and 1730) "witnessed the eruption, the stone-flood (Steiná), as they very emphatically called it, ran slowly along, carrying everything before it, and burning with a blue flame, like that which proceeds from sulphur, yet but partially visible, owing to the dense smoke in which it was everywhere developed. During the night, the whole region appeared to be one blaze; the atmosphere itself seemed to be on fire; flashes of lightning darted along the horizon, and announced to the inhabitants of distant districts the terrific scenes exhibited in this quarter. Having overflowed the greater part of the lowlands, the lava was at length poured into the lake of Myvatn, which it filled to a considerable distance, forming numerous little islands, and destroying the fish with which it was stocked." "The lake, which is reckoned to be about forty miles in circumference, has been so filled up with the torrents of lava that, at its extreme depth it does not exceed four fathoms and a half, and in most places is only between two and three fathoms deep."

The description of the tract bordering on this lake; the dark, gloomy appearance of the lake itself, boiling here and there above the chasms in the lava at the bottom, and throwing up columns of steam; the volcanic mountains by which it is in part environed; and "the death-like silence which pervades the whole of the desolated region;"—present a most solemn and impressive picture, strikingly resembling, as Dr. Henderson suggests, but we should presume greatly surpassing, the scene of the Dead Sea and its precincts.

THE SULPHUR MOUNTAIN.

A stage or two more brought our adventurous traveller to the Sulphur Mountain, with its mines, and its boiling and exploding pits of sulphur and mud. The incessant eruptions, and smoke, and roaring of these pits, together with the hot, brimstone, treacherous consistence of the soil in the vicinity, forming but a crust over a vast sulphureous fiery quagmire, are quite terrible. It was a worthy prelude to a spectacle of still more appalling aspect. At the moment of his retreating from the "burning marl," his attention was seized by an immense volume of smoke, ascending with velocity from some chasm or recess about two-thirds up the side of Krabla, which was at no great distance. With great difficulty and protracted exertion he and his guide, (whose unaffected dread of the attempt, it required some promises of remuneration to counteract), made their way to a position whence they suddenly beheld beneath them what Dr. Henderson could not doubt to be the crater of this tremendous volcano; and beheld it in a state which might suggest the image of the imperfect troubled repose of some dreadful monster, retained in a feverish slumber till the time return for him to rise up again in his might to renew the work of destruction:—

"At the bottom of a deep gully, lay a circular pool of black liquid matter, at least three hundred feet in circumference, from the middle of which a vast column of the same black liquid was erupted, with a loud, thundering noise; but, being enveloped in smoke, till within about three feet of the surface of the pool, I could not form any idea of the height to which it rose.

"From every circumstance connected with the vast hollow in which this pool is situated, I could not but regard it as the remains of the crater; which, after having vomited immense quantities of volcanic matter, has loosened the adjacent parts of the mountain, to such a degree, that they have fallen in, and left nothing but the boiling cauldron to mark its site, and perpetuate, in faint adumbrations, the awful terrors of the scene. The surface of the pool may be about seven hundred feet below what appeared to be the highest peak of Krabla."

He descended to the brink of this dreadful abyss, and he adds,—

"Nearly about the centre of the pool is the aperture, whence

the vast body of crater, sulphur, and bluish black bolus is thrown up; and which is equal, in diameter, to the column of water ejected by the Great Geyser at its strongest eruptions."

TERRIFIC PASSES OF ICELAND.

The Doctor employs the most emphatic terms to describe the awful impression here made on his mind, "an impression," he says, "which no length of time will ever be able to erase." Another adventure, of no very gentle stimulus, was the passing of men and horses over a mighty torrent, confined within a narrow rocky channel, upon a wooden bridge so slender, decaying, and crazy, that he says, "I have no manner of doubt but a person of powerful muscle could shake the whole structure to pieces in less than a quarter of an hour. Alighting from my horse, I went to the bridge, and, after having looked a minute or two, into the profound chasm, through which the light brown torrent rolled and boiled with the most tremendous fury, I took hold of the ledges, and shook the bridge with the utmost ease."

"Some miles further up, there is another mode of crossing this river, called by the natives *at fara á Kláfa*, which is still more terrific. Two ropes are suspended from the edge of the precipice on either side, on which a basket or wooden box is hung, sufficiently large to contain a man and an ordinary horseburden. Into this box the traveller must descend, and pull himself by means of a rope over the yawning abyss while, owing to the looseness of the main ropes, the box sinks with rapidity till it reaches the middle, and threatens, by the sudden stop it there makes, to dislodge its contents into the flood. The principal danger, however, attends the passage of the horses. They are driven into the river a little higher up; and, if they do not swim to a certain point, formed by a projection of the rock, they are precipitated over a dreadful cataract, and seen no more. If measures be not soon taken to repair the bridge, the Kláfa, dangerous as it is, will be the only means of conveyance over the Yokul river."

A magnificent cascade, of the depth of 140 yards, augmented the sense of danger in a pass which at first sight appeared insuperable. A torrent from the icy mountains, running in thirty channels, several of them a hundred yards broad, and taking the horses up to the middle, was, contrary to the advice of the clergyman in the neighbourhood, forded in haste, for fear that delay should render it quite impass-

able. Most of this clergyman's auditory had always this flood to cross to attend Divine service, an adventure of very great management and dexterity when it is crowded with floating masses of ice:—

“Sometimes they are so numerous, and follow each other in such close succession, that the river cannot be forded at all on horseback ; it being impossible to turn the horse with the agility requisite in order to elude them. The passenger is then obliged to wade, at the risk of his life. Sirs Berg” (the clergyman) “informed me that being once called to visit a dying parishioner, he went over in this way, though, at times, the water took him up to the breast. He had provided himself with a long pole, in order to examine the ground at every step ; while he had to look around him, with the utmost alertness, lest fresh masses of ice should overtake him, bear him down before them, and, forcing him upon other pieces, cut him asunder.”

SCARCITY OF THE BIBLE IN ICELAND.

This worthy pastor received the present of a Bible, and welcomed the prospect of a larger supply for his people, with a joy proportioned to the fact, that he had been endeavouring to procure a copy for his own use these *seventeen* years past ; but had at last given up all hope of ever obtaining the treasure.

At a short distance from the sea, a mountain consisting wholly of ice, stands across, and blocks up, a wide valley which extends considerably back between the icy mountains. A powerful stream, descending from these mountains, has to force its way through this enormous bulwark of ice.

ENORMOUS FIELDS AND MOUNTAINS OF ICE.

“It is not so much a mountain as an immense field of ice, about twenty miles in length, fifteen in breadth, and rising, at its greatest elevation, to the height of about four hundred feet above the level of the sand. The whole of the space it occupies has originally been a beautiful and fertile plain, which continued to be inhabited for several centuries after the occupation of the island ; but was desolated in the dire catastrophe which happened in the fourteenth century, when not fewer than *six* volcanos were in action at the same time, and poured inconceivable destruction to the distance of near a hundred miles along the coast. While the snow-mountains, in the interior, have been discharging their waters through this level tract, vast masses of ice must have been carried down by the floods, some of which,

being arrested in their progress, have settled on the plain, and obstructing the pieces which followed, they have gradually accumulated, till, at last, the fresh masses that were carried to either side by the current, have reached the adjacent mountains, and the water, not having any other passage, has forced its way through the chasms in the ice, and formed channels, which, with more or less variation, it may have filled to the present period."

The most marvellous fact of all is, that this enormous mass of ice is actually in motion toward the sea, from which it was, fifty years since, at the distance of five miles, according to the statement of respectable travellers, whereas the distance did not appear to Dr. Henderson to exceed one mile; and he observed that at one place it had advanced, ploughing, as it were, its way in the sand, so as to pass beyond the line of one part of a track made but eight days before. It is not improbable that one day, under the pressure of an extraordinary accumulation of water behind, a great chasm will be made, by a portion of this vast barrier being disrupted and propelled down to the sea. Or if not, the whole continuous mass will, in no very long time, as Dr. Henderson remarks, advance to the shore, and leave no way of communication by land between the tracts adjoining to its two extremities. As the case is, the passage is most perilous.

AWFUL ERUPTION OF THE SKAFTAR VOLCANO.

A few stages forward brought the adventurer upon the region of intermingled lavas and sections of beautiful pasture ground, in front of the Skaftar Yokul, which is at the distance of, perhaps, fifty miles back from the sea. This Skaftar is the most tremendous name, excepting those within the economy of religion, ever pronounced in Iceland. In the year 1783, this mountain shook, and darkened, and devastated the island with such a dreadful power of volcanic fire as has no recorded parallel. The agency was on so vast a scale, and of so prolonged a duration, that the subterraneous fires of half the globe might have seemed hardly sufficient for the awful phenomena. Yet the mighty element, in drawing together its forces in preparation, could afford, as a slight precursor and omen, a month before, and at the distance of two hundred miles, a submarine explosion, which ejected so immense a quantity of pumice, that the surface of the ocean

was covered with it to the distance of a hundred and fifty miles, and the spring ships were considerably impeded in their course. It was in the beginning of July that the operations began, on the predestined ground; they raged with inconceivable power, in all manner of horrible and destructive phenomena, for several months; and the final eruption is said to have been as late as the following February. The awful sounds and concussions, the intense darkness, relieved only, at times, by flames and lightnings, the great rivers transformed into torrents of fire, which were confined but for a short time to these channels, their inundation, on all sides, of tract after tract of the cultivated country, and the dismal rain of ashes and other volcanic substances over the whole territory,—must have appeared to the inhabitants as a premature fulfilment of the divine predictions of the destruction of the world.

The ashes from the eruption covered the whole island, and spread far beyond it; “empoisoning,” says our author, “whatever could satisfy the hunger, or quench the thirst of man and beast.” Famine and pestilence were the consequence: a considerable proportion of the people, and a vast number of the cattle and horses, perished; and the condition of the inhabitants bears, at the present time, melancholy traces of the effects of the awful visitation. A recent traveller, mentions as one of these effects, a greater degree of gravity in the character of the people, and a prevailing aversion to all gay amusements. We will acknowledge that though we cannot wish such a sublime *preaching* as this, to impress on the people of our own country a sense of the majesty of the Almighty, and a loathing of many of their frivolous pursuits,—we should be delighted to see such a result from gentler modes of divine admonition.

THE BOILING SPRINGS AND SEA-PARROTS OF BREIDAFIORD.

Dr. Henderson was delighted with the fine situation and magnificent prospects of the farm of Reykiaholar, and with an aquatic excursion among the islands of the Breidafjord, with their boiling springs and infinite assemblages of wild fowl. “As I passed between the islands,” he says, “my ears were stunned with the cries of sea-parrots and crees, the latter of which abounded in such numbers that they completely covered the surface of the water, and on rising,

almost darkened the atmosphere." In the islands, the eider-ducks and their nests were observed and examined with much curiosity. Most of these islands have been thrown up by submarine volcanos, and many of them rest on superb perpendicular pillars of basaltic rock. Some of them are well inhabited. Parts of the mainland coast of this bay display immense walls of basaltic configuration. The mountains exhibit some very extensive strata of the same kind of rock. At one place, where the mountain streams have forced their way through beds of the columnar rock, numerous turrets and spires present themselves amidst the clouds of mist arising from the water-falls.

GEOLOGICAL FEATURES OF ICELAND.

The name has already occurred of *surturbrand* or mineralized wood. It is a most remarkable circumstance in the constitution of the island, that a bed of this substance extends through the whole of the north-western peninsula. At Briamslaek it was presented with great distinctness to our author's view, in a deep cleft cut through a large hill by a torrent from the mountains. The more perpendicular side of this chasm

"Consists of ten or twelve strata of *surturbrand*, lava, basalt, tufa, and indurated clay, successively piled above each other. The *surturbrand* is undermost, and occupies four layers, which are separated from each other by intermediate beds of soft sandstone or clay. These layers are of unequal thickness, from a foot and a half to three feet, and run to the length of about thirty yards, when they disappear in the *débris*. They differ also in quality: the two lowest exhibiting the most perfect specimens of mineralized wood, free from all foreign admixture, of a jet black; and such pieces as have been exposed to the sun, shine with great lustre, and are very splintery in their fracture. The numerous knots, roots, &c., and the annual circles observable in the ends of the trunks or branches, removed every doubt of the vegetable origin of this curious substance. The only changes it has undergone are induration and compression; having been impregnated with bituminous sap, and flattened by the enormous weight of the superincumbent rocks. Some few branches stretch at times across the bed, but in general they all lie parallel with one another, and are frequently pressed together, so as to form a solid mass. The third stratum is not so pure, being mixed with a considerable portion of ferruginous matter; grey generally, but black in the fracture; has no lustre, and is much heavier than

the former, yet possesses evident traits of its vegetable character. The fourth or uppermost stratum consists of what the Icelanders call *steinbrand*, or coal, from which it differs only in the absence of the gloss, and its containing a quantity of earthy matter. It still retains some faint marks of wood.

“Remarkable as this appearance of rock-wood undoubtedly is, a still more surprising phenomenon makes its appearance between the second and third strata, viz., a bed of dark grey schistus, about four inches in thickness, that admits of being divided into numerous thin plates, many of which possess the tenuity of the finest writing paper, and discover on both sides the most beautiful and accurate impressions of *leaves*, with all their ramifications of ribs and fibres, in the best state of preservation. The whole of the schistose body is, in fact, nothing but an accumulation of leaves closely pressed together, and partially interlaid with a fine alluvial clay. It is also worthy of notice, that when you separate any of the leaves from the mass, they are uniformly of a greyish or brown colour on the surface, and black on the opposite side. Most of those on the specimens now before me are of the common poplar, (*populus tremula*), and some of them, in the judgment of an eminent botanical gentleman (Professor Hornemann, of Copenhagen), appear to be of the *populus takkamahaka*. A few birch and willow leaves are also observable, but very small in size: whereas many of the poplar leaves are upwards of three inches in breadth.”

Dr. Henderson's speculations on these marvellous phenomena, are quite satisfactory to the extent of showing that the depositions cannot have been effected by volcanic agency, notwithstanding that lava is always, he says, found in greater or less quantities in the vicinity of these strata, but are to be attributed, in some way or other, to the prevalence of water; beyond this general conclusion, all appears to us submerged in unfathomable mystery.

THE SUN AT MIDNIGHT.

The sun at midnight must have been, independently of all circumstances of locality, a very striking spectacle; but this appearance in such a combination as the following, must have created a scene inexpressibly strange and magical, and of almost ghostly magnificence:—

“Close by, toward the west, lay the *Trolla-kyrkia*, or ‘Giant's Church,’ an ancient volcano, the walls of whose crater rose in a very fantastic manner into the atmosphere, while the lower regions were entirely covered with snow; to the south and east stretched an immense impenetrable waste, enlivened on the one

hand by a number of lakes, and in the distance by vast ice-mountains, whose glass surface, receiving the rays of the midnight sun, communicated a golden tinge to the surrounding atmosphere; while, toward the north, the long bay of *Hrutafjord* gradually opened into the ocean. Here the king of day, like a vast globe of fire, stretched his sceptre over the realms of night, divested indeed of his splendour, but more interesting, because more subject to view. The singing of swans on the neighbouring lakes added to the novelty of the scene."

THE VALLEY OF SMOKE.

The account of one situation in the "Valley of Smoke," may be transcribed, to show how much of the *inconvenience* of magnificent spectacles is saved to persons who can contemplate them only in description:—

"We proceeded to the *Tungu-hvezar*. As the wind blew the smoke directly upon us, it was not without some danger that we approached them. Having cautiously leaped over a rivulet of boiling water, I took my station in front of the springs; but ere I was aware, I was nearly suffocated with hot and dense vapours, which so closely surrounded me, that I could neither see my companion, nor how to make my escape from the spot on which I stood. At the distance of only a few yards before me roared no fewer than sixteen boiling cauldrons, the contents of which, raised in broken columns of various heights, were splashing about the margins, and ran with great impetuosity in numberless streamlets, down the precipice on which the springs are situate. What augmented the irksomeness of my situation, was the partial darkness in which the whole tract was enveloped, so that it was impossible for me to form any distinct idea of the terrifying operations that were going on before me. After the wind had somewhat abated, the vapours began to ascend more perpendicularly, and I again discovered Mr. Johnson, who was in no small degree concerned about my safety."

A vast body (or shall we rather, from its powerful and incessant agency, call it soul?) of fire maintains dominion under the whole extent of the valley, keeping the water everywhere in perpetual agitation, insomuch that even the river is disturbed, in the middle of its channel, by boiling springs throwing up their columns of steam.

WONDERFUL MICE.

At Husafell, and elsewhere, Dr. Henderson took occasion to make particular inquiry respecting the famous species of

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mice, of which Olassen and Povelson have reported what Mr. Pennant believed, but Mr. Hooker and other writers have pronounced ridiculously incredible. The story, that these mice, besides other points of extraordinary sagacity, have admirable talents for *navigation*; going to considerable distances from their lodgements, in small foraging parties, to collect berries for their store, which berries they import, across rivers and lakes, on flat pieces of dried cow-dung, each *manned* by a crew of six or ten, all standing with their heads toward the centre, and rowing the vessel by means of their tails:—

“Having been apprised,” says Dr. Henderson, “of the doubts entertained on this subject, I made a point of inquiry as to the reality of the account, and am happy in being able to say, that it is now established as an important fact in natural history, by the testimony of two eye-witnesses of unquestionable veracity, the clergyman of Briamalaek, and Madame Benedictson of Stikesholm, both of whom assured me they had seen the expedition performed repeatedly. Madame Benedictson in particular, recollected having spent a whole afternoon, in her younger days, at the margin of a small lake on which these skilful navigators had embarked, and amusing herself and her companions by driving them away from the sides of the lake as they approached them. I was also informed that they make use of dried mushrooms as sails, in which they convey their provisions to the river, and thence to their homes.”

THE ICE CAVE OF SURTSHALLIR.

A number of hours were spent in exploring the grand cavern of Surtshallir, extending about a mile under an enormous bed of lava from the Bald Yokul, of the dimensions, through two-thirds of its length, of fifty feet in breadth, and forty in height, and reputed, by the early inhabitants, to be the abode of Surtur, “the black prince of the regions of fire,” whose appointed office, according to their mythology, was to burn the world at the conclusion of the present system of things. The description of one part of this cavern will recall that of Antiparos. Its magnificent exhibition is indeed of a more frail material, but it will probably last as long.

“The roof and sides of the cave were decorated with the most superb icicles, crystallized in every possible form, many of which

rivalled in minuteness the finest Zeolites ; while, from the icy floor rose pillars of the same substance, assuming all the curious and fantastic shapes imaginable, mocking the proudest specimens of art, and counterfeiting many well-known objects of animated nature. A more brilliant scene perhaps never presented itself to the human eye, nor was it easy to divest ourselves of the idea that we actually beheld one of the fairy scenes depicted in eastern fable. The light of the torches rendered it peculiarly enchanting."

THE HOT SPRINGS OF HVERAVELLIR.

From this cavern, the route was directed toward the hot springs of Hveravellir, across a trackless desert, of lonely and formidable aspect, shining and frowning with icy and volcanic sublimities. "It was not," says Dr. Henderson, "without sensations of awe, that we beheld the columns of smoke that were issuing from almost innumerable apertures, and heard the thundering noise attending its escape." Among this prodigious and raging assemblage of cauldrons, most of them, ejecting at intervals, columns of water, there is the grand singularity denominated the "Roaring Mount,"

—"a circular mount of indurated bolus, about four feet in height from an aperture of which, on the west side, a great quantity of steam makes its escape with a noise louder than that of the most tremendous cataract. The steam issues with such force, that any stones thrown into the aperture are instantly ejected to a considerable height."

Exceedingly striking too, is the account of the regulated *system* manifest throughout the tremendous tumult of operations, to which this singular "Mount" seems appointed to act in quality of a magnificent trumpeter, a part which is performed in a manner which may, without presumption, claim to appropriate the description,

"Sonorous as immortal breath can blow."

"We could not sufficiently admire the connexion and regularity observable in the bursts of steam and jets of water that continued to ascend into the atmosphere the whole of the evening. The order they maintained can only be compared to that observed in the firing of the different companies of a regiment drawn up in the order of battle. The play commenced on a signal being given by the Roaring Mount, which was instantaneously followed by an eruption of the largest jetting fountain at the opposite end

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of the tract ; on which the turn went to the rest, vast columns of steam bursting from the surface of the general mound, while the jets rose and fell in irregular beauty. Having continued to play in this manner for the space of four minutes and a half, the springs abated for nearly two minutes ; when the Roaring Mount renewed the signal, and the explosions took place as before."

It is needless to say how many important matters for geological discussion are supplied by the multifarious descriptions of the composition of so strange a territory.

THOUGHTS ON THE HISTORY OF MAN.*

WERE it possible that a distinct knowledge could be obtained of all the remarkable forms into which human society has been modified, in the long series of ages, and in all parts of the world, a great majority of the intelligent and inquiring class would probably be eager for the exhibition to be made.

But it might not be altogether absurd to question the wisdom of such a desire. Is anything, it might be asked, really wanting to the means and materials already possessed for forming a satisfactory judgment of the nature of Man ? Do not all his faculties, his passions, his principles, stand perfectly manifest before us ?

In entering on a history twenty times more ample than all our present information of the past, could the inquirer, even if possessed of the secret of the *elixir vitæ*, to assure him of a course of ages to study it through, expect to descry any one feature of the human nature, which is not already familiarly apparent ? Have we not facts enough to show how man will act in any given circumstance ; in other words, how any given causes will act on him ? Does not our present compass of view display him under all imaginable forms of social institution ; and might we not, from the exhibition of his qualities under half of these modifications, have confidently divined how those qualities would appear under all the others ? If the dark empire of superstition has contained more vanities, impostures, and abominations than we have

* The Border Antiquities of England and Scotland. By Walter Scott, Esq. Two vols, 4to. 1814-17.

ever heard of, what would be the benefit of their being now brought to light? Does any vacancy in the imagination require to be replenished, and illuminated, by loathsome or fantastic shapes of wooden and earthenware gods as yet non-descript and undelineated? May we not be well content that all these detestable forms of thought and of matter, should be retained exclusively in the memory of those departed beings who were once either agents or dupes of the dire delusion; and of those long observers of this world, those heavenly spirits, whose wide capacities are so filled with a pure and divine element, that these odious reminiscences cannot defile them?—as the atmosphere of our planet maintains its general purity, in spite of all the smoke and mephitic exhalations that rise into it. What would be the use, again we might ask, of an indefinitely aggravated evidence of facts, that men have hated and destroyed one another through all ages? Or could the indefatigable reader really flatter himself that, somewhere or other, he should come upon a delightful historical tract of *contrary* evidence, and find that the golden age did once actually exist? But there would be no end to such questions; we will only ask further, Does any one important moral principle need an addition of facts, either to verify it, or to ascertain the proper rules of its application?

We do not know whether the above paragraph will appear quite pertinently prefixed to a slight notice of the work by which it has been suggested. A state of society forming so very extraordinary a picture, furnishing such strong illustrations of some principles in human nature, so conspicuous in our national history, and leaving so many visible monuments and vestiges, cannot be among the things that any man would wish consigned to oblivion. But at the same time, some portions of the present work, taken in conjunction with other works, written and compiled, respecting the same tract of territory and history, would afford, we are apt to think, a fair exemplification of the uselessness for any present valuable purpose, of a great deal of what *can* be recovered from the past, and a fair presumption as to the uselessness, if it *could* be recovered, of infinitely more that is fortunately beyond the reach of research.

The most interesting part of Mr. Scott's work is his rapid,

clear, and lively epitome of the Border History, from the earliest times that anything is known of the restless inhabitants, down to the period when they were destined to sink in comparative repose and insignificance, under the complete consolidation of the union of the two kingdoms.

THE CELTIC TRIBES, OTTADINI, GADENI, AND SELGOVÆ.

After marking the portions of territory respectively occupied by the three warlike tribes, the Ottadini, the Gadeni, and the Selgovæ, he describes their arms in their successive and improving forms, their rude fortifications, and their modes of warfare; and assigns to the use of their worship, assumed to be Druidical, the circles of detached stones which abound in various places on the Border. Funeral monuments, also, of these Celtic tribes are numerous, and consist of the cairns, or heaps of stones, so frequently piled on remarkable spots.

"On opening them, there is usually found in the centre a small square enclosure of stones set on edge, with bones and arms such as we have already described. There is frequently found within this stone chest, or *cist-vaen*, as it is called by the Welsh, an urn filled with ashes, and small beads made of coal. The manufacture of these urns themselves is singular. The skill of the artist appears not to have been such as to enable him to form his urn completely, before subjecting it to the operation of the fire. He therefore appears to have first shaped the rude vessel of the dimensions which he desired, and then baked it into potter's ware. On the vessel thus formed and hardened, he afterwards seems to have spread a very thin coat of unbaked clay, on which he executed his intended ornaments, and which was left to harden at leisure. The scrolls and mouldings thus hatched on the outside of these urns, are not always void of taste. In these tombs, and elsewhere, have been repeatedly found the *Eurdorcharng*, the *Torques*, or chain, formed of twisted gold, worn by the Celtic chiefs of rank. It is not a chain forged into rings, but is formed of thin rods of flexible gold, twisted into hoops, which pass through each other, and form oblong links."

MILITARY WORKS OF THE ROMANS ON THE BORDERS.

The author passes quickly over the tumultuous period of the Roman dominion over the border country; a dominion maintained at an enormous expense of military works, and so maintained, not because the invaders set any great value on the tract itself, but because they were resolved to make it

such a broad and powerful frontier, as should put out of all hazard their northern English territories, on which they *did* set a value. The tract thus fortified, and denominated Valentia, was included between the wall of Hadrian, extending from the Firth of Solway to the mouth of the Tyne, and a similar wall constructed by Lollius Urbicus, during the reign of Antoninus, between the Firths of Forth and Clyde, of course greatly in advance of the first bulwark. These were ramparts of earth, with ditches, military roads, and forts or stations from point to point. The insufficiency of these works as a security against the fierce tribes of the north, determined Severus to undertake the grand wall, the remains of which are at this day the principal Roman curiosity of the Border, and bear the full character of that magnitude of design and power peculiar to the operations of that empire. It was carried along on the south side of the original rampart of Hadrian, which was left to form a kind of advanced line of defence. But neither these barriers, nor the multitude of strong camps, military roads, and well protected lines of communication, by which the province of Valentia was made to present one vast frowning aspect of defiance, could avert the daring incursions of the Britons, which made it a scene of interminable warfare. It is not wonderful, therefore, that among the numerous Roman antiquities found, there are no relics of Roman luxury and superstition (excepting sacrificial vessels), neither theatres, baths, nor temples. Of the stupendous wall, the subject of continual dilapidation for fourteen centuries, the least injured fragment is to be found at a place called Glenwhelk, in the neighbourhood of Gilsland Spaw.

SAXON ARCHITECTURE.

The Saxons on the northern territory appear to have paid very small attention to military architecture. After their conversion to Christianity, they were very zealous in the erection of ecclesiastical edifices; but even of these Mr. Scott questions whether there are now any genuine remains, a few relics, perfectly in their style, having possibly been the work of later architects, who sometimes practised it after the introduction of what has been denominated with more than doubtful propriety, the Gothic style.

INTRODUCTION OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM INTO SCOTLAND.

The feudal system established without ceremony by the Conqueror in England, had made its way more gradually in Scotland, with the great influx of Norman families into that kingdom, and by the strong recommendations which it carried in its nature, to the taste of the monarch, and even to that of the ecclesiastics, to whom it assured a firmer tenure, without any addition of burdens. Measures were taken to give it a more formal and complete ascendancy during the temporary usurpation of Edward I. But it could never effect the extinction of the more patriarchial Celtic social order of septs, or clanships. In this social constitution the good was infinitely more than countervailed, by the perpetual inexpugnable possession of the fiend of war. It was held the absolute duty of the rival clans, to fight and slaughter one another, in revenge of every trivial wrong or insult, and in revenge, alternately, of the successive and accumulating revenges. The honour and force of each clan was pledged to maintain even a palpable and confessed wrong committed by any of its members on the neighbouring tribe. The state of highest pride and self-complacency in these clans, appears to have been that which they named *deadly feud*, a state of ferocious hostility into which any two of them might be plunged at any moment, and in which they fought as if each had deemed itself to be ridding the world of a legion of fiends.

For a long period preceding the invasion of Edward I., the Borders appear to have been wonderfully quiet, as relatively to the two rival kingdoms, of which the royal families were kept in contented mood by frequent alliances, by offices, sometimes, of personal friendship between the monarchs, and by the courtesies which an obvious policy dictated to the Scottish kings as holding of the English Crown extensive domains in England.

BENEFITS OF MONASTIC INSTITUTIONS.

During this period, fruitful of monastic institutions, great benefit is judged to have been conferred on the people of the Scottish Border, by the establishment of the abbeys of Kelso, Melrose, Jedburgh, and Dryburgh, by means of which a large portion of the country most exposed to hostile inroad,

was secured in possession and cultivation, by being placed "under the sacred protection of the church."

"In this point of view," says our author, "the foundation completely answered the purpose designed ; for it is well argued by Lord Hales, that, while we are inclined to say with the vulgar that the clergy always chose the best of the land, we forget how much their possession owed their present appearance to the art and industry of the clergy, and the protection which the ecclesiastical character gave to their tenants and labourers, while the territories of the nobles were burnt and laid waste by the invaders."

This is a very fair and true suggestion. But all the good conferred on the country by this beneficial *taboo* of the Church, and by the long period of substantial tranquillity, was to sink under a very ordinary fate of early national improvements :—

CHARACTER AND CONSEQUENCES OF THE BORDER WARS.

"The savage and bloody spirit of hostility," says our historian, "which arose from Edward the First's usurpation of the crown of Scotland, destroyed in a few years the improvement of ages, and carried the natives of these countries backward in every art but in those which concerned the destruction of the English and each other. The wars which raged through every part of Scotland in the thirteenth century, were waged with peculiar fury on the Borders. Castles were surprised and taken ; battles were won and lost ; the country was laid waste on all sides, and by all parties. The patriotic Scots, like the Spaniards of our time, had no escape from usurpation but by sacrificing the benefits of civilization, and leading the lives of armed outlaws. The struggle, indeed, terminated in the establishment of national independence ; but the immediate effect of the violence which had distinguished it, was to occasion Scotland retrograding to a state of barbarism, and to convert the borders of both countries into wildernesses, only inhabited by soldiers and robbers."—"The mode of warfare adopted by the Scots themselves, however necessary and prudent, was destructive to property, and tended to retard civilization. They avoided giving pitched battles, and preferred a wasting and protracted war, which might tire out and exhaust the resources of their invaders. They destroyed all the grain and other resources of their own country which might have afforded relief to the Englishmen, and they viewed with great indifference the enemy complete the work of destruction. In the meanwhile, they secured their cattle among the mountains and forests, and either watched an opportunity to attack the

invaders with advantage, or leaving them to work their will in Scotland, burst into England themselves, and retaliated upon the enemy's country the horrors which were exercised in their own. This ferocious, but uncompromising mode of warfare, had been strongly recommended in the rhymes considered a legacy from Robert Bruce to his successors."

One expedient of the defensive system of the Scots, was to destroy the castles on their own border :—

"The good Lord James of Douglas surprised his own castle of Douglas three times, it having been as frequently garrisoned by the English ; and upon each occasion he laid waste and demolished it. The military system of Wallace was on the same principle. And in fine, with very few exceptions, the strong and extensive fortresses, which had arisen on the Scottish Border in better times, were levelled with the ground during the wars of the thirteenth century. The ruins of the castles of Roxburgh and Jedburgh, and of several others which were thus destroyed, bear a wonderful disproportion in extent to any which were erected in subsequent times."

THE SCOTTISH BORDER STRENGTHS—PEELS AND BASTLE-HOUSES.

As, however, the country was not abandoned to the entire and permanent state of a desert, but occupied again at each recession of the enemy, the barons and gentlemen had for their residence an inferior kind of fortresses, often heard of in border history under the denomination of *strengths*, constructed upon a limited and mean scale, usually in some situation of natural strength. Having very thick walls, strongly cemented, they could easily repel the attack of any desultory incursion ; but they were neither victualled nor capable of receiving garrisons sufficient to defend them, except against a sudden assault. The village which almost always adjoined, contained the abodes of the retainers, who, upon the summons of the chieftain, took arms either for the defence of the fortress, or for giving battle in the field.

"The smaller gentlemen, whether heads of branches of clans, or of distinct families, inhabited dwellings upon a still smaller scale, called Peels, or Bastle-houses. They were surrounded by an inclosure, or barnkin, the wall whereof was, according to statute, a yard thick, surrounding a space of at least sixty feet square. Within this outer work the laird built his tower, with

its projecting battlements, and usually secured the entrance by two doors; the outer of grated iron, the innermost of oak clenched with nails. The apartments were placed directly above each other, accessible only by a narrow 'turnpike' stair, easily blocked up or defended. Sometimes, and in the more ancient buildings, the construction was still more rude: there was no stair at all, and the inhabitants ascended by a ladder from one story to another."

In the hostile inroads on a large scale, these "strengths" were not, nor indeed were they expected to be, of any avail beyond a slight temporary check, to favour the retreat of the inhabitants. The devastations committed in these invasions were frightful.

ENGLISH REPRISALS ON THE SCOTTISH BORDERERS.

A brief narrative of the military operations in Tiviotdale, in 1570, of the forces under the Earl of Essex, Elizabeth's commander in the north, in chastisement and revenge of some insults, spoliations, and cruelties committed by the Scottish barons, makes it a matter of wonder how a tract subjected to a repetition of such ravages could maintain its existence as an inhabited country, with considerable towns and villages. This inroad, and that of the Earl of Hertford, in the end of Henry the Eighth's reign, are stated to be the two most dreadful invasions commemorated in Scottish annals.

SUPERIORITY OF THE SOUTHERN BORDERERS.

The extreme border on the English side corresponded to the opposite one in the rudeness of its defences and the utter lawlessness of its inhabitants. But a little further to the south, the country assumed a widely different aspect, in the comparatively flourishing and strongly-defended possessions of the high nobility, and the chains of their magnificent castles, of great extent, and fortified with all the art of the age.

The English towns also were much better fortified. Yet all this array of superior strength, though of great efficacy against invasion in a formal and extensive shape, could not guard the country against the desultory war carried on by small parties, who made sudden irruptions into particular districts, laid all waste, and returned loaded with spoil. If the waste committed by the English armies was more widely extended and more generally inflicted, the continual and

unceasing *raids* of the Scottish Borderers were scarcely less destructive. The greater wealth of the country, also, was a stronger incitement to the Scottish freebooters, than revenge was to their southern adversaries. These plundering parties were so secret and so active in their movements, and so perfectly acquainted with all local facilities for passage and concealment, in a rough and diversified country, as to render in a great measure unavailing the special and elaborate defensive arrangements of the English warden of the marches, Lord Wharton, who—

“Established a line of communication along the whole line of the Border, from Berwick to Carlisle, from east to west, with setters and searchers, sleuth-hounds, and watchers by day and night. Such fords as could not be conveniently guarded, were, to the number of thirty-nine, directed to be stopped and destroyed, meadows and pastures were ordered to be inclosed, that their fences might oppose some obstacle to the passage of the marauders, and narrow passes by land were appointed to be blocked up, or rendered impassable.”

CHARACTER AND ECONOMY OF THE SCOTTISH BORDERERS.

Mr. Scott gives an ample and spirited delineation of the character, and the economy, if it may be so called, of these border barbarians :—

“Contrary to the custom of the rest of Scotland, they almost always acted as light-horsemen, and used small active horses accustomed to traverse morasses, in which other cavalry would have been swallowed up. Their hardy mode of life made them indifferent to danger, and careless about the ordinary accommodations of life. The uncertainty of reaping the fruits of their labour, deterred them from all the labours of cultivation ; their mountains and glens afforded pasturage for their cattle and horses, and when these were driven off by the enemy they supplied the loss by reciprocal depredation.”

It was no uncommon thing for women to share, and signalize themselves in, the daring exploits of these worthy freemen. And “the Borderers,” says our author, “merited the devoted attachment of their wives, if, as we learn, one principal use of the wealth they obtained by plunder, was to bestow it in ornamenting the persons of their partners.” Everything in the human shape appears to have been kept in willing preparation to kill and slay on all fitting occasions ; to avoid it, in any instance, was matter of policy rather than

of taste. It was an especial dictate of this policy, to make prisoners rather than victims. These, when they were persons of any account, were worth money, and they were sure to bring it. Nor was it, beyond the consideration of expense, any great calamity to be captured. If the prisoner was taken away, he was treated with civility till ransomed. But he was often set at large immediately, on giving his word to be a true prisoner, with an engagement to appear at a certain time and place, to treat of his ransom.

"If they were able to agree, a term was usually assigned for the payment, and security given; if not, the prisoner surrendered himself to the discretion of his captor. But where the interest of both parties pointed so strongly to the necessity of mutual accommodation, it rarely happened that they did not agree upon terms. Thus, even in the encounters of these rude warriors on either side, the nations maintained the character of honour, courage, and generosity, assigned to them by Froissart, who says: "Englishmen on the one party, and Scotchmen on the other party, are good men of war; for when they meet then is a hard fight without sparing; there is no hoo (i.e. cessation for parley) between them, as long as spears, swords, axes, or daggers, will endure: but they lay on each upon other, and when they are well beaten, and one party hath obtained the victory, they then glorify so in their deeds of arms, and are so joyful, that such as be taken shall be ransomed ere they go out of the field; that each is so content with the other, that at their departing courteously, they will say 'God thank you.' But in fighting one with another, there is no play nor sparing."

SCANTY RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES OF THE BORDERERS.

That there should be poetry and legends among such people is not wonderful; but then, for religion! *That*, too, was sure to have a place among their notions and observances; and it was in a form not much out of harmony with the feeling which could invoke "God" to "thank" men for their gallantry and exultation among swords, daggers, axes, and dead bodies. "They never," says our author, "told their beads, according to Lesley, with such devotion as when they were setting out upon a marauding party, and expected a good booty as the recompence of their devotions." In several Scottish districts which he names, he says there were no resident ecclesiastics to celebrate the rites of the Church. A monk from Melrose, called, from the porteous or breviary which he wore in his breast, a *book-a-bosom*,

visited these forlorn regions once a year, and solemnized marriages and baptisms. It was no question for the monk how they came by the means of paying for his services; nor would he have hesitated to visit them at shorter intervals, if their spoils and wills had allowed an adequate remuneration. Uncanonical customs, some of which are noticed, could not fail to arise, and to acquire an appearance of sanction, under this infrequency of the regular offices of the Church. Parts of the English Border were better supplied with really authorized, or self-appointed churchmen, many of whom attending the freebooters as Friar Tuck is said to have done upon Robin Hood, partook in their spoils, and mingled with the relics of barbarism the rites and ceremonies of the Christian Church. These ghostly abettors of theft and rapine are exposed, with emphatic censure, in a pastoral admonition of Fox, Bishop of Durham, dated about the end of the fifteenth century, and cited by our author, as descriptive also of the general savage mode of life, which it is charged upon the nobles, and even the king's officers, that they likewise patronized and participated. The barbarous customs were found remaining in full prevalence, by the venerable Bernard Gilpin, some of the remarkable and romantic anecdotes of whose life are here very properly repeated.

ORIGIN OF THE CAMERONIANS.

Mr. Scott seems to admit, "that non-conforming presbyterian preachers were the first who brought this rude generation to any sense of the benefits of religion." To this sentence he subjoins, in a note, a curious passage in the life of Richard Cameron, who gave the name to the sect of Cameronians.

"After he was licensed, they sent him at first to preach in Annandale. He said, 'How could he go there? He knew not what sort of people they were.' But Mr. Welch said, 'Go your way, Ritchie, and set the fire of hell to their tails.' He went, and the first day he preached upon that text, *How shall I put thee among the children?* &c. In the application he said, 'Put you among the children! the offspring of robbers and thieves.' Many have heard of Annandale thieves. Some of them got a merciful cast that day, and told it afterwards, that it was the first field-meeting that ever they attended; and that they went out of curiosity to see how a minister could preach in a tent, and people sit on the ground."

CHARACTER OF THE WARDEN GOVERNMENT.

The Scottish monarchs were not sufficiently powerful in their southern territories, to dare confer the office of warden on any but the proud nobles who were already in virtue of their own possessions and influence, a kind of regents in the Border tracts. This was the case also with the English kings till the time of Henry VIII., when the power of the government became sufficiently established to appoint to the office men independent of the northern nobility, and who, sustained by the immediate authority of the Court, could act in defiance of them. It is obvious what mischief must inevitably have resulted from investing with all the weight of a royal and extensive commission, the lords of the Border, who had their own local selfish interests, their ambition, their competitions, their quarrels, and their arrears of revenge, combined with a feudal ascendancy in their respective districts. It was infallibly certain that they would, as they often in fact did, avail themselves of their commission, and the military and fiscal force assigned to them for its execution, to gratify their rapacity or revenge, by acts of flagrant injustice against their personal rivals and enemies.

In the hands of independent, upright, and intelligent men, such as some of the English wardens in the later reigns, the authority of the office was exerted to a highly beneficial effect ; but among so many fierce wild animals, existing in sections ill affected to one another, and continually coming in hazardous contact with the rival irregularity and fierceness of the opposite Borderers, the wardens had often, as our author's account of the rules and expedients of their administration, and his amusing interspersions of unlucky incidents, may serve to illustrate a most difficult exercise for all their resolution and prudence. Sir Robert Cary, whose memoirs were published a few years since, was an example of this hard exercise of these qualities, and of its general efficacy.

There is considerable interest, obsolete as the whole matter is, in reading the lively detail of the formalities, chivalrous, or grotesque, of the administration of the warden's government. Curious as some of them were in themselves, they were peculiarly liable, from the character of the people, to

become quite fantastic in the practice, by accompanying incidents, comical, tragical, or both at once. The very phraseology of an oath of purgation seems to speak the wild peculiarity of the popular character. "You shall swear by heaven above you, and by hell beneath you, by your part of paradise, by all that God made in six days and seven nights, and by God himself, you are whart out sackless of art, part, way, witting, ridd, kenning, having, or recetting of any of the goods and cattels named in this bill, So help you God."

SUMMARY MODE OF PUNISHING MARAUDERS.

With banditti or moss-troopers, when they were caught in the fact, the process of justice was very summary and conclusive; either hanging or drowning. The next tree, or the deepest pool of the nearest stream, was indifferently used on the occasions.

"The abodes of the Scottish wardens were generally their own castles on the frontiers; and the large trees, which are still to be seen in the neighbourhood of these baronial strongholds, served for the ready execution of justice or revenge on such malefactors as they chose to doom to death.

One of the most brave and renowned of these wardens, occupant of Naworth castle, was Lord William Howard, a man at the same time devoted to books, of whom it is related that,—

"While busied deeply with his studies, he was suddenly disturbed by an officer who came to ask his commands concerning the disposal of several moss-troopers who had been just made prisoners. Displeased at the interruption, the warden answered heedless and angrily, 'Hang them, in the devil's name;' but, when he laid aside his book, his surprise was not a little, to find that his orders had been literally fulfilled."

MICKLE-MOUTHED MEG.

The account of Elibank Tower, Peebles-shire, contains a very amusing incident in the history of the ancestors of Mr. Walter Scott:—

"William Scott (afterwards Sir William) undertook an expedition against the Murrays, of Elibank, whose property lay a few miles distant. He found his enemy upon their guard, was defeated, and made prisoner in the act of driving off the cattle

which he had collected for that purpose. Sir Gideon Murray conducted his prisoner to the castle, where his lady received him with congratulations on his victory, and inquiries concerning the fate to which he destined his prisoner. 'The gallows,' answered Sir Gideon; 'to the gallows with the marauder.' 'Hout na, Sir Gideon,' answered the considerate matron, in her vernacular idiom, 'would you hang the winsome young Laird of Harden, when we have three ill-favoured daughters to marry?' 'Right,' answered the baron, who caught at the idea, 'he shall either marry our daughter, mickle-mouthed Meg, or strap for it.' Upon this alternative being proposed to the prisoner, he, upon the first view of the case, strongly preferred the gibbet to 'mickle-mouthed Meg,' for such was the nickname of the young lady, whose real name was Agnes. But at length, when he was literally led forth to execution, and saw no other chance of escape, he retracted his ungallant resolution, and preferred the typical noose of matrimony to the literal cord of hemp. Such is the tradition established in both families, and often jocularly referred to upon the Borders. It may be necessary to add, that mickle-mouthed Meg and her husband were a happy and loving pair, and had a very large family."

BLACK AGNES.

In the history of Dunbar Castle, another Agnes makes a much more lofty and commanding figure.

"We read that, in 1338, the earl being absent, his wife, commonly called Black Agnes, from the darkness of her complexion, withstood the endeavours of the English army, under the Earl of Salisbury, to get possession of it. The lady performed all the duties of a bold and vigilant commander, animating her soldiers by her exhortations, munificence, and example. When the battering engines of the besiegers hurled stones against the battlements, she ordered one of her female attendants to wipe off the dirt with her handkerchief; and when Salisbury commanded that enormous machine, called the sow, to be advanced to the foot of the walls, she scoffingly advised him to take good care of his sow, for she should soon make her cast her pigs (meaning the men within it), and then ordered a huge rock to be let fall on it, which crushed it to pieces. Salisbury finding his open attempts on the castle thus stoutly resisted, tried to gain it by treachery. Having bribed the person who had the care of the gates, to leave them open; this he agreed to do, but disclosed the whole transaction to the countess. Salisbury himself headed the party who were to enter: finding the gates open, he was advancing, when John Copeland, one of his attendants,

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hastily passing before him, the portcullis was let down, and Copeland, mistaken for his lord, remained a prisoner. The countess, who, from a high tower, was observing the event, cried out to Salisbury, jeeringly, 'Farewell, Montague; I intended that you should have supped with us, and assisted in defending this fortress against the English.'

The siege was changed into a strict blockade, which reduced the heroic commander and her garrison to great extremity; but reinforced by a gallant band, who secretly entered the castle from the sea, in a dark night, she finally drove off the enemy.

THOUGHTS ON AFRICAN DISCOVERY.*

WHY is it so desirable, that the yet unknown parts of our globe should be explored? It is obvious, that infinitely the greater part of what the explorers must have to behold and describe, could not, for its own sake, possess any manner of interest. They would have to tell us of wide tracts of dead level, covered with grass, or with snow, or with dust and burning sand; of insignificant hills; of streams, like those that divide our parishes or counties; of swamps, forests, or jungles; of shores, sometimes low and sometimes rising into cliffs; of islands of sundry shapes, breadths, and heights, and which might all have been, for anything it signifies to us, of other shapes, breadths, and heights. As to inhabitants, there may be none, or there may be some hordes or scatterings of filthy and fierce or stupid savages or barbarians, with utensils and contrivances almost to the amount of the number of their fingers and toes; or there may be something in more of the form of regulated communities, advanced a tenth of a fifth part toward what we should call by courtesy civilization, with some partial cultivation of the soil, some fixed assemblages of the nature of towns, some conveniences, arts, and manufactures, and a large supply of kings, priests, conjurers, gods, and fantastic ceremonies, each bearing a name in some uncouth and unutterable form of

* Narrative of an Expedition to explore the River Zaire, usually called the Congo, in South Africa, in 1816, under the Direction of Captain J. K. Tuckey, R.N. 4to. 1818.

orthography. Their dresses shall be, in shape and in the distribution of red, blue, and yellow, like and unlike, in given degrees, the dresses of other tribes and nations already known to us. Their established customs—or call them institutions—of polity, law, and superstition, shall exhibit, perhaps, some little novelty of absurdity and mischief. There shall occur now and then some extraordinary effect of the elements, or some remarkable rock, or cavern, or cascade, or striking view of scenery,—which objects and aspects the beholder shall probably describe as much resembling specified remarkable appearances of the same order in our own or in neighbouring countries.

The reader, who had waited most impatiently for the publication of the results of the adventure of discovery, as for the lifting of a veil to disclose some grand mysterious spectacle, passes hastily through the series of these exhibitions; and when he comes to the end, is very apt to be sensible of a certain discontented feeling which, in the subsidence of all the interest previously raised by curiosity, suggests the ungracious question of what he has gained by this disclosure of the unknown, and forces his reflection back on the question of what it was that he had really promised himself to gain.

In the displacency and mortification attending the reduction of his undefined anticipative imagery to plain matter of fact, and in the extinction of so much ardent feeling, he is reduced to bethink himself of such matters as the advancement of science, some added means of safety or facility to navigation, and the benefits of some possible addition to distant commerce. He recalls to mind the lofty terms in which these things have been held forth, and tries to excite in himself a corresponding interest. He perceives that in sober truth something may be made out on these points; he can conceive that a few persons, earnestly devoted to these objects, respectively, may receive much gratification from the facts and observations available to their service, and he may acknowledge, perhaps, that what has been contributed to these interests by the results of the undertaking, may be almost worth the energy, the toil, the time, the expense, and the disasters, which it shall have cost in the execution. But still (we are excepting the small number of men specifically

and zealously intent on science, navigation, &c.) he is irresistibly made sensible that it was not exactly the consideration of these objects that had fired his imagination at the thought of a daring adventure into the unknown regions of the world. While these were not excluded from his contemplation, he feels that the emphasis of his imaginings was in something less technical, something of more poetical and moral element, something more related to magnificence and emotion.

INFLUENCE OF MYSTERY ON THE MIND.

There is something prodigiously captivating to the human mind in what is veiled, mysterious, unknown; especially when the subject is at the same time of a nature to admit of conjecture; and this is the grand main principle of the interest which the generality of cultivated persons take in the setting out of enterprises of discovery. Curiosity, sublimed, if we may so express it, by mystery, eagerly seeks the more direct gratification of disclosure. Much of what these persons are in the practice of saying of the promotion of science or commerce, is little more than an almost unconscious effort to give an appearance of pointing toward palpable utility, to a passion which they may have some apprehension will seem rather romantic.

The information brought back by the explorers, being received at the cost of a complete extinction of the charm of mystery, will generally, even if the undertaking attained its utmost success, be accompanied, in the recipients, with a certain sense of disappointment, an unpleasant fall of that high-wrought state of mind, in which they had been waiting for it. The exception to this will be in cases where the scenes and objects brought to view are themselves of an extraordinary and magnificent character. Such visions of nature, for instance, as those transferred to us from South America, by Humboldt, are even more striking and enchanting as presented in clear view before us, than as fancied through the magnifying obscurity and mystery of the previous imperfect knowledge or mere conjecture.

CONJECTURES RESPECTING CENTRAL AFRICA.

It can be but slightly conjectured what would have been

the fortune of the travellers, who have just terminated their career so far short of their object, had their undertakings been successful. That object, contemplated in prospect, was indeed of a nature to take mighty hold of the imagination, both of those who were to execute the project, and those who were to wait for the result. The greatest part of the ample scene of the enterprise was absolutely unknown, and an unequalled degree of the captivity of mystery was added to this darkness, by the circumstance of a great and renowned river concealing its termination. But it may be permitted to doubt whether the vast region which, in the event of success, would have been for the first time traversed and revealed, would have supplied to us any very enthusiastic gratifications beyond the delight of seeing overcome at last all that had for so many ages defied the investigation. To judge from whatever Park had described and Adams reported, with the addition now of so much as Captain Tuckey was permitted to survey, and all this combined with what we know of many other tracts of Africa, we may be allowed to console ourselves by assuming the probability, that the picture which would have been furnished to us would have been as insignificant as it would have been immense. The determination of the question respecting the river, would indeed have been a great geographical fact gained. It would have been an exchange of so much ignorance for so much knowledge. Some time or other that knowledge might have become available to some practical utility, as perhaps in the way of commerce ; though it is perfectly evident from all that has been seen or reasonably guessed of interior Africa, that ages may pass away before such a state of nature and society can become of any material importance in the economy of European arts and traffic. Meanwhile, on the breaking up and dissipating of the profound and solemn darkness which has for thousands of years rested on this vast, retired, mysterious region, the ardent curiosity which had so long looked towards it in vain, might have sunk in some strange undefinable sense of disappointment and disenchantment on being permitted to gaze at last on veritable tracts of indifferent earth, and of sand, and of marsh ; and on some tribes of miserable barbarians, here thinly spread over a hundred miles of pestilential wilderness, and there more numerous assembled in some *city*, a dis-

tant rival of that magnificent far-famed imperial metropolis of golden-roofed palaces and mansions (Timbuctoo), which we have not yet been able to forgive the unlucky stroller Adams for having most innocently happened to discover to be an accumulation of mud huts. It may well be doubted whether, as a mere matter of feeling, this sense of chill and prostration of what had been a fine romantic imaginativeness, would have been compensated by the demonstration of what is so probably the fact, that the river Niger is no other than the river Zaire. So wayward an essence is this spirit of man!—But it is quite time to leave these speculations, and come to the plain official task of giving a brief account of the book before us.

. THE RIVER ZAIRE, CONGO, OR NIGER.

Till the journey of the intrepid and lamented Park, it was a question for debate, like some theme of the schools, whether a great river, known and famous from ancient times, actually flowed to the west, or to the east. The speculation disposed of thus far, instantly acquired an augmented interest in its latter question—What becomes of the river? After the suggestion of its possibly being, after all, no other than the Nile of Egypt was scientifically set aside, the most plausibility was deemed to attach (perhaps, indeed, because *no* other plausible explanation could be thought of,) to the theory of Major Rennell, that the Niger stops, stagnates, and is evaporated, in some great central lake, north of the line. Nobody, however, cared to let his imagination stop and stagnate there. There was an urgent wish to find this dignified and mysterious stream performing a long ulterior course, and coming out at length from its immense deserts, at some point where we might hail its arrival at the ocean—although we were confounded in attempting to conjecture where so important a point should be to which our extensive knowledge of the African coast had hitherto left us strangers. When, at length, the hitherto little-known river of Congo was described by Mr. Maxwell to Park, with a suggestion that *there* might be the object so long sought in vain, he seized the idea with a sanguine eagerness, which soon became a most confident assurance, in spite of the arguments and invincible opinion of so excellent a geographer as Major Rennell.

THE MOUNTAINS OF THE MOON.

Respecting the supposed great chain of mountains, denominated the Mountains of the Moon, extending across central Africa, it is represented that even the existence of such a chain has been admitted on very defective evidence, but that if it does exist, a chasm made through it, by the mighty and incessant action of water, would be an effect easily credible on the strength of a number of grand instances of the same kind in different parts of the globe. The uncertainty whether there is any such range of mountains to obstruct the course of the Niger to the southward, and the fair assumption, that if there is, it would not necessarily be an invincible obstruction, seem to give free scope for the largest inferences to be made from the fact that the Zaire, or some main branch of it, does actually come from regions north of the line, as proved by that state of what may be called perpetual flood, which shows that, during the dry season on one side of the line, it is receiving the tribute of the rainy season on the other. The demonstrative decision of the question remains for some other adventurer.

THE MOUTH OF THE RIVER ZAIRE.

Though a very noble stream, the Zaire did not appear, as the explorers advanced, to correspond to the reports and descriptions which had placed it in the very first class of rivers. The profound channel at the outlet is not to be considered as merely the river-course;

“—the true mouth of the river being at Fathomless Point, where it is not three miles in breadth; and allowing the mean depth to be forty fathoms, and the mean velocity of the stream four and a half miles an hour; it will be evident that the calculated volume of water carried to the sea has been greatly exaggerated.”

Nor does it perform the last stage of its progress to the ocean, in the form of a magnificent single mass of waters; on the contrary, the expedition soon entered among a number of islands and sand-banks, where, for a space of many leagues, the river is divided and diverted into a variety of channels and windings. For a considerable way up from the outlet, perhaps ten leagues on the north side, and a greater length on the south, the banks or shores consist of a wide swamp, covered with mangrove trees, and bounded,

at the distance of seven or eight miles inland, by a line of high hills. "This mangrove tract is entirely impenetrable, the trees growing in the water, with the exception of a few spots of sandy beach."

AFRICAN INDICATIONS.

But various circumstances soon occurred, to indicate the difference between the tract of the globe at which the observers had arrived, and that which they had left, to see no more; as for instance, the fresh traces, on the ground, of elephants and tigers, and, at one spot near the shore, "human skulls and other human bones, close to a place where had been a fire." This last appearance, so much like a sign of cannibalism, was explained some days afterwards.

"We were assured that they were the remains of criminals, who had suffered for the crime of poisoning, this spot being the place of execution of a certain district. When a common man is convicted of this crime, his head is first severed, and his body then burnt; but the punishment of a culprit of superior rank is much more barbarous; the members being amputated one by one, so as to preserve life" [that is, for part of an hour], "and one of each sent to the principal towns of the kingdom. The trial is always by a kind of ordeal."

AN AFRICAN LEVEE.

There is a long account of the ceremonies and negotiations at the *Court* of Embomma. The Chenoo, or, in civilized phrase, his majesty, had sent, for the conveyance of the captain, a sort of hammock, somewhat resembling the palanquin of India, but in such dirty plight, that a long walk was preferred, with the vehicle brought in attendance, to be entered, for etiquette's sake, just at the approach to the royal residence, time enough to be set down in form under a great tree, near what must be called the palace,—which tree was adorned with ensigns of state, in the manner following:—

"The first objects which called our attention were four human skulls, hung to the tree, which we were told were those of enemy's chiefs taken in battle, whose heads it was the custom to preserve as trophies; these victims, however, seemed to have received the *coup de grace* previous to the separation of the head, all the skulls presenting compound fractures."

The whole account of the levee is highly curious. There

was no want of appropriate officers, or dignified ceremonial, though a rather inconvenient absence of understanding; inasmuch as it was found totally impossible to make any of the assembled personages comprehend the motive and object of the expedition. They were induced, however, to admit, at hazard, a favourable judgment of whatever might be its inexplicable purpose, by what they were enabled to comprehend of it negatively, namely, that it was not intended to obstruct the slave-trade, nor to make war. The council broke up in a prodigious racket, on the sight of a keg of rum, which the English embassy had brought as a present, —to be re-assembled, however, for more privy consultation, during the time the visitors were at a repast provided for them, after which they were again summoned to audience. The negotiation appeared to end amicably, upon a solemn reiteration, on oath, by the captain, of those negative declarations, on which they were forced at last to rest, under the impossibility of understanding anything more of the matter.

SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE CONGOES.

Among many particulars of miscellaneous information respecting the people about this place, it is stated that—

“The two prominent features, in their moral character and social state, seem to be the indolence of the men, and the degradation of the women; the latter being considered as perfect slaves, whose bodies are at the entire disposal of their fathers and husbands, and may be transferred by either of them how and when they please.

“The cultivation of the ground is entirely the business of slaves and women, the king's daughters and princes' wives being constantly thus employed, or in collecting the fallen branches of trees for fuel. The only preparation the ground undergoes is burning the grass, raking the soil into little ridges with a hoe, and dropping the Indian corn grains into holes.”

THE CATARACT OF YELLALA.

They were now approaching to the cataract of Yellala, deemed by the natives the residence of an evil'spirit, so that whoever saw it once would never see it again. Already the river was become contracted and violent, with stupendous overhanging rocks on each side. In viewing from an eminence the mass of hills through which the course of the

river is cut, for the length of a number of leagues, the captain was instantly convinced of the impossibility of conveying the boats by land, to resume with them the navigation above the cataract. This cataract itself, which had been represented by the natives as most tremendous, was now an object of ardent curiosity. The captain and four others made their way to it by a long fatiguing walk, and were extremely surprised and disappointed at finding, instead of a second Niagara, which the description of the natives, and their horror of it, had given reason to expect, a comparative brook bubbling over its stony bed.

"The south side of the river is here a vast hill of bare rock (sienite), and the north a lower but more precipitous hill of the same substance, between which two the river has forced its course; but in the middle an island of slate still defies its power, and breaks the current into two narrow channels; that near the south side gives vent to the great mass of the river, but is obstructed by rocks above and under water, over which the torrent rushes with great fury and noise, as may easily be conceived. The channel on the north side is now nearly dry, and is composed of great masses of slate, with perpendicular fissures. The highest part of the island is fifteen feet above the present level; but from the marks on it, the water in the rainy season must rise twelve feet, consequently covers the whole of the breadth of the channel, with the exception of the summit of the island; and with the increased velocity, must then produce a fall somewhat more consonant to the description of the natives."

SLAVES THE STAPLE OF CONGO.

The constitution of government in Congo, is a thing nearly as soon described as one of the trees, or one of the people's few habiliments or utensils. It consists of hereditary fiefs, or Chenooships, under a "paramount sovereign named Lindy, or Blindy N'Congo." The civil and domestic economy is also a matter of much simplicity. Slaves seem to form the sinews of the state:—

"Slavery is here of two kinds, which may be denominated household or domestic, and trading. When a young man is of age to begin the world, his father or guardian gives him the means of purchasing a number of slaves of each sex, in proportion to his quality, from whom he breeds his domestic slaves, and these (though it does not appear that he is bound by any particular law), he never sells or transfers unless in cases of misbehaviour, when he holds a palaver, at which they are tried and sentenced.

These domestic slaves are, however, sometimes pawned for debt, but are always redeemed as soon as possible."

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

The crimes in such a state of society cannot be of any great variety. The capital ones punished, in their highest degrees, as we have seen, most barbarously, are "adultery with the wives of the great men, and poisoning:"—

"The frequency of the crime of putting poison in victuals, has established the custom of the master invariably making the person who presents him with meat or drink, taste it first; and in offering either to a visitor, the host performs this ceremony first. This the natives who speak English, call 'taking off the fetiche.' If a man poisons an equal, he is simply decapitated; but if an inferior commits this crime (the only kind of secret murder) on a superior, the whole of his male relations are put to death, even to the infants at the breast."

GANGAM KISSEY, A CONJUROR-PRIEST.

Another mode of punishment is mentioned under the form of an ordeal, which is quite as reasonable a thing as the magical process by which the Gangam Kissey, a sort of conjuror-priest, fixes the accusation, from malice or at hazard. The person denounced is to chew a poisonous bark, which, if he is guilty, he will retain in his stomach and die; but if innocent, he will vomit up again immediately. This reverend director of justice has nothing to fear from revenge; it is believed that his sacred person cannot be hurt; but it is also believed that he cannot deserve it, for that, be his adjudgment ever so unjust, the blame attaches solely to the Kissey, or god, in virtue of whose supposed communication of truth for the conviction of iniquity it is that the worthy Gangam is held sacred and inviolable. Never was there a neater device of fraud in a circle, than this, nor a better exemplification, on a small scale, of that property of superstition, by which, beyond all other things, it has the power of destroying common sense; as if by a retributive law of the Governor of the world, the belief in a false religion should infuse a fatuity into the understanding in its exercise on the most ordinary matters.

HOPELESSNESS AND TERMINATION OF THE ENTERPRISE.

In contemplating the present condition of the kingdom of Congo, our author says,—

"The idea of civilizing Africa by sending out a few negroes educated in England, appears to be utterly useless; the little knowledge acquired by such persons having the same effect on the universal ignorance and barbarism of their countrymen, that a drop of fresh water would have on the ocean."

The river, though not without its inconvenient rocks and rapids, presented to the mortified explorers a grand practicable road forward, which they were never to travel. At the highest point which they attained it had assumed a very noble and tantalizing appearance, and the natives said there was no further impediment to its navigation:—

"And here," says Captain Tuckey, "we were even under the necessity of turning our back on it, which we did with great regret, but with the consciousness of having done all we could."

"This excursion convinced us of the total impracticability of penetrating with any number of men by land, along the sides of the river, both from the nature of the country, and impossibility of procuring provisions."

THE ABORIGINES OF AUSTRALIA.*

IN this work several curious notices and descriptions are introduced from the accounts of former visitants to this new continent and its islands. Some of the most interesting are from journals of Captain Flinders's own voyages on these coasts, at various periods, before his independent appointment in the Investigator. With Captains Bligh and Portlock he sailed, in 1792, through Torres' Strait, that is to say, the passage between New Guinea and the northernmost part of Terra Australis, an extremely harassing and perilous course. But nothing, on sea or land, is more treacherous and dangerous than man. The crew of a boat had a most narrow escape from a squadron of large sailing canoes, manned and excellently manœuvred, Captain Flinders says, by a multitude of quite naked, strong, ferocious savages,

* A Voyage to Terra Australis; undertaken for the purpose of completing the Discovery of that vast Country, in 1801, 1802, and 1803. By Matthew Flinders, Commander. Two vols. royal 4to. 1814.

who had, in the first instance, made a feint of amicable disposition. Other parties (they were the people of an island denominated Darnley's Island) came to the ship, and are thus described :—

“These people, in short, appeared to be dexterous sailors and formidable warriors ; and to be as much at ease in the water as in their canoes. Their arms were bows, arrows, and clubs, which they bartered for every kind of ironwork with eagerness ; but appeared to set little value on anything else. The bows are made of split bamboo ; and so strong that no man in the ship could bend one of them. The string is a broad slip of cane, fixed to one end of the bow, and fitted with a noose, to go over the other end, when strung. The arrow is a cane of about four feet long, into which a pointed piece of the hard, heavy, *casuarina* wood is firmly and neatly fitted ; and some of them were barbed. Their clubs are made of the *casuarina*, and are powerful weapons. The hand part is indented and has a small knob, by which the firmness of the grasp is much assisted ; and the heavy end is usually carved with some device : one had the form of a parrot's head, and was not ill done.”

Still more decided experience of the malignant quality of these wild beasts was given, the following year, to Captains Bampton and Alt, who had a boat's crew destroyed by them. It was thought proper to give the unsophisticated children of nature a practical lesson of prudence, by means of a strong armed party, who could not indeed follow them to their places of retreat in the hilly centre of the island, but who destroyed a vast number of huts, canoes, and plantations, and whose exertions in the performance of their appointed duty were not likely to be remitted from their finding the habitations furnished as the following extract describes :—

HUMAN SKULLS USED AS DOMESTIC ORNAMENTS.

“In each of the huts, and usually on the right side going in, were suspended two or three human skulls ; and several strings of hands, five or six on a string. These were hung round a wooden image, rudely carved into the representation of a man, or of some bird ; and painted and decorated in a curious manner : the feathers of the Emu or Cassuary generally formed one of these ornaments. In one hut, containing much the greater number of skulls, a kind of gum was found burning before one

of these images. This hut was adjoining to another, of a different form, and much more capacious than any of the others. The length was thirty feet, by fifteen in breadth; and the floor was raised six feet from the ground. It was judged to be the residence of the chief of the island, and was the sole hut in which were no skulls or hands; but the adjoining one had more than a double proportion."

A HUNDRED MILLIONS OF PETRELS IN ONE FLIGHT.

One of the most remarkable natural objects seen during the voyage, was a flight of sooty petrels, from a place on the coast of Van Diemen's Land, in a stream, which he deemed it not extravagant to calculate at a hundred millions. There are curious descriptions of the habits of seals, albatrosses, and some other of those creatures, which always suffer by the approach of man.

KING GEORGE'S SOUND, WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

Nothing extraordinary occurred in the run by the Cape of Good Hope, to New Holland, of which they came in sight at Cape Leeuwin, on the 6th of December, 1801. With the whole company in good health and spirits, the ship was put into King George's Sound to refit.

Here an amicable but very profitless communication was maintained with the natives, after their suspicion and repugnance had been worn away by experience of the harmlessness of the foreign intruders, to whom in the first interviews they had made strong signs to be off. To excite and gratify their utmost capacity of delight (except, indeed, that which is to be filled by good eating, the supreme felicity of all low savages in poor countries), a party of marines were, on the last day of the visit ordered on shore to be exercised in their sight.

"The red coats and white crossed belts were greatly admired, having some resemblance to their own manner of ornamenting themselves; and the drum, but particularly the fife, excited their astonishment; but when they saw the beautiful red-and-white men, with their bright muskets, drawn up in a line, they absolutely screamed with delight; nor were their wild gestures and vociferations to be silenced, but by commencing the exercise, to which they paid the most earnest and silent attention. Several of them moved their hands, involuntarily, according to the motions; and the old man placed himself at the end of the rank, with a short staff in his hand, which he shouldered, presented, grounded, as

did the marines with their muskets, without, I believe, knowing what he did. Before firing they were made acquainted with what was going to take place ; so that the volleys did not excite much terror."

From the moment of touching the land, near Cape Leeuwin, though the coast from that point to King George's Sound was not in the instructions for examination, in the first instance, our pertinacious investigator prosecuted the whole course of this inhospitable southern shore of the continent, through all its windings and treacheries, through the spaces already partially explored, and those entirely unknown, almost to the western entrance of Bass's Strait, where he was compelled to remit the rigour of the examination, and hasten toward Port Jackson for supplies and refitment.

On certain parts of this vast line of coast he had been preceded, at a remote period, by Nuyts, and recently by Vancouver, Grant, and especially D'Entrecasteaux, to the accuracy of whose survey, as far as it extended, he bears very strong testimony. But one extensive tract of this coast, comprising nearly the space between latitudes 130° and 140° had remained in total darkness, to be disclosed for the first time to Captain Flinders.

KANGAROO ISLAND.

In front of two very considerable gulfs, to which the discoverer gave the names of Spencer's and St. Vincent's, is a considerable island, named by the Captain, Kangaroo Island, from the numbers of that animal upon it, far exceeding anything previously seen. The perfect insensibility to danger on the approach of human beings, here manifested by a creature extremely timid and fugacious where those same beings inhabit, was considered as evidence of the perfect impunity, till now, of these innocent islanders, from all neighbourhood, either habitual or occasional, of that maleficent race. They now paid very dearly for their long preceding privilege. The author seems almost to pity them while he describes the havoc. In accordance with this sentiment, and relating to the same place, is another short passage, which struck us as perhaps the most remarkable in the book. The sea has access into the interior of the

island, where it spreads to some breadth, and contains several small islets :—

PELICAN ISLANDS.

“ Upon two of these,” says Captain Flinders, “ we found many young pelicans, unable to fly. Flocks of the old birds were sitting upon the beaches of the lagoon, and it appeared that the islands were their breeding places ; not only so, but, from the skeletons and bones there scattered, it should seem that for ages they had been selected for the closing scene of their existence. Certainly none more likely to be free from disturbance of every kind could have been chosen, than these islets of a hidden lagoon of an uninhabited island, situate upon an unknown coast, near the antipodes of Europe ; nor can anything be more consonant to the feelings, if pelicans have any, than quietly to resign their breath, surrounded by their progeny, and in the same spot where they first drew it. Alas, for the pelicans ! Their golden age is past ; but it has much exceeded in duration that of man.”

THE AUSTRALIAN FLORA.

The appendix contains a systematic compendium of the botany of *Terra Australis*, by Mr. Brown, naturalist to the voyage, who remained in New South Wales, with Mr. Bauer, the natural history painter, eighteen months after the commander's departure for Europe. Mr. Brown says that his materials for a Flora of *Terra Australis* amount to about 4,200 species.

SCANDINAVIAN SCENERY.*

THE scenery of the noble but almost unknown river Njurunda, would furnish the grandest subjects to the landscape painter. But indeed admiration is excited at almost every change of view along the whole coast of Westro-Bothnia. Its diversification by the intervention of men or the other animals is very small ; but yet something is added to its character, in point of novelty and strangeness, by the iron-foundries that here and there caused a devastation of the forest ; the process of producing tar, by burning the roots of the trees ; the farming establishment, consisting of a cluster of log-houses,

* *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa.* By Edward Daniel Clarke, LL.D. Part the Third, Scandinavia. Section the First. 4to. 1819.

with the immense rack for exposing the sheaves of corn, reaped before ripe, to the air and sun; and the costume and manners of the people, especially when brought together in some number on the Sunday, on which day every woman was seen with a bible in her hands. Something was added, too, by the prodigious ant-hills, regarded by our author as much surpassing, according to a scale formed upon a comparison between the respective builders, the pyramids of Egypt, and by the legions of insects, named *Brumsa*, and resembling bees, or hornets, from which the travellers and their horses sustained a sanguinary attack.

THE REGIONS OF PERPETUAL LIGHT.

The strangest circumstance, to the feelings of these wanderers toward the north, must have been that they were sensibly escaping very fast from Nature's great phenomenon of Night. They could read or write as well at midnight as at noon. The disappearance of the sun became so brief, that they beheld and admired at the same instant the beautiful effects of his setting and of his rising, on the clouds of the horizon. This new state of the physical world had, however, its inconvenience to our southerners:—

“We began to perceive, what we had never felt before, that darkness is one of the benevolent gifts of Providence, the value of which, as conducive to repose, we only become sensible of when it ceases altogether to return. There were no shutters to the windows; and the continued blaze which surrounded us we would gladly have dispensed with, if it were possible. When we closed our eyes, they seemed to be still open: we even bound over them our handkerchiefs; but a remaining impression of brightness, like a shining light, wearied and oppressed them.”

A REIN-DEER CARAVAN.

Tornea is a very fair subject for some extent of description, even though there should not be many more circumstances so remarkable as that of the grass growing up in the streets to be mown, as a regular part of the hay harvest. It is nevertheless a place of considerable business, according to the numbers, wants, and possessions, of an Arctic of which it forms the humble emporium, containing seven hundred inhabitants. In February,

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travelling merchants set out thence to the north, for the purchase of the skins of rein-deer, bears, white foxes, and wild cats. They go in various directions, and some as far as the North Cape:—

“It is said that the march upon this grand expedition constitutes one of the most remarkable sights that can be imagined. Each merchant has in his service from five to six hundred rein-deer, besides thirty Laplanders and other servants. One person is able to guide and manage about fifteen rein-deer, with their sledges. They take with them merchandise to the amount of three thousand rix-dollars (about £450 sterling). This consists of silver plate, in the form of drinking-vessels, spoons, &c. They also carry cloth, linen, butter, brandy, and tobacco, all of which they take to Norway. Upon this occasion, they display as much magnificence as possible. The rein-deer are set off with bells and costly trappings. We saw some of their collars made of buff kerseyne, embroidered with flowers. The procession formed by a single merchant's train will extend two or three English miles. Provisions of every kind are carried with them. Their dealing with the Lapps is not transacted by means of money, but in the way of barter.”

SOMETHING ABOUT MEETING-HOUSES.

Though it is an unusual thing to see anybody in the streets, the two churches, one for service in the Swedish, the other in the Finnish language, have congregations in such multitude, that they astonish the stranger. “The duty of the Sabbath,” says our author, “seems never to be neglected.” It appears to be in the tone of great complacency that he adds, “The Church of Sweden knowing neither heresy nor schism, there are no such places as Meeting-houses, either to excite fanaticism, or to cherish religious dissensions among the people.” Besides the rigours of its winter, the country is indeed infested with mosquitos, bugs, brumsas, *furie infernales*, and wolves; but happily not with meeting-houses. When a place is fortunately clear of any particular nuisance with which other places are plagued, it is worth while to consider how to keep it so. Now, then, as to this plague of meeting-houses, what is to be done in such a case as this,—that in any part of this Arctic tract of immunity from schism, that at Tornea, for instance, some minority of the accustomed

worshippers in the churches should come, by reading and rational thought, to be convinced of the absurdity and superstition of the doctrine of the Swedish Church, that the real person of Christ is eaten and drunken in the sacramental bread and wine, and should therefore feel it a matter of conscience and honesty, to avow their dissent from this gross error, and adopt correspondently in practice a religious service purified from it,—a service which would require a meeting-house? It is evident enough how desirable it would be to stop such an incipient mischief, but still the question is, by what means? Might not some little coercive interference of the magistrate be warranted, on so good a plea as the prevention of schism and religious dissension among the people? And the enlightened Protestant looker-on might surely account the harmony, which had been preserved by ignorance and error, unfortunately exchanged for a state of dissension which proved that in part the people were obtaining a clear riddance at last of one of the gross relics of Popish delusion and absurdity.

SALMON SPEARING.

The complete want, for hundreds of miles, of whatever mountains can contribute to the interest of scenery, was in a measure compensated by the varying forms of the course of the fine rivers, Tornea and Muonio, sometimes spread into a succession of lakes with verdant islands; by the riches and magnificence of flowering plants on the banks; by the fishery by means of floating fires, in which the mode of killing salmon with harpoons is described as “beautiful;” and by falling in here and there with the good-natured pigmy inhabitants.

PERSECUTION BY THE MOSQUITOS.

But in default of all other means of stimulation, the mosquitos had been enough to preserve a state of attention, and consciousness of existence. They maintained an unrelenting persecution, which would have rendered life sometimes almost intolerable, even to a person less oppressed by ill health than our author. A room could not be cleared of them without being filled with a thick, suffocating smoke,

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which was to be carefully retained as its atmosphere, to prevent their return in legions. No veils or clothing for the face, neck, or hands, could defend against their stings. So powerful is the little flexible *proboscis* with which they make their punctures, that it will penetrate very thick leather; the doe-skin gloves upon the hands of the travellers not being a sufficient protection from their attacks. The English blood had a great preference with them to that of the natives. The travellers were at last compelled to adopt the disgusting expedient employed by the natives, of besmearing the face, neck, hands, and legs, with a compost of tar and cream, by which they obtained a delightful relief that made them ashamed of the daintiness which they had so long kept at such a cost. These insects are so very heavy a plague on sensitive existence during the finer part of the year, that "we cannot wonder," says our author, "that the poor Esquimaux, who are nearly allied to the Laplanders, should consider them as personifications of the evil principle, and always speak of them as the winged ministers of hell." But, he adds, from the sagacious suggestion of Linnæus, that they have their utility to the people whom they torment, since the legions of *larvæ*, which fill the lakes of Lapland, form a delicious and tempting repast to innumerable multitudes of aquatic birds; and thereby providentially contribute to the support of the very nations which they so strangely infest.

THE NOMADE LAPLANDERS.

Many curious scenes took place with the natives, of whom Dr. Clarke has given the most lively and graphical descriptions, in all their national and local characteristics. One of the most entertaining is in the account of a visit to the *tugurium* of a nomade Laplander, not far from Muonioniska, into whose conical summer tent the travellers suddenly introduced themselves, without a moment's warning, contrary to the wishes of the Laplander's son, by whom they were conducted to this residence of the family.

It was to behold a specimen of this state of life, that the travellers diverted to some distance from their regular route, in the present instance. For the rude intrusion, an apology was made in the form of a present of tobacco and brandy,

for which elixir all the men and women in Lapland are equally furious. "They will almost part with life itself, for the gratification of dram-drinking." An extra quantity having been swallowed by the old man of the little horde, he began to sing, and was prompted and requested by the strangers to give a regular sample of the national music. The favour, unequalled, it should seem, by any similar one ever conferred in any other place, was conceded:—

"With both his fists clenched, and thrusting his face close to that of the interpreter, as if threatening to bite him, he uttered a most fearful yell. It was the usual howl of the Laplanders, consisting of five or six words, repeated over and over, which when translated, occur in this order:

'Let us drive the wolves!
Let us drive the wolves!
See, they run!
The wolves run!'

The boy, also, our former guide, sang the same ditty. During their singing they strained their lungs so as to cause a kind of spasmodic convulsion of the chest, which produced a noise like the braying of an ass. In all this noise there was not a single note that could be called musical; and it is very remarkable that the Laplanders have not the smallest notion of music. Neither have they any national dance, being entirely strangers to an exercise, which, with the exception of this singular people, seems to be common to the whole human race."

HIDDEN TREASURES OF THE LAPPS.

It is said, that some of the Lapps possess one cwt. of silver, and those who enjoy a property of 1500 or 1000 rein-deer have much more. As they keep it always buried, it does not happen to the owner to be gratified even with the sight of his hidden treasure more than once or twice a year. It is to be observed that these migratory families, one of which, consisting of seven or eight persons, may be thus found crammed into a tent of six feet diameter on the ground, greatly surpass, by the possession of a thousand or more rein-deer, the wealth of the settled occupiers. But they are subject to severe disasters, by the ravages of wild beasts, the bears, and especially the wolves. There had recently been a formidable accession to the numbers of these rapacious sharers of the territory. In the district of

Enontekis, in which is the source of the Muonio, one-half of the rein-deer had perished by them.

THE CLOUDBERRY CURE.

During the short sojourn at Enontekis, chiefly in the house of the minister, a sensible and learned man, our author recovered his health in a sudden and surprising manner, from eating largely of the fruit of the *rubus chamaemorus*, or cloudberry.

THE ATTRACTIONS OF A BALLOON AND A SERMON.

At this place he contrived to bring the people together from a very great distance round, and at once to amuse and frighten them when assembled, by announcing, exhibiting, and launching a very large paper balloon. The scene must have been inexpressibly strange and grotesque, especially at the time of the terror and wild tumult caused by the ascent of the balloon. It was at the minister's own suggestion that the day fixed for the exhibition was the sabbath, and the one appointed for the communion service. It does not appear whether any part of his motive was to bring a greater number of persons within the reach of religious instruction. They were addressed, however, in an extemporaneous sermon of an hour and twenty minutes. It was "delivered in a tone of voice so elevated, that the worthy pastor seemed to labour as if he would burst a blood-vessel." He exerted himself "as if his audience had been stationed on the top of a distant mountain. Afterwards, he was so hoarse, he could hardly articulate another syllable."

"As we accompanied him to his house, we ventured to ask the reason of the very loud tone of voice he had used in preaching. He said he was aware it must appear extraordinary to a stranger; but that if he were to address the Laplanders in a lower key, they would consider him as a feeble and impotent missionary, wholly unfit for his office, and would never come to church: that the merit and abilities of the preacher are always estimated, both among the Colonists and Lapps, by the strength and power of his voice."

A HINT ON CHURCH DISCIPLINE.

The somnolent part of the congregation were kept under a very rough discipline by the sexton, with his long stout pole, which, if its frequent stroke on the floor was not effectual, was unceremoniously "driven against their ribs, or suffered to fall with all its weight upon their skulls."

RELIGION IN HARMONY WITH A TASTE FOR THE FINE ARTS.*

IF among the pleasures of taste, in the mental sense of that term, a man were required to specify the one most simple, most innocent, least liable to corruption, and most readily harmonizing with religion, he could not hesitate to name that which is imparted by the beauty and sublimity of Nature. With these qualities in its favour, this mode of the exercise and pleasure of taste will inevitably become more prevalent as the genuine improvement of mankind advances. And, therefore, it is probable it may prevail most of all in the last, highest state of improvement which we are permitted to anticipate for our race on this earth, that state of which the essence and the glory will be the universal prevalence of religion. That state will necessarily involve a high improvement of all the faculties of the soul, which cannot be without an increased sensibility to sublimity and beauty, of which sensibility the preferred subjects of exercise and indulgence will be those forms and phenomena which are the least related or liable to moral evil, which are the most independent of man, and which most illustrate the glory of the Creator.

There is then some reason to be pleased at observing, what has been obvious of late years, a more prevailing taste for the beautiful and grand in landscape scenery, as viewed both in the reality of nature and in the representations of art. Let it not be imagined, that because we think such a taste must exist in a high degree in the most improved and religious state of the human race, we are allowing ourselves to fancy we see in its present increase any sign of the progress of religion. We are not quite so simple. We do not even need be told, that some considerable proportion of the show of this taste is mere affectation ; while yet there must be some reality to make the affectation worth while. We are aware, too, that some of the influences under

* Peak Scenery ; or, Excursions in Derbyshire, for the Purpose of Picturesque Observation. Engravings by Messrs. W. B. and George Cooke, from Drawings by F. L. Chantrey, Esq., Sculptor, R.A. By E. Rhodes. 4to. 1818.

which it has grown, have amounted, in their operation, to somewhat less than a radical intellectual cultivation of taste. The restlessness of spirits, seeking amusement in frequent change of place, but seeking to make out a respectable motive in the fine natural circumstances of the scene of the sojourn; a sort of headlong admiration of recent and contemporary descriptive poetry; the acquisition, by a much greater number of young persons than formerly of a little skill in the art of sketching; the prodigious number of travels and tours with graphic decorations; and the very signal excellence attained in this country, beyond every other, in landscape-engraving, so that without any technical knowledge of the art, the eye and imagination of a person in the smallest degree sensible to the beauty of nature, are irresistibly attracted by such exquisite representations of that beauty; all these have contributed to the effect which we have asserted to be visible, and some parts of the contribution will partake but little of real cultivation of taste. Yet, after all deductions, we think there is a great increase, if we may not say of the *sensibility* to the charms and majesty of nature, at least of understanding and acknowledgment that there is a vast deal in the scenery of nature of what justly claims to be admired. And this we regard as a pleasing circumstance, since it will be favourable to the cultivation of taste in general, will be conducive to habits of observation, will be counteractive, in some degree, to that wretchedly artificial state into which the economy of life among us is perverted, and will encourage those arts which not only are directly of very high utility, and afford a very fine and legitimate field for genius and industry, but may contribute to give to luxury itself a much more refined and intellectual direction than it would otherwise be apt to take. We may add, that where there is religion, this perception of beauty and grandeur in the works of God, will diversify its exercise, and sometimes augment its emphasis.

ARTISTIC MISREPRESENTATIONS DEPRECATED.

We wish it could be effectually inculcated on the conductors of all works, having for their object picturesque delineations, that they should not admit into them any insignificant subjects. Some of the finest of them are not

quite clear of this fault. Now and then the admiring inspector, after his eye recovers from the imposing effect of brilliant lights, and of clouds, and shadows, and trees, managed with most painter-like taste and skill, is vexed to find that these are all he has to admire, for that what purports to be the subject, is nothing better than some miserable shred of flat ground, or of sand, or a heap of rubbish with some venerable denomination of antiquity and ruin, or perhaps some paltry hamlet, with an uncouth piece of old masonry in the nature of a church. And this may occur in an elaborate and costly series of prints, professedly intended to represent, and many of them really representing most beautifully, a selection of the most striking scenes in a province or a country, which the inspector knows to contain far more striking views than could be comprehended in a much longer series of prints, though not a single insignificant subject were admitted. It seems as if the draughtsman having chosen to delineate such a trifling subject, the public must pay for it, at all events ; it is therefore intruded into a work which, for its many finer subjects, the lovers of graphical excellence are not willing to forego.

THE PROPRIETY OF DISCRIMINATION IN SELECTION.

Draughtsmen ought to exercise a discrimination and forbearance similar to what is demanded of authors, who are required to understand that the public does not want *every* paragraph they may have happened to write, and that they are not, on the strength of some credit which they may have deservedly gained, to tax their readers for *any* thing, indifferently and without selection, which they may have thought on the subject. He should understand, that many things it might be worth while, in an indolent hour, to put into his sketch-book, are not worth transferring thence.

We would entreat Mr. Rhodes to revise the drawings intended for the continuation of his elegant work, and rather shorten the series, than admit one more subject of inferior rank into so high a situation. We question the claims of "Stoney Middleton," and the "View in the Village of Eyam." By means of trees, pieces of water, and ducks, they are made to have a very pretty look, especially the latter ; but innumerable things of the same class are to

be found in England, and we wonder how, in the district of the Peak of Derbyshire, a place proverbially celebrated for its "wonders," an artist could have thought it, comparatively, worth the trouble to make finished drawings of them.

THE BEAUTIES OF SMOKE IN SCENERY.

The three views in Middleton Dale are just what they ought to be ; they exhibit striking characteristic appearances, instead of familiar images of common rural scenery. They give us, not excluding the vegetable softenings and adornments, the wild magnificence of precipices, and, we were going to say, the beauties of smoke,—and whoever should see these plates, would, we are confident, acknowledge the propriety of the phrase. Indeed, in real scenes, the smoke from great furnaces and lime-kilns often has very remarkable beauty, and we doubt whether we have ever before seen it so finely expressed in engraving. Such engraving is capable of giving beauty even to what in its plain reality has none.

INDIAN AFFAIRS IN 1817.*

TOWARD the end of the year 1817, when the military force of the Indian Government was in motion for the extermination of the Pindarries, and while an infatuation hardly paralleled in history, was betraying some of the Mahratta princes into one more defiance of the power which had hitherto trampled on every opponent in every conflict, Scindiah, the most martial of those princes, was intimidated by the approach of the Governor-General, with some of the legions so often victorious, into what was denominated, with all proper courtesy, a treaty, of which the terms were humiliating to him in the same proportion in which they were indispensable to the tranquillity of the provinces on that side of the empire. This treaty, gained without an absolute war, and at a juncture when the state of the relations with some other of the native powers was so precarious and ominous, was deemed of consequence enough to be,

* Journal of a Route across India, through Egypt to England, in 1817. By Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzclarence. 4to. 1819.

without waiting for the important events which even a week at such a crisis might bring to pass, transmitted to England, in two sets of despatches, the one by the usual naval course, and the other by a messenger, by the more direct route of the Red Sea and Egypt, to secure the advantage of two chances for both safety and expedition. The latter service was allotted to Colonel Fitzclarence, who in consequence set off instantly, and worked, and pushed his way, day and night, sick or well, through amicable territories, and hostile, over-cultivated tracts, and through wood, jungle, fen, defile, burning sand, and every hazard of the sea lightly thrown into the account. More resolute to get on, more enterprising, enduring, or indefatigable, he could not have been required to be, if the intelligence he conveyed had been that the English were in imminent danger of losing kingdoms in Asia, instead of being secure of gaining them.

As it always appears to us a very paltry spectacle when we see the *man*, with all his faculties, sentiments, and opinions, sunk in the soldier by profession, we are not altogether displeased to see our lieutenant-colonel sometimes taking upon him considerably in the way of statesman, as to Indian affairs. Assuredly, the politician has no little yet to learn, who approves of almost everything done by the English in India ; but it does at any rate please one to see a military man really able to comprehend that the world was made for some other small purposes besides that of being a field to fight upon. There is very considerable importance and interest in his descriptions, interspersed in different parts of the narrative, of the constitution, habits, efficiency, and progressive alteration of quality of the native troops in the English service.

MILITARY AUTHORSHIP.

Perhaps the hands accustomed to wield the sword, are apt to be more daring than others in the exercise of the pen. We think we have noticed instances enough of this to warrant us in calling it a professional characteristic. Courage has been said to be a soldier's religion ; and, analogously to that of a Christian, which is required to pervade everything in life, it may be felt an obligation on military conscience, that writing should be executed in the

same style as fighting. To be deliberate and slow in judging, to hesitate in opinion, to acknowledge there are doubts and difficulties on all sides, not to be ashamed that more daring men should pronounce more promptly and decisively, would be held to betray a defect of gallantry. Why, indeed, should a man who would readily brave whatever can be brought from camps and arsenals, be afraid of anything in the forces and magazines of logic? What should there be in any possible array of opponent ideas, to appal him who would not hesitate, with a stout regiment of horse, to attack a whole Mahratta army? And what should he care for the width, and intricacy, and obscurities of a question, when he knows he should not have asked more than an hour's warning to dash into the thickest forest or jungle in Asia, in pursuit of Pindarry murderers, and without caring what might be their number? How unreasonable it were to expect him to submit to show, on any ground, of politics, morals, or even theology, an indecision which, if betrayed in giving orders, in camp, or march, or field, would expose him to contempt.

JUSTIFICATION OF THE WAR IN INDIA.

The substantial justice of the recent war in India can admit of no denial, except from those who hold war altogether, under any possible circumstances, to be wrong. And really the persons maintaining that opinion would be put to their extreme resources of argument, on reading our author's and other authentic descriptions of the character and operations of the Pindarries, whose irruptions into some of the provinces of the British empire kindled the war. We have the greatest respect for that Christian class of the community among whom it is an established principle, that a case justifying a recourse to arms is impossible; but we should really be curious to hear what they would have counselled the government to do, when many thousands of robbers and murderers, literally such, burst in, suddenly and unprovoked, on the country, traversing to a vast extent the peaceful tracts of agriculture; perpetrating, not incidentally, but systematically and generally, every possible abomination compatible with the rapidity of their march; torturing and killing, with every wantonness of infernal barbarity, men, women, and children; with eager activity destroying everything

that could not be carried away as plunder; resolved to continue thus ravaging and desolating the provinces, till gorged to the utmost with slaughter and spoil, and then to retire to the territory of their dens, to digest amid their plunder, at their leisure, new schemes of similar destruction. Abhorring, as intensely as ever disciple of Robert Barclay did, the war-spirit with which almost all the nations and their governors have run mad, and believing a justifiable, that is, a purely defensive war, to be one of the rarest things in the history of the world, we should nevertheless feel it impossible to conceive a more desperate intellectual undertaking, than that of a man attempting to make out to the conscience of the Governor-General, a plain, sound, satisfactory proof that his duty was to remain perfectly still, while messengers from a province apprehending the horrible invasion, were in his presence, accompanied with persons escaped from a province overspread with devastation and murder.

TREACHERY OF THE NATIVE POWERS.

We can hardly think there is any hazard in saying that there is not one, supposing him to have had his family and property in the province menaced, who would not have been secretly gratified to see the Governor-General actuated by a quite different judgment and conscience. Let any person read the accounts of these miscreant bands, and say whether against such incorrigible ruffians it would have been possible to wage any other war than one of extermination. There could be no doubt that some of the chief native powers took an interest in the continued existence of the Pindarries, because, though sometimes suffering from their predatory violence, they could on occasions reinforce their armies from these lawless bands. It was worthy of the accustomed wisdom of these native despots and courts to meditate a quarrel, and to betray that they were meditating it, by unequivocal signs, in vain contradicted by worthless professions of amity, just at the time when the English were putting their whole immense military force in readiness for action. It would seem as if they were desirous to take this intruding and detested power in its strongest attitude, from the consideration that if they could upset it then they were

likely to have no more trouble with it. This judicious proceeding cost Scindiah the degradation of admitting a "subsidiary force," flung the Peishwah, the nominal head of the Mahratta confederacy, from his throne, reduced Holkar to a shadow, and the Rajah of Nagpoor and other of the legitimate holders of power to nothing.

INFATUATION OF THE NATIVE PRINCES.

The fatuity manifested by most of these princes and their courts is perfectly astonishing. So many years of experience seem to have done nothing towards teaching them either diffidence or caution. It would be very curious if we could know what were the reasons on which they found their confident presumptions of the sudden reversal of an order of events which had been steadily progressive during the whole length of the lives of the oldest of these prognosticators. This madness of presumption was just what was requisite to complete their ruin, and within a very few weeks to carry on the course of events one grand stage further in the same direction.

THE DESIGNS OF PROVIDENCE IN REFERENCE TO THE BRITISH CONQUESTS IN INDIA.

We must continue to think there is something more in all this than our merely military or political commentators can explain; and that a train of events without parallel, or at least without equal in history, is passing on under the Divine superintendence, toward a result of which the moral glory will correspond to such a prodigy of the destruction and creation of power.

FIDELITY OF THE SEPOYS.

One of the remarkable circumstances of this war, as well as of the preceding wars, was the almost invariable fidelity of the native troops, in fighting against their own countrymen. It seems the Peishwah or his ministers had entertained a vague expectation of some possible failure of it in some of the native corps, contrary to all former experience. But this new occasion made no difference in either their allegiance or their bravery. They all did as they were ordered, and fired, and hacked away with perfect good-will at figures of their own complexion, language, and religion. The triumphant success with which

they did this, will have put an additional security on their allegiance for the next trial, as, doubtless, their firm adherence to their foreign masters in the present instance was fortified by their recollection of past victories gained under the same command.

SUPERIORITY OF THE SEPOYS OVER THE NATIVE TROOPS.

The prodigious disparity, in point of military efficiency, between these troops and the very same kind of men in the service of the native powers, is by our author attributed chiefly to discipline, and a perfect army mechanism on the one side, and incurable irregularity, disarray, and defective manual exercise on the other. In this Mahratta war a great deal of valour was evinced by portions of the native armies, especially those composed of Arabs ; but it was all in vain.

“ It is discipline, together with a quick firing of the flint-lock and field-pieces, which has given us the striking superiority over the natives. It is the steady fire of these that the troops of the native princes cannot face: that regularity of movement, quickness of evolution, and strict and unerring obedience in action, giving union and combination, opposed by confusion, clamour, distraction, and insubordination, must ever secure a commanding ascendancy. The natives have no idea of the value of time in military operations ; the most frivolous excuses or causes preventing the movements of their armies ; which will always make an active and regular force superior to them. They express their astonishment and the utmost dread at the steady and continued fire of our Sepoys, which they liken to a wall vomiting forth fire and flames. The firm and regular pace, the first and most necessary part of a soldier's instructions, is quite incomprehensible to them ; and in this we again see the almost total change requisite to complete a soldier, as he is not allowed even to use his legs but in a prescribed manner.”

PROGRESS OF THE EUROPEAN MILITARY SYSTEM IN INDIA.

In tracing the progress of the European military system in India, as the instrument of the progress of our dominion there, the Colonel thus marks the contrast between the situation of the English as at the period just preceding their beginning to form the natives into regular soldiers, and as in 1817.

“ It is curious to take a retrospective view of an English factor at his desk in 1746, with a pen behind his ear, trembling at the nod of the meanest of the Mogul's officers, and treated with the

greatest insolence and oppression ; with no higher military character under his direction than a peon stationed near a bale of goods ; with a jurisdiction not extending beyond a court-yard of a warehouse connected with it ; and contrast this picture with the situation of the Company's army in 1817, when 150,000 men, disciplined by British officers, presented the spectacle of as fine an army as any in the world, receiving its impetus of action from a great statesman and general, who held the person of the Mogul as a pensioner on the bounty of his government, wielding the political and military resources of the empire over a theatre of operations in the present campaign, extending from Loudheanah to Guzaraut, in a segment of a circle of nearly 1200 miles. Such are the minimum and maximum of our Eastern empire."

INDIAN SUPERSTITIONS NOT INSUPERABLE.

It seems it is not purely and exclusively a military alteration that the native troops in the English service have undergone. In contempt of all the Anglo-Indian oracles that have pronounced the thing impossible, we have the Colonel here deposing that their punctiliousness in matters of superstition has considerably worn away. The numerous assertors that everything of this kind was to be eternal, omitted to say,—

"What time next week eternity should end."

Our author specifies various facts in evidence of this modification of their superstitious feelings. For instance : "There is not at this day a man of the highest caste, who will not be grateful for European medical assistance, if the medicine be taken from his own vessel, and given him from the hand of one of his own caste ; a compliance which would formerly have been considered as the highest pollution." The native costume, which is not independent of the ordinances of their superstition, has been in a great measure relinquished for the European military dress. The horror of leather, lest it should be the skin of a cow, has given place to the use of boots, saddlery, and, in the Bengal cavalry, of leather breeches. It is an act of impurity "to touch the feathers of our domestic fowl ;" yet in one of the battalions many of the Brahmins, with the rest of the soldiers, wear them with pride, as having been conferred as a mark of honour for their military conduct. In the Bengal presidency

there is no difficulty in getting rid of the mark of caste on the face, which is not permitted on parade.

"The very touch of a dead body, or anything deprived of life, would be to a Brahmin the greatest stain of impurity which could befall him. But in more than one instance, the native officers and soldiers, many of whom were Brahmins, have insisted, from a sense of gratitude, on carrying an European officer to his grave. The lips of an European defile, beyond recovery, a vessel out of which he may drink ; but the Brahmins in action have allowed their European officers, and even requested them, to drink in this manner from their vessels."

INDIAN CASTES MERGED IN MILITARY DUTIES.

The sepoy in the French service, about sixty years since, were attempted to be compelled, by M. Lally, to work in the trenches, and carry such burdens as belong to the koolies. If they could not have escaped from such dishonour to the dignity and sanctity of caste, by desertion, many of them would probably have rather suffered death. But says our author,—

"So great a change has taken place by allowing time and forbearance to work their own way in the British service, that the highest caste man looks upon it to be as much his duty, and will fill a gabion with as much readiness as a grenadier in a king's regiment."

It is pleasing to hear of such instances of accommodation and forbearance on the part of the English soldiers as the following :—

"The 76th regiment served under Lord Lake for so long a period with the Sepoys, that they had become attached to each other ; and the former being aware of the prejudices of the latter, have been known, when they happened to arrive the first in camp, to wait till Jack Sepoy (as they call him) had drawn the water from the tank or well."

THE QUESTION OF TOLERATION OR CONVERSION IN INDIA.

If, instead of being a matter of perfect indifference, it were ever so desirable, that Christianity might prevail in place of what are now the religions of India, this substitution could not be effected or attempted, according to the Colonel's account, but at the hazard of our empire there.

"I do not see," he says, "any cause which at present exists in India, from the Mahometans, or Hindoos, or any native power,

to shake our government over this part of the world, that is to say, if we respect the prejudices of the natives, do not attempt to subvert their religion by the introduction of our own, and if our military force is kept up, &c., &c., &c."

An "attempt" by violence is not here meant; it would have been pure impertinence to make the grave supposition of a thing which no one proposes or meditates; the danger here threatened must be from an endeavour to illuminate, convince, and persuade. And it is with exquisite propriety that this is threatened by a writer who has been telling us, in a statement of facts, how these most tenacious pagans may, by mild and patient management, be beguiled out of one prejudice after another, and all the while become the better pleased with those who are thus pilfering away particles and pieces of their religion; and a writer who *might* know that within the last twenty years, there have been at the least ten thousand addresses of argument, exposition, and censure, made to assemblages of these people, in innumerable diversities of circumstance and scene, without ever once exciting any such commotion or violence as would in many parts of England infallibly attend any similar attempt at the instruction and reproof of the populace.

But in the last place, whether the attempt at supplanting their religions by our own would be too hazardous, or not, the success, we are told, is impossible. And we have here, for the five hundredth time, the whole veteran story of no Brahmin having ever turned Christian; of its being only some of the miserable outcasts that suffer themselves to be "dubbed Christians," for the sake of getting crammed with rice, &c., &c. We confess we have rather wondered at all this being at this time said or sung by a lieutenant-colonel. A time there was, indeed, when all this was the approved speech and song in very high places, in councils and senates, among statesmen, governors, and officers of elevated rank. But it has followed the customary laws and progress of the fashions, which, in growing obsolete in the uppermost rank, become in vogue in the next, and so downward in rapid succession; and vanishing from the west end of the town, and ultimately from the metropolis, circulate away through the provinces toward their last show and their extinction in the hamlets of the fisherman. As to this

strain of talk, so considerable a time, according to fashion's account of duration, has elapsed since it was the vogue or the rage among the most imposing class, that we really thought it had probably descended by this time somewhat below the rank of our author.

With respect to the benefits conferred on the people of India by the British dominion, independently of any attempts to impart Christianity, its effects may in some views deserve all that warmth of eulogy which he lavishes indiscriminately on the whole of its operations and influence.

LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.*

WORKS in which authorship is quite secondary and supplemental to art, can hardly be considered as coming within the scope and design of literary criticism. But we are unwilling to let pass without a sentence or two of notice, a performance of such surpassing excellence in its department, as this of Mr. Wild. It has been a good while waited for by the lovers of art and antiquity, with an expectation, founded upon the known talents of Mr. Wild as a draughtsman, and the high excellence of the engravers, of a work approaching extremely near to absolute perfection; and we think they will be at once compelled and gratified to acknowledge, that they had not been able to form an idea of excellence in representation, from which they will feel any falling off, when they come to look at these delineations.

POWER OF SIZE ON THE IMAGINATION.

They are on a large scale, which is greatly advantageous to the full development of the complicated and varied composition of the forms and parts of this magnificent structure. It is quite evident that something is gained for intelligibility, and much for impression, by this ample form of exhibition. It is independent of our will, and of any possible mental effort, that we receive from a large picture or print of a grand edifice, an impression more approaching to that made by the reality, than from a small one. This is especially the case with persons but slenderly acquainted

* An Illustration of the Architecture and Sculpture of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln. By Charles Wild. 4to. 1819.

with the science or technicality of architecture, whose chief interest in the inspection of such delineations, is that of receiving a strong general impression of the magnificence and the most prominent characteristics of the object. And, at the same time, these persons are less solicitous for a distinct exhibition of *all* the aspects and component parts of the structure, several of which will strike them as appearing much like repetitions of one another ; they are more gratified by a comparatively few representations, displaying the most comprehensive and commanding views of the object, with the addition of a moderate number of details defined in a detached exhibition.

They bear infallible testimony to the excellence of the drawings of which they are representative, and are, as engravings, among the most vigorous and effective performances that have been produced in the pre-eminently high state of the art as now displayed in England, raised as it is, in the departments of antiquities and landscape, above all foreign rivalry. It is delightful to see with what consummate skill the delusion of perspective is managed ; what a reality of prominence and retirement, what a harmony of combined or alternate lustre and solemnity are effected by the lights and shades ; how substantial and tangible every relief is made to appear ; and how well the nature and the superficial state of the imitated substances are rendered ; to say nothing of the more geometrical merits of correct proportion and disposition. Such a work has a very good right to bear in the title-page, as a motto, the sentence which Mr. Wild has inserted from old Fuller :—"When these fabrics shall have passed away their very shadows will be acceptable to posterity." We have, indeed, no doubt of the literal truth of this prediction, in the instance before us.

MIXED ARCHITECTURE OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

This immense structure had the odd kind of fortune to be erected piece after piece, at successive heats, during more than two centuries : "A circumstance," says our author, "from which it derives a peculiar interest, as illustrating the progress of the pointed architecture from its first introduction, to a state of excellence which many are of opinion is never surpassed in any of the religious edifices posterior

to that era." This advantage of diversity, by which it is rendered a tangible history of the progress of the style, denies it of course the recommendations of symmetry, and precludes, in some degree, that fascination which is felt in contemplating such a structure as the cathedral of Salisbury. "In the nave, the basement of the aisles is essentially different on the two sides, although there is every reason to suppose that they were erecting at the same time; and in the piers or clusters, which support the principal arches, there are no less than three varieties, differing from each other, as well in the diameter of the mass, as in the number and arrangement of the smaller shafts of which each is composed." This nave, taken by itself, is pronounced to be unequalled for magnitude and fine proportion. The east end, beyond the upper transept, described as far surpassing in beauty every other part of the fabric, is judged to have been a performance of the latter part of the thirteenth century. Another portion is referred to the close of the fourteenth.

The central tower, though newly erected, fell about the year 1289. A relation of the circumstances is given from Matthew Paris. The bishop was on bad terms with his canons. One of these, preaching to the people in the centre of the cathedral, proclaimed the wrongs suffered from the bishop, and vociferated, "If we should hold our peace the very stones would cry out for us;" just at which expression the tower fell, crushing to death several of the auditory, and shaking and damaging the whole building. This he says was taken as a bad omen,—we suppose as menacing the bishop,—but adds, the bishop had his own way against the malcontents, notwithstanding.

The fabric, of which the total internal length is 470 feet, is estimated to cover no less than two acres, two roods, and six perches of land.

THE POWER OF MYSTERY OVER THE MIND.*

A FACTITIOUS and most extravagant interest continuously attaches to the regions near the North Pole. It is one more illustration of the prodigious attraction that there is in mystery,—a natural provision, (may we not believe?) in the mind of man, for aiding to put it under the power of the world unknown, toward which it is passing. And it is really one of the chief consolations felt for the general failure, and for the disappointment caused by the partial success, that there still remains over those regions a cloud of mystery in which to indulge our imaginations.

SPECULATIONS ON THE NORTH-WESTERN PASSAGE.

Whenever it is brought within moderate probability, in what forms the tracts of snow and ice and sea in that dark north-west are arranged, and whether there is or is not a communication with the remoter ocean, it will be curious to observe how soon every one will cease to care about the matter. Let the adventurers take their ships round the north-east, and the north-west extremities of America, and there will be excited, when this is known, a momentary tumult of exultation; but it will very soon come to be felt that those ultimate masses of sterility are just no better than Terra del Fuego, and Cape Parry, and Cape Franklin,—or if those promontories are to have some names expressive of loyalty or patriotism,—will become of no more account than Cape Horn. If, on the other hand, a continuity of land shall be encountered in the north-east quarter, and thus an end put to all speculation and fancy, the whole subject and interest will instantly vanish like a dream, leaving all the long train of earnest imaginings, and theorizings, and strenuous practical efforts, protracted for ages, to be remembered as “Much ado about nothing.”

GREENLAND AND THE DANISH MISSIONARY, EGEDE.

Greenland, as stretching away into that night of our geographical knowledge, shares materially in the interest

* A Description of Greenland. By Hans Egede, who was a Missionary in that country for Twenty-five Years. 8vo. 1818.

which must hover over those tracts yet some time longer. It has also of its own a circumstance of great excitement to the imagination, in the thick veil that has been drawn for centuries on its eastern side, once the well-known abode of civilized and Christianized colonies. It has another attraction in having been, on its western coast, the scene of eminent Christian charity and zeal, in the missionary labours of that excellent fraternity whose energy conquers all extremities of climate, and whose patience is never exhausted by the perversities and incapacity of man.

Egede was one of those good men who, on a day yet to come, will stand among the brightest and most exalted of the human race, when the far greater part of what has been accounted the most splendid, will be turned into "the blackness of darkness." He was one of those men whose conception of happiness was what would to very many cultivated persons be an image of emphatic misery. His notion of happiness was that of devoting himself, through the best part of his life, to incessant, exhausting toils, amidst deprivation, rigours of climate, disgusting barbarism, obtuseness of understanding, and the profoundest heathen ignorance, in order to raise from such a region some tribute to the Saviour of the world, and to impart the blessings of his kingdom to some of these wretched outcasts. When his advanced age and failing strength could support this service no longer, he left his son to occupy the field, and spent his few remaining years in co-operating, at Copenhagen, by every aid within the compass of his knowledge and never-remitting zeal.

THE GOLD MINES OF GREENLAND IN THE CUSTODY OF DEVILS.

The hideous bleakness of the country did not prevent its being rendered prolific by imagination. The chief incitement to many of the earlier voyages, was a received opinion that Greenland contained numerous veins of gold, silver, and precious stones. Old chronicles relates that

"The Frieslanders, having made a landing upon the coast, discovered some wretched cabins just rising above the earth, around which lay heaps of gold and silver ore. Each of the sailors helped himself to as much as he could carry away. But,

when they were retreating to the shore, in order to re-embark with their treasure, they saw some human forms, as ugly as devils, issuing out of their earthen huts, armed with bows and arrows, and accompanied with dogs of vast size. Before all the sailors could reach the shore, some of them were seized by these frightful archers, who tore them limb from limb within sight of their companions. The Danish Chronicle adds, that this region is so rich that it is peopled only by devils."

We think we have remarked it is not uncommon for legends of wild and barbarian fancy to contain this one point of sober sense and truth,—the association of riches and evil spirits.

THE AMOR PATRIÆ OF THE GREENLANDERS.

Nothing in the description is more remarkable than the intense *amor patriæ*, the absolutely desperate home-sickness, of each and all of the Greenlanders who were, at several times, always forcibly, brought away. It was impossible to reconcile them, even in any degree, to the country to which they were transported, and in which they were treated with studied kindness, excepting the necessity of a constantly precautionary management to prevent their throwing themselves away, in attempts to escape in boats in which it was inevitable for them to perish at sea. One of them eluded the vigilance and was lost. Others slowly pined to death. There is a curious story of their being in one instance excited to a transient animation. To amuse a Spanish ambassador, they were set to exhibit their wonderful dexterity in managing the little canoes peculiar to their country. The presents which he made them in consequence, they took a fancy to expend in equipping themselves in the Danish fashion.

"They were accordingly seen booted and spurred, with large feathers in their hats; and in these habiliments they proposed to serve in the cavalry of the Danish king. But these high spirits of the Greenlanders lasted only for a short time; for they soon relapsed into their usual melancholy. They become entirely absorbed with the idea of returning to their native country."

It would seem that the fewer and simpler the relations which the human animal has to a tract of the earth, the stronger his attachment to it. At sight of some of the

exemplifications of this, it is not easy to help being ashamed of a nature that can exhibit so much imbecility. The Greenlander dotes to distraction upon his matchless country, for it affords him a filthy hut, and the flesh, grease, and skins, of seals, with the luxury of whale oil on fortunate occasions, with plenty indeed of snow, ice, and tempest, into the bargain. It would be impertinent to allege that this is leaving social relations out of the account, for if whole families could be transferred to a better territory and economy of life, thus carrying the most interesting of the social relationships with them, they would doubtless all pine and perish together.

GREENLAND SUPERSTITIONS.

We are furnished with an ample selection of the feeble lunacies of Greenland fantasy and superstition. Their natural history has its krakens, mermaids, and other monsters. Their civil history has its race of dog-men, the form in which barbarian malice has preserved the tradition of the Norwegian colonists once settled on the west-coast, and extirpated many ages since by the Skraelings, the savage race of which the present inhabitants are considered as the descendants. Their science, if such a term may be so applied, may be exemplified in their manner of explaining lightning and the aurora-borealis, which phenomena are caused, they say, by the souls of the departed playing at foot-ball in heaven, with the head of a morse. Their science of practical application consists in spells and petty jugglery. In their religion, their ideas of their supreme being, denominated Torngarsuk, might be expected to be the types of whatever their sages, *angekkoks*, can conceive of sublimity. Their notions of the subject differ, but see how they vie with one another in elevation,—with one exception :—

“ Some of the *angekkoks* say he is without any form or shape ; others give him that of a bear ; others, again, pretend he has a large body and but one arm ; and some make him as little as a finger. There are those who hold he is immortal, and others, that a puff of wind can kill him. They assign him his abode in the lower regions of the earth, where they tell you there is constantly fine sun-shiny weather, good water, deer, and fowls, in abundance.

They also say he lives in the water ; wherefore, when they come to any water, of which they have not drunk before, and there be any old man in the company, they make him drink first, in order to take away its Torngarsuk, or the malignant quality of the water, which might make them sick, and kill them."

THE TORNGARSUK, OR DEVIL'S GRANDAM.

There is another personage of great consequence in this mythology, the "grandame of the said Torngarsuk, or (as others will have it) his lady-daughter, a true termagant and ghastly woman, who is said to have a hand as big as the tail of a whale, with which, if she hits anybody, he is at one stroke mouse-dead."

"She is said to dwell in the lower parts of the earth under the seas, and has the empire over all fishes and sea-animals. The basin placed under her lamp, into which the train oil of the lamp drips down, swarms with all kinds of sea-fowls, swimming in and hovering about it. At the entry of her abode is a *corps de garde* of sea-dogs, who mount the guard and stand sentinels at her gates to keep out the crowd of petitioners."

None but the angekkoks, or priests, or enchanter, as they may be denominated, can make any attempt to get into her presence, and they must be accompanied and aided by a sort of guardian spirits, named Torngak. There is a curious description of the journey to the "residence of this devil's grandame," and the mode of obtaining the object of the enterprise, which commonly is to break up a kind of enchantment, by which she malignantly attracts into her vicinity all the fishes and other marine animals which are of the most importance to the Greenlanders, so that the good people would be in danger of perishing, unless something were done. Through many dreary scenes, and frightful scrapes, the wizard and his guide at length reached—

"the apartment of the infernal goddess, who, offended at this unexpected visit, shows a most ghastly and wrathful countenance, pulling the hair off her head. She thereupon seizes a wet wing of a fowl, which she lights in the fire, and claps to their noses, which makes them very faint and sick, and they become her prisoners. But the enchanter or angekkok, (being beforehand instructed by his Torngak, how to act his part in this dismal expedition,) takes hold of her by her hair, and drubs and bangs her so long till she loses her strength and yields ; and in this combat his familiar spirit does not stand idle, but lays about her with might and main."

It is more to the purpose, however, than even all this "drubbing and banging," to catch and pull away some kind of charm which hangs about her face. It is this charm which draws and keeps all the fishes, and as soon as she is deprived of it, they instantly and eagerly make off to where they can meet with the nets, hooks, and harpoons of the Greenlanders.

This beldame's share of the space in the interior of the earth, seems, by the description, undesirable enough ; but somewhere in that interior, is the region which is accounted the very best receptacle of departed spirits. And the rule of assignment of this happiest locality, is extremely remarkable, a striking singularity among the notions of barbarous tribes, and expressive of a feeling for which we might forgive them some of their silly dreams, and some of their disgusting habits. The preference given, in the allotment of abode, as mentioned in the following extract, is the more remarkable as contrasted with the parallel part of the Scandinavian mythology, which confers the most delightful region of the other world on the souls of the most dreadful slaughterers, who, in evidence of their faithfully retaining their character and taste, will have the skulls of their enemies for drinking cups.

THE GREENLANDERS' NOTION OF A FUTURE STATE.

"They have got no notion of any different state of souls after death ; but they fancy that all the deceased go into the land of the souls, as they term it. Nevertheless they assign two retreats for departed souls, viz. : some go to Heaven, and some to the centre of the Earth ; but this lower retirement is in their opinion the pleasantest, inasmuch as they enjoy themselves in a delicious country, where the sun shines continually, with an inexhaustible stock of all sorts of choice provision. But this is only the receptacle of such women as die in labour, and of those that, going a-whale-fishing, perish at sea ; this being their reward to compensate the hardships they have undergone in this life ; all the rest flock to heaven."

That the supposed difference of future destiny should not be great enough to threaten to any state of misery, will appear the less strange if we admit our author's estimate of the general character of the Greenlanders, whom he describes as nearly all very harmless beings.

CHARACTER OF THE GREENLANDERS.

"Though they are yet subject to no government, nor know of any magistrates, or laws, or any sort of discipline, yet they are so far from being lawless or disorderly that they are a law to themselves; their even temper and good nature making them observe a regular and orderly behaviour towards one another. One cannot enough admire how peaceably, lovingly, and united they live together; hatred and envy, strifes and jars, are never heard of among them. And although it may happen that one bears a grudge to another, yet it never breaks out into any scolding or fighting; neither have they any words to express such passions, or any injurious and provoking terms of quarrelling."

It is admitted, however, that such a thing as a murder has been known to happen, in which case the retribution would be a retaliation executed by the relatives of the murdered person. It is accounted just, and even benevolent, to destroy such persons as are believed to exercise a malignant power of witchcraft.

It is true, that with the praise of their harmlessness, the honest missionary mingles the most downright imputations of stupidity. And the accounts given by the missionaries of the United Brethren, confirm this estimate of their mental faculties, even to the length, we almost fear, of invalidating Egede's judgment that education might raise them generally to a respectable degree of the intellectual standard.

At the same time, they furnish one of the many exemplifications of the wonderful perfection to which the faculties may be disciplined under the influence of an immediate constant interest and imperious necessity. In the exquisite perceptions and adroitness displayed in catching seals, and fish, and fowl, we see what might be attained by them in other departments of exercise and improvement, were it possible to make the interest as pressing and compulsory as that of obtaining food. The descriptions of the manner of their prosecuting this grand business of their life, are among the most curious things in the book.

THE KRAKEN.

We will terminate this notice with that account of a sea-monster which has been so often adverted to, the veracity of which, in the strict sense of that word, is beyond all doubt,

while, nevertheless, it is likely enough that surprise and fear might unconsciously exaggerate the portentous phenomenon. It is observable that our author does not precisely say that he himself saw it, though it seems reasonable to infer this from the positive terms he employs in the description. Referring to the legendary accounts of a variety of enormous marine animals, he says :—

“But none of them have been seen by us, or any of our time, that ever I could hear, save that most dreadful sea-monster, that showed itself upon the surface of the water in the year 1734, off our new colony in 64°. This monster was of so huge a size, that coming out of the water, its head reached as high as the mast-head ; its body was as bulky as the ship, and three or four times as long. It had a long pointed snout, and spouted like a whale ; great broad paws, and the body seemed covered with shell-work, its skin very rugged and uneven. The under part of its body was shaped like an enormous huge serpent, and when it dived again under water, it plunged backwards into the sea, and so raised its tail aloft, which seemed a whole ship's length distant from the bulkiest part of the body.”

It may be remarked how vague the account is rendered by the adoption of so perfectly indefinite a standard of dimension as the size of “a ship.” The bulk, nevertheless, must have been somewhat prodigious to have struck the witnesses as being so, familiarized as they were to the sight of the largest known inhabitants of the ocean.

NEPAUL.*

THIS work appears to be the result of a very extensive inquiry, prosecuted with a highly meritorious perseverance and minuteness. Whoever has disposition or occasion to apply himself, quite as a study, to the examination of the state, relations, and history of the country in question, will find it of excellent service ; and we can well conceive that the collection of information from which it is shaped, may

* An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul, and of the Territories annexed to this Dominion by the House of Goorkha. By Francis Hamilton (formerly Buchanan), M.D. 4to. 1819.

have been of material use to the Indian Government in their diplomatic and military transactions on the northern edge of the empire.

NEPAULESE RACES.

It is the main business of the work, to make out a distinct account of the multitude of tribes, or races, or nations, or whatever they may be called, that inhabit the rather extensive territory now brought, by a long course of conquests, treacheries, and all sorts of crimes, under the dominion of the House of Goorka. And the reader is confounded by the number of sections and differences into which a depraved and wretched portion of the human race was in this tract divided. We should be inclined to think that the business of the Power of Evil is the most effectually done by mankind as existing in separate small assemblages, did there not appear to be a rival infernality in the process by which the many small, are amalgamated into one or a few large communities.

ANTICIPATIONS RESPECTING INDIA AND CHINA.

It was Dr. Hamilton's laborious task, to ascertain the respective characteristics of these distinguishable components of the kingdom which as yet serves to keep the peace between the proud ancient empire of China, and the proud upstart empire of the intruders from the West, which is hated and dreaded by all the East, and by which, with perhaps some unintentional co-operation of Russia, it is not improbable that every polity in the East is destined to be overturned. In the meanwhile, this intervening state, that prevents the collision of the two empires, has given strong signs of being itself a most ungracious thing to be in contact with; and there is no reason to doubt that, one of these days, "the House of Goorka" will, very unwittingly come to the honour of assigning some of its apartments, and some of its demesnes, to an English resident and encampment, the commander of which encampment might happen, at leisure opportunities, to fancy he had something to say even to the mandarins of the neighbouring border. When, in the regular course of things, the whole of the said demesne merges, in the next stage of time, in the improving estate of

the great Proprietor from the West, it will be very curious to observe what sensations are propagated across the continent to Gehol and Pekin, and whether there is any better chance for Lord Amherst, should it be his lot to condescend to repeat his visit of ceremony. It may be presumed that the *ho-tou* will be dispensed with, and even the price of tea reduced, sooner than a western province of the "Celestial Empire" shall admit the defilement of a British official residence, with a military force, within its confines.

But it is well to know what this intermediate state is composed of; and Dr. Hamilton has diligently investigated its materials; has inquired where and in what state they were originally found, what removals, transmutations, substitutions, and new combinations, they have undergone, and what are their present condition and relations, local, physical, superstitious, political, and military. The country, too, is amply described, as to the great features in which its form is cast, and its natural history, its capabilities of cultivation, and its monumental traces of former ages.

DESCRIPTION OF NEPAUL.

"Nepaul, a name celebrated in Hindoo legend, in a strict sense, ought to be applied to that country only which is in the vicinity of Kathmandu, the capital; but at present it is usually given to the whole territory of the Goorka Rajas, which occupies about thirteen degrees of longitude. and five of latitude.

"The numerous valleys among the prodigious mountains, of which Nepaul in its extended sense consists, are inhabited by various tribes, that differ very much in language, and somewhat in customs. All that have any sort of pretensions to be considered as aboriginal, like their neighbours of Bhotan to the east, are, by their features, clearly marked as belonging to the Tartar or Chinese race of men, and have no sort of resemblance to the Hindoos. The time when the Hindoos penetrated into these regions is very uncertain."

CHARACTER OF THE NEPAULESE.

To be of pure Hindoo descent, is a matter of pride, it seems, in Nepaul, and the Hindoo race has, in point of rank and importance, whatever the numbers may be, the predominance in the country, under the general denomination of Rajpoots. In the different parts of it, however, their

customs have become modified into considerable differences from one another. To discriminate these, through all the localities, intermixtures, and traditions of descent, was a task of no ordinary difficulty.

The Hindoos of these mountainous regions, chiefly of mixed descent, are instinct, it seems, with a more active kind of depravity than those on the plains of Hindostan. They are described as "deceitful and treacherous, cruel and arrogant towards those in their power, and abjectly mean towards those from whom they expect favour." With a boundless libertinism they combine a furious jealousy, which often produces assassination.

"For this they are all prepared, by wearing a large knife in their girdle, and the point of honour requires them never to rest until they have shed the blood of the man who has been suspected. The jealous man watches his opportunity for months, and even for years, should his adversary be on his guard; and, having at length found a favourable time, with one stroke of his knife in the throat of his rival he satisfies his revenge."

This, and the other hateful characteristics of the mountain Hindoos, have been adopted by the Magars, a powerful tribe or nation, to which the reigning house of Goorka belongs, though it pretends to be descended from a pure Hindoo origin. This seems to be the favoured tribe, and it furnishes the main strength of the army of the state. The Newars, another numerous race, addicted to agriculture and commerce, and far more advanced in the arts than any other of the mountain tribes, adhere, for the greatest proportion, to the doctrines of Buddha. A few have degenerated to the worse superstition of Seeva.

DIFFERENCES IN BUDDHISM.

There are some material differences between Buddhism as professed in Nepaul, and as maintained in the Burman empire. It is perhaps worth while to cite the explanation given of the term Buddha, which is not the denomination of the Supreme Being, but of a powerful person's intelligence proceeding from him, and holding a lofty official station in the government and instruction of the world. There have been a number of these intelligences, who, or some of whom, it seems, have assumed the human form on earth, in order to renovate the economy of the moral world. The denomination means something of

this kind; but, certainly, of all things that ever were attempted to be brought into definition or elucidation, the denominations and dogmas of eastern mythology give the most deserved reward to those who can waste their time and labour on such vanities. The whole thing is a mockery of all intelligence. It is as if a man should attempt to shape defined forms of smoke :—

“The lower castes of the Buddhists,” our author says, “will worship almost anything that is called a god, which is, indeed, usual with all Hindoos of their rank. Some of our Sepoys, who were Brahmins, immediately upon our arrival at Swayambhunath, the temple of the supreme deity of the Buddhists, took flowers and consecrated water, and went round the hill, offering some to every image which they saw, and among others, to that of Sakya Singha. I happened to be standing near it with my Brahmin, who asked them if they knew what they were doing, and informed them that they were worshipping Buddha. At this the poor fellows were much ashamed. However, an old havildar (serjeant) comforted them by observing, that, on the march to Bombay, under General Goddard, they had often seen this deity, and that their worshipping him seemed to be very lucky, as the army had great success.”

THE GOT OR GARDENERS' CASTE.

There is one low caste named Got, and designated as gardeners. One of them, employed by Dr. Hamilton in collecting plants, and described by him as a mild attentive creature, gave, and repeatedly confirmed to him, a very remarkable account of a religious ceremony. As to its truth respecting one point, the most odious rite in the service, Dr. Hamilton professes that his opinion was left in suspense. No reliance, he says, is to be placed on the veracity of any class in Nepaul; but we think it is apparent, from the manner in which he describes his informant, that he is much inclined to believe the whole of the following statement :—

“At certain temples dedicated to Bhawani, which word means merely the goddess, the Got attend to dance in masks; and on these occasions, ten of them represent Singhini, Vyaghrini, Indrani, Bhairavi, Bhawani, Varahi, Vaishnavi, Kumari, Brahmani, and Ganesa: while four others represent Mahakal, Nandiswar, Vyndhyiswar, and Nasadeva, who are the instructors (Gurus) of the other ten deities. From those who come to worship at the temple, the Got that represent these deities accept of spirituous liquors, which they drink out of human

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skulls, till they become elevated and dance in a furious manner, which is supposed to proceed from inspiration. In the same manner they drink the blood of the animals which are offered as sacrifices. In these temples the priests are Achars (an order before described), who at the sacrifices read the forms of prayer (Mantras) proper for the occasion, but retire when the animal is about to be killed by the Got who represents Bhairavi. The shrine in which the images of the gods are kept, is always shut, and no person is allowed to enter but the priest, and the Gots who personate in masks these deities. Once in twelve years the Rajah offers a solemn sacrifice. It consists of two men of such rank that they wear a thread; of two buffaloes, two goats, two rams, two cocks, two ducks, and two fishes. The lower animals are first sacrificed, in the outer part of the temple, and in the presence of the multitude their blood is drunk by the masked Gots. After this, the human victims are intoxicated, and carried into the shrine, where the mask representing Bhairavi cuts their throats, and sprinkles their blood on the idols. Their skulls are then formed into cups, which serve the masks for drinking in their horrid rites. I questioned the man repeatedly on the subject, and he always related the circumstances without variation, and declared, that at the last sacrifice, which had been offered nine years previous to our arrival in Nepaul, he had represented Bhairavi, and with his own hands had cut the throats of the victims. Although he spoke of the human sacrifice with considerable glee, as being attended with copious potations of spirituous liquor, he was shocked when I asked him if two bulls made a part of the offering."

GRADATION OF CASTES FROM BARBERS TO SHOEMAKERS.

There is "enumerated a long gradation of castes, chiefly distinguished, as it should seem, by their respective employments, the usefulness of which is of no avail in prevention of the baseness of the classes. Last in the list, and the vilest of all, is that of the dressers of leather and shoemakers, who are never allowed to transfer themselves to the business of the greatly superior classes, of barbers, washermen, and potmakers.

Those whose fate it is to be of the very lowest castes, have the consolation of looking down far below them on the incomparably baser level of Mussulmans and Christians, to partake of whose repasts, or pay any attention to whose women, would be to incur a flagrant pollution and dishonour. And yet, such is the incapacity of superstition to perceive

the most monstrous incongruities, that Hindoo women of all ranks and castes are readily sold as slaves to either Mussulmans or Christians. A master or a parent has the power of selling his slave or child, whose consent is not asked, who thereby loses caste, and who has no alternative but to adopt the religion of her new master.

THE POWER OF SUPERSTITION.

It is marvellous to think, and becomes still more marvellous at every renewed reflection, how wild human animals, that spurn all principles and restraints of justice, and charity, and reason, and common sense, shall yet readily yield to an endless complication of interferences, restrictions, precautions, mulcts, and sacrifices, if but an infernal authority shall advance with these claims upon them. And the demand seems the more readily submitted to in proportion as it multiplies among the people those distinctions and repulsions which make them hate one another: as if the most vital principle of vitality itself were the constant feeling of envying and hating, or despising and hating, other creatures of the same nature.

GOORKA DOMINION OVER THIBET AND BOOTAN.

To what extent the Goorka dominion invades the countries of Thibet and Bootan, seems very undefined; but, at any rate, a great number of people of the races inhabiting those regions, and who are called Bhotiyas, feel its authority. Among these, our author says, there is no distinction of caste. They are Buddhists according to the doctrine or dispensation of Sakya, a Buddha who cared very little, it seems, how much he contradicted his predecessor, Gautama Buddha, who is held the exclusive authority in doctrine by the priests of Ava.

INGENIOUS MODE OF APPLYING FINES.

Our author goes into considerable detail in describing the modes in which law and government were administered in the several states previously to their being absorbed into the domination of the conquering family; specifying also the alterations introduced by the new government, which has placed its Subahs in the stead of the former Rajahs. One is an enormous multiplication of fines for the neglect of cere-

monies. Five-eighths of the sum of these fines go to five families of Brahmins, specially named. But there is a very curious aggravation of the penalty.

"Besides the fine, all delinquents in matters of ceremony, are compelled to entertain a certain number of these five families; the first two fattening on the wicked of the country west from the Narayani; and the other three, on those east from that river. The number to be fed is restricted by the sentence, and the criminal may select those to whom he gives the entertainment, in any manner he pleases, confining himself strictly to the families entitled to participate."

DANGEROUS POWER OF THE GOORKAS.

In this long tract of valleys and mountains the power of the house of Goorka has grown up to be more vigorous by far than any other that now remains on the confines of the British empire in the east; a power which bears a deadly hatred to that empire, and is infallibly destined to renew, with great advantages, and in a fierce and persevering spirit, the trial of its power and stability. Many brisk and aspiring young mortals, here at home and in India, inflated with dreams of fortune or fame, are the appointed victims of the poisoned arrows, the swords, and the fire, of these barbarians, aided by the passes of the mountains, which will also introduce the invaders to the fens of the valleys.

POISONED ARROWS.

Having mentioned poisoned arrows, we shall transcribe the notice of a plant called *Bish* or *Bikh*.

"This dreadful root, of which large quantities are annually imported, is equally fatal whether taken into the stomach, or applied to wounds, and is in universal use throughout India for poisoning arrows. Its importance would indeed seem to require the attention of the magistrate. The Goorkas pretend that it is one of their best securities against invasion from the low countries; and that they could so infect all the waters on the route by which an enemy was advancing, as to occasion his certain destruction. In case of such an attempt, the invaders ought, no doubt, to be on their guard; but the country abounds so in springs, that might soon be cleared, as to render such a mode of defence totally ineffectual, were the enemy aware of the circumstance."

HUMAN CATTLE.

The pastures and forests are in general commons, and any person that pleases may use them. There are, however,

comparatively but few cattle in the country. The Newars do not employ them in agriculture. Of the methods and implements of this agriculture, Dr. Hamilton gives a somewhat detailed account. It is but rudely furnished with implements, but such as they have are used with great dexterity and effect. The exclusive employment of human labour, however,—

“Renders the operations of husbandry so tedious, that at many seasons every person in the family capable of labour must be employed; and as no one can be left to take care of the young children, these must be carried to the field. As this is often at a distance from the house, the poor villager may be seen carrying his infants in two baskets, suspended over his shoulder by a bamboo. In these baskets food is also taken, as the family does not return till night. An oblong mat forms a usual part of what is carried into the field. This mat defends the children, as well as the victuals, from the sun and rain, and is sometimes used by the labourers for the same purposes.”

NATIVE SLAVES.

Most of the domestic servants are slaves, many of them born free, but when children sold by their parents, under the pressure of want. Some of them were of good families, which the Rajah, by an act of his will, degraded to slavery, on the allegation of some crime or other. The slaves of private persons are ill-fed and hardly wrought, the females particularly, who are treated with the most detestable iniquity, and in a way calculated to render them as vicious as they are miserable.

THE CESSION OF JAVA TO THE DUTCH.*

JAVA is no longer an object of any *direct* concern to this country. Had it remained in our possession, to become another large province of the eastern empire, and an additional source of good or evil to this nation, there might have been a plea for feeling some difficulty in determining *what* particulars of information should be accounted too insignificant for admission. But Java is gone out of *our* map, and merely stands in that of the wide world, like Cuba, or any other remote dependency of a foreign sovereignty.

* The History of Java. By Thomas Stamford Raffles, late Lieut.-Governor of that Island and its Dependencies. Two vols. 8to. 1817.

Our author's Introduction deduces the history of the possession of the island by the Dutch, and displays its utter worthlessness, to them as well as to itself, during its long period of occupancy. Now that they have it again, it is probable they will be particularly scrupulous that their restored government shall not reflect, by improvement and contrast, any disgrace on the character of the old management. And our author will have to hear, at his station on the neighbouring island of Sumatra, how the good which had begun to spring and unfold itself so hopefully under his beneficent care, has perished under the rival but co-operating malignities of Paganism, Mohammedanism, and Dutch policy.

We are not saying this from any indignant feeling at the loss of Java by this country. If that event is to be regretted, it is on account of the ill-fated inhabitants. For as to our acquisition of large portions of new territory in the East, we have learnt to regard such aggrandisements with sentiments of almost unmingled dread. The long story of acquisition, there has been such a sad account of wars, of waste of the national strength, and of all manner of corruptions both abroad and at home, that a good patriot would be glad to wait through a very long interval of improving wisdom and virtue, before one acre more of Asiatic earth should be added to the British dominions.

If, however, anything in the East might have been coveted as a possession, on account of its physical recommendations, it would have been Java, according to the description given of it by its late intelligent Governor, and by those friends and agents, especially Dr. Horsfield, who employed years of assiduous attention in surveying and examining it. In vegetable productions it is exceedingly rich, and they are of a diversity appropriate to several distinct climates.

THE SUPPOSED INSALUBRITY OF JAVA.

The opinion commonly entertained in this country of the insalubrity of Java, has been very much formed from what is so notorious of that great sepulchre, Batavia ; a spot selected as if for the very purpose of affording the greatest facility to the visits, or rather of providing for the constant abode, of pestilence and death. To whatever Nature had

already done to render the place noxious, the Dutch governors thought it necessary to add sundry adjustments and regulations tending to the shortening of life.

It is acknowledged that many parts of the northern coast of the island, which is generally very low, and much polluted with swamps, are incurably unhealthy. But a retreat inland, upon the ground gradually and gently rising towards the central mountains, gains a sensible alteration for the better at almost every league.

"The great elevation of its interior affords the rare advantage, that from the sea shore up to the tops of the mountains, there is, almost from the one end of the island to the other, a regular diminution of the temperature, at the rate of two or three degrees of Fahrenheit for every ten miles. The general inference which has been drawn by professional men, from the experience which the occupation of Java by the British has afforded, is, that with the exception of the town of Batavia, and some parts of the northern coast, the island of Java stands on a level, in point of salubrity, with the healthiest parts of British India, or of any tropical country in the world."

EXTENSIVE VOLCANOES IN JAVA. !

The structure and aspect of the island are rendered very remarkable by a grand range of mountains, running nearly along the middle, through almost its whole length. They are not a continuous ridge, but have distinct bases, and rise majestically in a conical form, to the noble elevation of from five to eleven or twelve thousand feet. They are pronounced to be (as indeed the whole island) of volcanic origin. Several of them may be considered as in a state of activity, as almost constantly throwing out smoke: and there are eruptions on comparatively recent record; one so late as the year 1800. The history of one of the volcanoes is, that having formerly been one of the largest in the island, it literally sank, for the greatest part, into the earth, in 1772.

"The account of this event is, that near midnight, between the 11th and 12th of August, there was observed about the mountain an uncommonly luminous cloud, by which it appeared to be completely enveloped. The inhabitants, as well about the foot as on the declivities of the mountain, alarmed by this appearance, betook themselves to flight; but before they could all save themselves, the mountain began to give way, and the greatest part

of it actually *fell in*, and disappeared in the earth. At the same time a tremendous noise was heard, resembling the discharge of the heaviest cannon. Immense quantities of volcanic substances, which were thrown out at the same time and spread in every direction, propagated the effects of the explosion through the space of many miles. It is estimated that an extent of ground, of the mountain itself and its immediate environs, fifteen miles long and full six broad, was by this commotion swallowed up in the bowels of the earth. Forty villages and about 3,000 of the inhabitants perished."

THE GREAT ERUPTION OF THE TOMBORO.

There was also an eruption of the Tomboro Mountain, in Sumbawa, an island considerably to the eastward of Java, in the year 1815. The magnitude of the phenomena of this eruption, and the prodigious distance to which they extended, would seem to characterize it as one of the most tremendous that can ever have happened on the globe; greatly surpassing anything recorded of the power and violence of Etna.

"This eruption extended perceptible evidence of its existence to a circumference of a thousand miles from its centre, by tremulous motions and the report of explosions; while within the range of its more immediate activity, embracing a circumference of three hundred miles, it produced the most astonishing effects, and excited the most alarming apprehensions. On Java, at the distance of three hundred miles, it seemed to be awfully present. The sky was overcast at noon-day with clouds of ashes, the sun was enveloped in an atmosphere whose 'palpable' density he was unable to penetrate; showers of ashes covered the houses, the streets, and the fields, to the depth of several inches; and amid this darkness, explosions were heard at intervals."

It is mentioned, that the sound was heard at a place so far westward in Sumatra as to be at a distance of nearly a thousand miles from the volcano. It is unnecessary to say, that much of the island of Sumbawa itself was dreadfully ruined and desolated.

THE TEAK FORESTS OF JAVA.

Notwithstanding the extent to which cultivation has been carried in many districts of Java, large portions, it seems, are still covered with primeval forests, affording excellent timber. The most valuable of these is the teak. The Dutch,

in their solicitude that the supply of this timber might not fail, formed extensive plantations of the tree. But it is stated, that it flourishes less, and affords worse timber, as thus carefully cultivated, and in a good soil, than in its wild growth in the worst soil. "The tree is slender and erect. It shoots up with considerable vigour and rapidity, but its expansion is slow, and it is many years in arriving at maturity. Under favourable circumstances, a growth of from twenty to twenty-five years, affords a tree, having about twelve inches diameter at the base. It requires at least a century to attain its perfection; but for common purposes it is usually felled when between thirty and fifty years old." It is not a little strange that, as far as information has yet been obtained, this valuable tree, so plentiful in Java, is not to be found on the peninsula of Malacca, or on Sumatra.

THE JAVAN POISON TREES.

The mortification which some of our readers may possibly feel at having that most stimulant and captivating story of the Upas proved to be but a fable, will be somewhat alleviated by the information that there are, nevertheless, one or two vegetables in Java of very mortal malignity—of a power which would have appeared delightfully direful, if the imagination had not previously been so highly excited by the fell magnificence of the pretended Upas. A tree named *anchar*, and a large winding shrub called *chetik*, afford, in a juice resembling milk, drawn from the bark of the one, and in a decoction of the balm of the root of the other, a poison almost as quickly destructive to life, as the gum from the Upas was described to be in the mendacious story of Foersch. A description is given, by Dr. Horsfield, of both these productions, in which a mortal virulence, the very spirit of death, assumes the attractive exterior of verdure and bloom. They perfectly keep the peace, it appears, with the rest of the vegetable tribe, which flourish in their close vicinity, forming a complete reverse of that blasted waste, which was described as attesting, to a great distance on all sides, the noxious effluvia of the Upas. The natives long since found out so excellent an ally for the work of death as lurked within these plants, and went to their wars

with arrows dipped in the poison. The preparation from the *chetik* is the more intensely virulent. The two poisons attack the vital system in very different modes. Both are illustrated by the recorded results of a number of experiments on animals, several of which died in a very few minutes after the puncture by which the virus was introduced into the system.

The animal kingdom maintains its rivalry with these honours of the vegetable one, in twenty kinds of serpents reputed poisonous. There are also rhinoceroses, tigers, leopards, crocodiles, and some inferior animals of the hostile character. The invaluable buffalo is the set-off to this account of infesters and destroyers.

TARTAR ORIGIN OF THE JAVANESE.

The people of Java, in common with the inhabitants of the whole Indian Archipelago, from Sumatra on the west, to Celebes on the east, bear in their features the marks of a Tartar origin, though the dates and track of their progress from the north to these regions of the equator are lost to history. For their national visage, according to the description here given, and accompanied by excellent delineation from the pencil of Mr. Daniell, exhibits a most unfortunate version of the countenances which smiled and bloomed in the garden of Eden; if we may admit any presumption what those countenances were, from the most graceful and dignified forms in which the human visage has been subsequently displayed in living nature or in the works of art.

This general sameness of the race has been modified by time, locality, and circumstances, into the three great national distinctions, of the Malays, Bugis, and Javans. The last of these, that is to say the people of Java, are represented as having the precedence in the better qualities and the improvements of human nature, and as approaching near to a state of civilization. This is deemed to have been the result of the greater fertility of the soil of Java, in consequence of which the population became more numerous, the inhabitants were withheld from the roving piratical habits to which the other nations were given, and the visits of more enlightened strangers were directed by preference to this island; all which contributed to a greater improvement in arts, a more

regulated mode of life, and a somewhat milder cast of character and manners, than had been created among the kindred barbarians of the other great islands on the right hand and the left.

A YELLOW COMPLEXION AND BLACK TEETH THE TYPE OF JAVANESE BEAUTY.

"In complexion, the Javanese may be considered rather as a yellow than as a copper-coloured or black race. Their standard of beauty in this respect is a 'virgin gold colour.'"

The appearance of the women is generally inferior to that of the men. This is partly ascribed to the severe hardship of their relative condition ; for, after the true barbarian model, they are doomed to the slavery of carrying heavy burdens, and labouring in the field under the oppressive heat of the climate.

"It is part of the domestic economy, that the women of the family should provide the cloths necessary for their apparel ; and from the first consort of the sovereign to the wife of the lowest peasant the same rule is observed. In every cottage there is a spinning-wheel and loom ; and in all ranks a man is accustomed to pride himself on the beauty of a cloth woven either by his wife, mistress, or daughter."

"In common with the Sumatrans, and other inhabitants of the Archipelago and southern part of the peninsula, both sexes, of all ranks, have the custom of blackening and filing the teeth, it being considered as disgraceful to allow them to remain 'white like a dog's.' The operation is performed when the children are about eight or nine years old, and is a very painful one. The object is to make the front teeth concave, and by filing away the enamel, to render them better adapted for receiving the black dye. This extraordinary and barbarous custom tends to destroy the teeth at an early age, and with the use of tobacco, *siri*, and lime, which are continually chewed, greatly disfigures the mouth."

EARLY MARRIAGES AND FACILITIES OF DIVORCE.

The males commonly marry as early as the age of sixteen ; the women at thirteen or fourteen, and sometimes even at nine or ten. There is the most easy license for divorce, and separations and new connexions seem to be but among the ordinary occurrences of society. This facility of change is a satisfactory substitute to the people for the privilege of polygamy, which is confined to the sovereign and

the chiefs. The most remarkable circumstances in the affair is, that it does not, according to our author, occasion any abandonment or neglect of the children of the preceding marriage. They are always considered, he says, as a kind of property well worth taking care of. The cost of their support is a perfectly trifling consideration, where everything wanted to eat is poured out in boundless profusion by the soil and the trees; and after a very short childhood they become useful, the females as well as the males, in rural occupation. It is said that though these matrimonial connexions are so precarious, they have the effect of preventing licentiousness, while they last. "The nuptial tie," says our author, "is rather brittle than loose." Marriage is so nearly universal, that "an unmarried man past twenty is seldom to be met with."

CHEAPNESS OF HOUSES.

Our builders and carpenters may be allowed to feel some puzzle and amazement at hearing, that the materials and architecture of a habitation for a peasant cost from five to ten shillings, English money, that the house of a petty chief (call him a squire), stands in from thirty-five to forty shillings, and that the 'largest class of houses' (or mansions) in which the chiefs and nobles reside, absorb the sum of from ten to fifteen pounds sterling. The cottages are never found detached and solitary, but always unite to form villages of greater or less extent, according to the fertility of the neighbouring plain, abundance of stream, or other accidental circumstances.

PICTURESQUE GROUPING OF THE VILLAGES OF JAVA.

In the first establishment of such a village, each cottager secures to himself a small piece of ground for a garden or plantation, which he cultivates with assiduous care, and of which the produce is absolutely his own, and exempted from contribution or burden. A most essential part of this cultivation is to raise trees which may afford both fruit and shade.

"The villages thus become completely screened from the rays of a scorching sun, and are so buried amid the foliage of a luxuriant vegetation, that at a small distance no appearance of

a human dwelling can be discovered, and the residence of a numerous society appears only a verdant grove, or a clump of evergreens. Nothing can exceed the beauty or the interest, which such detached masses of verdure, scattered over the face of the country, and indicating each the abode of a collection of happy peasantry, add to scenery otherwise rich, whether viewed on the sides of the mountains, in the narrow vales, or on the extensive plains. In the last case, during the season of irrigation, when the rice fields are inundated, they appear like so many small islands rising out of the water."

All the large towns, even the capitals, are formed on the same plan. The metropolis of the chief native government, with more than 100,000 inhabitants, may be termed an assemblage or group of numerous villages, rather than what in European countries would be called a town or city. The villages, whether large or small, are fenced in by strong hedges of *bamboo*, and other quick growing plants.

THE JAVANESE AN AGRICULTURAL PEOPLE.

The Javanese are decidedly an agricultural people, and the proportion of them so employed, as compared with those occupied in all the other branches of industry, is calculated to be nearly four to one.

"To the crop the mechanic looks immediately for his wages, the soldier for his pay, the magistrate for his salary, the priest for his stipend, and the government for its tribute. The wealth of a province or village is measured by the extent and fertility of its land, its facilities for rice irrigation, and the number of its buffaloes. When government wishes to raise supplies from particular districts, it does not inquire how many dollars or rupees it can raise in taxes, but what contribution of rice or maize it can afford, and the impost is assessed accordingly.

"Yet over far the greater part, seven-eighths of the island, the soil is either entirely neglected or badly cultivated, and the population scanty. It is by the produce of the remaining eighth that the whole nation is supported; and it is probable, if it were all under cultivation, no area of land of the same extent in any other quarter of the globe, could exceed it, either in quantity, variety, and value, of its vegetable productions."

THE COMMERCE OF JAVA.

The exposition which our author has made of the commerce of Java and the other eastern islands, is a display

of very great natural and local capabilities, and of almost all manner of bad policy, perversity, iniquity, and ill success. He exhibits the Dutch commercial system as founded on the most stupid and barbarous principles, and prosecuted in a spirit and manner the most cruel and mischievous to the inhabitants of these islands, while it was justly unprofitable, on the whole, to its prosecutors. We behold monopoly, interference, and extortion, in all their worst forms; the villany of Chinese management; the immense faculties, so to call them, for the production of the materials for commerce, lying dormant; the people deterred from industry, and arrested and stopped, age after age, at the limit of a mere physical subsistence; the surrounding seas swept by pirates: the shores occupied by their forts, or ravaged by their inroads; and an active slave trade forming a leading part of the commerce, and infusing its baneful quality into all the rest. The various subjects of traffic are enumerated, with a great deal of clear and useful information respecting them.

EDIBLE BIRDS'-NESTS.

The most curious article in the account is, the edible birds'-nests, so violently in demand among the epicures of China. Java is less productive of this luxury than some of the other islands of the archipelago, yet furnishes a very considerable supply. There are some highly entertaining particulars of information respecting this most singular production, as to the sort of situation chosen by the birds, the circumstances distinguishing the greater and less degrees of daintiness, and therefore money value, of the article, and the kind of management required for regulating the plunder so as to obtain a good quantity, and yet not provoke the builders to forsake their favourite haunts.

The system of improvement introduced in Java during the short British administration there, was conspicuous in the emancipated and enlarging operations of commerce. A dubious hope is expressed by our author, that the restored Dutch government may have the sense to proceed, in some degree at least, in the spirit of this improvement. But as to the general character of the traffic among these fine islands, there is a perfect certainty it will long continue to be a combination of all the roguery, adventure, restriction, extortion,

and violence, compatible with its maintaining at all its diminutive existence.

THE GOVERNMENT AND RELIGION OF JAVA.

The constitution and operation of the government, in the portion of the island independent of European authority, is a matter utterly below all curiosity. An absolute monarch, sunk in voluptuous indolence, with a gaudy and profligate court around him, and a crafty miscreant of a prime minister to manage the affairs of the kingdom—is just the old Asiatic story over again. As to the judicial administrations, the courts have the Koran for their code of law, modified by some old usages of the country. That book is also the grand religious authority of the island. It is about three centuries since the Javanese were converted to Mohammedanism.

“Of all the nations who have adopted that creed they are among the most recent converts; and it may be safely added, that few others are so little acquainted with its doctrines, and partake so little of its zeal and intolerance. The consequence is, that although the Mohammedan law be in some instances followed, and it be considered a point of honour to profess an adherence to it, it has not entirely superseded the ancient superstitions and local customs of the country. They are thus open to the accumulated delusion of two religious systems.”

To the more ancient portion of their superstition, we presume, are to be referred their solemn faith in omens, and their observance of lucky and unlucky times. That more ancient superstition was the same that still enslaves the millions of Hindostan; and it appears to have reigned supreme in Java, embodied in the temporal form of an empire, from an unknown age, till that late period when the Prophet assumed the ostensible ascendancy, but on such terms, it seems, of tacit compromise with the then reigning superstition, that it has remained to this day doubtful, whether the people may not more properly be denominated Pagans than Mohammedans. Without any serious misnomer, we may speak of them under either one denomination or the other. Our author thinks that a perfect freedom of foreign intercourse would draw to the island a great number of fanatical Arabs, who, assuming a character of sanctity, and exerting themselves with a sort of missionary zeal, would

easily acquire so imposing an influence over the yielding and credulous minds of the people, as to stamp a much more decidedly Mohammedan character on multitudes of them. In just this one point, therefore, he thinks the jealous exclusive policy of the Dutch, which kept those Arabs out, was beneficial to the island ; not, as he remarks, that these Christian governors cared, as a matter simply of *religion*, how much more complete the Mohammedan character of their subjects might become ; but they dreaded, with good reason, the political consequences of such an influence and confirmed faith.

POMPEII.*

THE disclosure to the light of day, of a city which was shrouded from human sight far towards two thousand years ago, with almost the suddenness of a curtain falling before a scene, is unquestionably one of the most remarkable circumstances in the history of the world. It would have been so, even though the spectacle thus unveiled had consisted solely of objects of the same order as those which have remained in full view from ancient times,—the structures of a public character, which suggested to the imagination ideas of the people as viewed in the aggregate, as assembled in their civil or martial capacity, or in their games, or their superstitions. Such ideas come with great force on a contemplative mind while beholding the remains of the ancient temples, theatres, and massive fortresses, which have continued conspicuous on the surface of the earth, not enveloped in any shade but the mysterious gloom of ages. Still more striking would be the view of any monuments of this public class that should be disclosed to our sight after having been veiled from all human inspection for eighteen centuries. In their aspects thus presented to our contemplation, the character of high antiquity, with all its impressive associations, would derive an aggravation of solemn and magical

* Pompeiana : the Topography, Edifices, and Ornaments of Pompeii. By Sir William Gell and John P. Gandy, Architect. Royal 8vo. 1817—1819.

effect from the idea of this long sepulchral seclusion from the gaze and knowledge of man. Their having existed in perfect separation from forty generations of men, inhabiting the tract around them and over them, would seem to exhibit them in far more intimate and absolute association with the ancient race to which they had belonged.

REFLECTIONS ON THE SUDDEN REVEALMENT OF PAST AGES.

The accidental restoration to light of two Roman cities, but especially Pompeii, in so nearly the same state as when they were suddenly concealed from view, disclosed a scene in which the moderns might do all but literally hold converse with the ancient inhabitants. The wondering visitant, with his imagination full of the history of the proudest and mightiest of nations, might actually step into their shops, enter their most private apartments, and place himself on one of the seats, which was put just at that spot on the floor when the empire was in the zenith of its magnificence, and has not been moved since that time. He might take up one of the domestic utensils, as a jug or a cup for wine, a dish, a lamp, or one of the irons for stirring the fire, and reflect that it had been last handled and applied to its use, by a Roman, when the Cæsars and the legions commanded the world. He might take up a mirror, or some ornaments of dress, just as they had been laid down out of the hands of ladies, since the moment of whose handling them ten thousand millions of their sex have bloomed and gone to the grave. We are supposing him to enter one of these habitations before any of its ancient contents have been removed; and we really can believe that a man of strong imagination might, for some moments, be so beguiled by the scene, that he should feel as if taking advantage of the absence of the family, and as if some of them might happen to return and find him intruding into their apartments. The rooms and utensils seem waiting for the return of the owners; meanwhile, the whole vast series of the events of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire has been accomplished, and even become remote history. The stools, the cups, the rings, the pins, the box for ointment, have remained just where they were put down, while Eternal Rome has dwindled to a melancholy and inconsiderable town.

COMMENDATORY NOTICE OF SIR WM. GELL'S POMPEIANA.

There are very few things which those of us who must stay at home in this age of general travelling, think of with so much envy of the privileged rovers, as a few days' sojourn among the solitary abodes of Pompeii. Denied this great luxury of inspecting the reality, we are duly sensible of our obligations to those men of taste, industry, and attainment in art and antiquity, who could apply their whole attention, with long assiduity, to investigate, describe, and delineate those striking spectacles.

No examiner and delineator of Pompeii could be better qualified than the gentlemen whose names give a pledge for the judicious selection and correct exhibition of the ample series of subjects in this volume. It is a work of great value and beauty, and cannot fail to obtain the favour of that very considerable portion of the cultivated public which is interested by the memorials of remote ages.

The engravings, all in the line manner, are mostly by Charles Heath, and highly finished; but there are several beautiful ones by George Cooke, and some well executed outlines by Henry Moses.

DIFFICULTIES OF EXCAVATING HERCULANEUM.

In reference to the subterranean antiquities within the district of Vesuvius, every one will have observed how much more is said of the Pompeian than of the Herculanian discoveries. The case is, that but small progress, comparatively, has been made or attempted in the excavation of Herculaneum: indeed, Sir W. Gell says it is now discontinued. The operation was exceedingly difficult and toilsome, in consequence of the great depth (from sixty to more than a hundred feet) at which that city is buried, and of the much harder quality of the superincumbent substances, consisting of vast strata of stony mud and lava. Many objects of curiosity have indeed been discovered and brought up; but there is no such thing as laying the city open to the light. Nor are there any extensive cavern spaces to be viewed by going down, as the excavation has been carried on by conveying the materials removed at each stage into the space which had previously been cleared. Some of the

travellers who have descended, have described the scene below as having the appearance of a gloomy and hideous pit. Pompeii, on the contrary, was lost under but a thin covering of ashes and pumice, with a smaller proportion of mud and pebbles.

THE VARIOUS STRATA WHICH COVER POMPEII.

"The excavations afford an opportunity of observing, that the ruin of Pompeii was not effected by an uniform shower of cinders, or pumice-stones. A section, near the amphitheatre, gives the general proportions of the mass under which the city is buried to the depth of about twenty feet. Separating the whole into five portions, we shall find the first three to consist of pumice-stone in small pieces resembling a light white cinder, and covering the pavement to the depth of twelve feet: the next portion is composed of six parts, beginning with a stratum of small black stones, not more than three inches in thickness: to this succeeds a thin layer of mud, or earth which has been mixed with water, and appears to have been deposited in a liquid state; upon this lies another thin stratum of little stones, of a mixed hue, in which blue predominates; a second stratum of mud, separated from a third by a thin wavy line of mixed blue stones, completes the fourth portion; while the fifth or highest division consists entirely of vegetable earth, principally formed by the gradual decomposition of the volcanic matter from the date of the eruption to the present day."

The disappearance of the city was not so entire, at the time of its destruction, as we have been accustomed to imagine. The deposition of volcanic matter was not of a depth to cover the higher parts of the greater structures, or even, in many cases, of the more ordinary ones. It appears that the upper stories of many of the houses must have been left prominent above the surface, to be demolished for the materials, or to be reduced to rubbish, and ultimately covered with vegetation, in the lapse of time. In many parts of the city, however, the upper stories were covered, and therefore have been preserved; but they seem to have been of very inferior consequence to the apartments on the ground-floor. A small part of the top of the wall of one of the great public buildings has always remained in sight; but, till accident revealed the secret, it had been considered as only the relic of some structure founded on the surface.

ACCIDENTAL DISCOVERY OF POMPEII.

"The ruins of Pompeii might have been observed by any traveller along the road. No one, however, would have suspected how rich a mine of antiquities existed here, until a labourer, in the middle of the last century, found, in ploughing, a statue of brass; which circumstance being reported to the government, was one of the causes which led to the first excavations; and subsequently the accidental discovery of the temple of Isis, while some workmen were employed in the construction of a subterraneous aqueduct, contributed to confirm the expectations which had been excited. Since that period the operations have always been carrying on, with more or less activity, so that by degrees the whole will be cleared."

In the rooms around the square called the Soldiers' Quarters, were found the decayed bones of legs and arms retained by iron fetters. Near the gate towards Naples, in a recess, was found a skeleton grasping a lance,—no doubt a sentinel, whom the terrors of earthquake and volcano could not drive from his post. In a room near the temple of Isis, was a skeleton, near which was a plate containing fish bones, while the utensils used in cooking that fish were discovered in the kitchen. In a recent excavation near the Forum, on the removal of the new soil, about eighteen inches thick, "a body was found scarcely covered with the volcanic matter, being ten feet above the ancient pavement: wrapped in a cloth were 360 pieces of silver, 42 bronze, and 8 small imperial gold coins."

STRIKING MEMORIALS OF THE ERUPTION.

Very striking memorials have occurred, of the gradual accumulation of the mass formed by these showers, and of the fate of such of the inhabitants as could not escape from the city, in the circumstance of skeletons found many feet above the ancient level. The victims had continued to struggle upward through the deepening stratum of ashes and mud. In one instance this had been done by a female, of whose bosom the mould, impressed in the substance which had subsequently hardened around her, is shown in the Museum of Portici.

OSTENTATION OF SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS.

Before describing the sepulchral structures and monuments

of Pompeii, Sir William adverts to the notions, feelings, customs, and enacted regulations of the Romans respecting the dead, and gives an interesting representation of their funeral rites and commemorations. In general, they were very desirous to have their tombs placed in conspicuous and public situations, especially by the side of the great roads in the vicinity of towns. It is striking and affecting thus to behold them seeking to relieve the gloom which oppressed their spirits in their hopeless darkness, or vague, cheerless superstition, respecting a future state, by expedients for making it unavoidable that those who should be alive when they were dead, should see their names, and perhaps sometimes talk of them.

There were at the same time some in whom either pride or a certain refinement of sentiment, repressed this desire of a vulgar publicity of their names, and these had burial places at their country-houses.

This feeling, expressed in contrariety to the general passion for monumental exposure, is beyond all comparison in better taste. It is far more consonant to the solemnity of death, as a total, final withdrawment from the active system of the world. How obvious, too, is the greater congeniality of a seclusion of the memorials of the departed, with the sacredness of a pensive, affectionate remembrance in the surviving friends! Still, if we consider the natural effect of having no decided hold by faith of a future world, in combination with that instinctive reluctance to let go entirely the present state, which even Christian hope can seldom wholly suspend, we shall not greatly wonder at the eagerness to retain every possible connexion with the busy scene. We shall not, therefore, wonder that in the prospect of leaving it, so many of those dark heathen spirits should have solicitously provided memorials to retain them in some kind of fancied presence in its most thronged social situations.

SINGULAR FUNERAL CEREMONY.

There is one of the enumerated modes of monumental celebration, of which it really is not easy to conceive how it could be felt compatible with any dignified ideas of death and departed excellence. According to our associations with

the subject, it would inevitably bear the character of a burlesque show, instead of a solemn commemoration. This was the custom of bringing out, as a part of the funeral ceremonies for persons recently deceased, waxen busts, which had been made in resemblance of the ancestors of those persons, to be publicly exhibited, in the robes and with the insignia appropriate to their offices and dignities, and drawn in chariots to the forum, there to be placed "in the same curule chairs with which when alive they had been privileged." The orator for the occasion, when he had exhausted all the topics of eulogy of the person lately dead, went back to celebrate the virtues and exploits of those former personages whose images were thus exposed in ludicrous pomp, endeavouring to make their examples and honours an incitement to the virtuous ambition of the descendants and all the beholders.

DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE OF POMPEII.

As that enchanted feeling with which we go back into ancient times, seeks to bring us in contact with the beings of those times *as living*, and as divested of all public formality and pomp, the thoughtful and imaginative visitant of the city will feel an intense interest in the inspection of the dwelling-houses. But, if he should advance to this inspection with his fancy filled with images of Roman magnificence, and prepared to find something of a majestic character adhering to everything in the economy of that imperial nation, he will feel a strange disappointment in viewing the abodes which contented the generality of these partakers of the empire of the world.

In the detailed description of a house of quite the aristocratic order, that of Pansa, it is noticed that,—

"No fire-place exists, nor do any flues remain, by which the house could have been warmed by means of a stove, *præfurnium*, or hypercaust; for this purpose, in all probability, only braziers were used, with charcoal, as they are frequently found."

One of the chief of the many circumstances of difference between this ancient domestic architecture and the modern, is the internal court, round which the apartments were arranged, and lighted entirely from within, so that the

exterior presented only a dead wall. The inducements to the adoption of this plan were, seclusion from observation, protection, and jealousy as to the female portion of the family. The apartments for the accommodation of private life, appear to have been what we should deem very inconveniently small, even in those houses of the more stately rank which had circumstances of exterior magnificence. They were, however, highly ornamented.

"The smallest apartments were lined with stucco, painted in the most brilliant and endless variety of colours, in compartments, simply tinted with a light ground, surrounded by a border, sometimes embellished with a single figure, or subject, in the centre, or at equal distances, and everywhere exhibiting that taste each individual of Pompeii seems to have been anxious to display. These paintings were very frequently of history, but embrace every variety of subject, some of the most exquisite beauty. Greek artists seem to have been employed; indeed, native painters were few, while the former everywhere abounded.

"The doors, formed of wood, are never found complete; this material, being always reduced to carbon, and retaining only the general form. They revolved upon pivots, and were fastened by bolts, which hung from chains. The windows were sometimes glazed [a glazed bow-window was found in one instance]; they were closed at night by shutters, not too well put together; but the gaping chinks were covered with curtains. Of wood were also the bedsteads, though sometimes of iron; but beds were more generally made merely of carpets and vests spread upon the ground."

HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE AND IMPLEMENTS FOUND AT POMPEII.

"It does not enter within the plan of this work to give detailed accounts of every article of household furniture or convenience found at Pompeii; suffice it to say, that almost every variety has been found and placed in the museum of Portici. Implements of silver, brass, stone, earthenware vases of all sizes, adapted to every use, whether sacred or profane; trumpets, bells, gridirons, colanders, saucepans, some lined with silver, kettles, ladles, moulds for jelly or pastry, urns for keeping water hot, upon the principle of the modern tea-urn, lanterns with horn, spits; in short, almost every article of kitchen or other furniture now in use, except forks. Chains, bolts, portable fire-places, with contrivances for heating water; dice (some said to be loaded); a complete toilet, with combs, thimbles, rings, paint,

ear-rings, with pearls; pins for the hair, but no diamonds; almonds, dates, nuts, figs, grapes, eggs, raisins, and chestnuts. Also a loaf of bread, eight inches diameter, with a stamp expressing its quality and the baker's name."

ROGER WILLIAMS, THE AMERICAN PILGRIM.*

WHATCHEER was a salutation from a tribe of savages to a family of Christian exiles, uttered at a time and place which gave it an important significance. The denomination *Whatcheer Cove*, then given to the spot, and still retained, has contributed to perpetuate the tradition.

The scenes are laid chiefly among the savages, such as those tribes were some two centuries since.

The doom of that race, progressively accomplishing from the commencement of the colony, and now proceeding with accelerated rapidity towards its consummation, appears an anomalous as well as a mournful chapter of human history. That a numerous section of the human race, in full and immemorial possession of a vast continent, of a high-toned and intrepid temperament, and well endowed with mental faculty, must absolutely, inevitably, perish under the progressive ascendancy of civilization on their territories, would have been a prediction to bring into more than doubt the pretensions of any oracle that should have ventured to pronounce it. Could anything have appeared less probable, than that the arrival on their coast of a small party of virtuous and religious men, self-exiled for conscience' sake, bringing with them the useful arts, the principles of civil society, and the true religion, should be the signal for the destruction of all the primitive race, from one side of the continent to the other?

To a great extent it has already been accomplished. Some tribes, of magnitude enough in numbers, power, and extent of domain, to be called nations, have wholly perished. Of others there exist only relics, degraded, forlorn, and gradually dwindling away, under the effects of ardent spirits,

* *Whatcheer*; or, *Roger Williams in Banishment: a Poem*. By Job Durfee, Esq., late Member of Congress, and now Judge of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island. Providence, Rhode Island. 1832.

aggravated diseases, mutual slaughters, and the rapid encroachments of the white invaders of the forests. Recent accounts inform us of the prevalence, in the western tracts, of an intensely malignant pestilence, resembling the Black Death which once half desolated Europe. It kills its victims in two hours. It has almost wholly destroyed several minor tribes, and made frightful ravages in the larger; among others the Black Feet and the Crows, who make so conspicuous a figure in some of Washington Irving's interesting memoir-romances.

THE ABORIGINES GRADUALLY EXTERMINATED BY THE
MARCH OF CIVILIZATION.

But the grand comprehensive agent of destruction is the continual advance, on the whole line of the middle regions of the continent, of the European race, occupying, within each short term of years, some millions of acres more of what had been the inheritance of the Indians from their forefathers. Enfeebled in numbers, and broken in spirit, the tribes retreat westward, under an impulsion of which the peremptory nature is but thinly disguised in the semblance of a cession by sale. They fall back to become in their turn invaders of the territories of other nations, or to perish in conflicts for hunting grounds, without which they cannot exist. It costs the government nothing to make a plausible representation to them of vast tracts unappropriated; pretending to guarantee the possession. They will be sure to find claimants there, who may fairly allege, that they were no parties to the treaty or bargain which has sent these aliens to share their forests, and devour the game. But it will signify little to them in the end whether they combat or combine; for the movement threatens them all, and can know no limit or pause. At no very distant time, the remoter tribes will begin to feel the pressure coming on them of the same irresistible power. And if, forced backward from one river, forest, and prairie, after another, they shall think to make the mighty range of the Rocky Mountains the final barrier between them and the insatiable monopolist, the next generations of them are destined to find that its ridges, snows, and formidable defiles, have not availed; so that they have nothing at last behind them but plainly the Pacific Ocean. The collective race is doomed to

extinction. Their wild nature never will, with trifling exceptions, submit to a fixed and industrious state of life, which, in spite of all the benefits they see attending it, they regard as both a misery and a dishonour. But even if they could be brought to overcome their repugnance, and make trial of the change, they would do it under such disadvantages, in comparison and competition with the intrusive occupants of their country, as no fortitude of such ill-prepared cultivators could bear them through.

RECESSION OF WILD ANIMALS CONCURRENT WITH THE ADVANCE OF CIVILIZATION.

While abandoned irretrievably to their roving, hunting, and fighting, the Indians suffer not only by the encroachment on their ancient territory, but by a disaster which falls on that which they nominally retain. It is a remarkable circumstance that the wild animals, the main resource of savages, retire as by some instinct at the approach of the civilized population, even when yet at a great distance; retreating hundreds of miles away from the operations and noises disturbing their wilderness. So that no small part of the lands successively ceded had, previously, become nearly useless to the Indians for affording their indispensable subsistence. This retreat of their means of living, so far beyond the actual limit of the invading cultivation, might well be mistaken by the superstitious savages for the effect of some power of sorcery, or intervention of a malignant spirit, operating in advance of the race come to supplant them.

APOLOGY FOR COLONIZATION.

The question arises—what must or can be done with or for the irreclaimable aborigines, by a powerful civilized nation of colonists. No one, we suppose, will be so romantic in philanthropy as to insist, that a vast portion of the earth is to be held sacred in perpetuity to some wild hordes of human creatures, of a number that, in a civilized condition—the condition which man was intended for—might subsist and flourish on a hundredth part of the space. By such a rule what would our own island have been at this time? Ought the Anglo-Americans, rapidly augmenting in numbers, turning the desert into fruitful fields, carrying with them in their advance a civilized polity,

cultivation of mind, useful ever-growing knowledge, and the lights of religion—ought they, on arriving at a particular brook, or touching the edge of some forest or savannah, to feel themselves arrested there, in deference to an inviolable right of a certain band of savages, who might come to that neighbourhood once or twice a year to hunt buffaloes? Ought they to feel themselves so arrested as to be precluded from progressively appropriating the ground by purchase; to be forbidden to think of it, as foreseeing that the acquirement of the territory would inevitably cause a bearing back of the tribe on other tribes, and produce conflict and destruction? Ought they, instead of pursuing their course, to recoil on themselves, to seek out lines and corners not so tabooed, and expend their labour on bogs and sterile spots, where the aboriginal hunters' right would not be infringed? Are they bound to believe that the claims of man to the use of the earth are incomparably the largest in that portion of the species which can make the least use of it, and which sink the nearest to a level with the irrational animals that share possession with them; only surpassing the most ferocious of those animals in propensity to riot in combat, carnage, and torture? We think not. It would doubtless, however, be their duty to cast about for any practicable means of redeeming such degraded members of the human family from their wretched condition; although the experiment would assuredly be met by direct and powerful cause of frustration in the very circumstance, of the boundless desert, their patrimony, being left and secured to them clear of intrusion. Such unconfined scope for their roving existence would serve to perpetuate their barbarous condition, transmitted from their ancestors, and every individual of them would continue to be trained in it; acquiring and inheriting a disposition abhorrent confinement and regular labour.

THE TIMES OF THE RED MEN.

The author carries us back to a time when red men presented an improving spectacle. The tribes were powerful in numbers. The ancestral pride of independence and valour sat on their brow, frowning contempt on tillers of the soil, the toiling slaves of workshops, the degraded

creatures who could submit all the year round to be immured in houses and towns, or limited to the petty circle of a plantation. They retained the pristine order of society ; the customs, ceremonies, superstitions, magical arts, and solemnities on grand occasions. They had not been infected with artificial tastes and wants, and European diseases ; had not been reduced to depend on traffic with over-reaching factors, had not been maddened and debilitated by the produce of distilleries. They had begun, however, to apprehend the danger which was approaching them in the settlement of the "pale faces" on their coast ; regarded them with a menacing aspect ; and maintained with them only a precarious peace or truce, in a temper prompt for war.

THE PURITANS INTOLERANT TO EACH OTHER.

It was in the midst of such a community that the hero of this narrative poem was reduced to seek — Religious Liberty. Of course, says our reader, it was liberty from the tyranny of ecclesiastical bigotry, at that period in high and malignant domination in his native Britain. No ; it was liberty from the domination over conscience arrogated by his fellow-puritans, who had themselves gone into voluntary exile to escape that very persecution. It is evident from the author's references to historic documents that Williams was a person highly worthy of commemoration, as one of the patriarchs of American Christianity.

LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF ROGER WILLIAMS.

"Roger Williams was born of reputable parents in Wales, A.D. 1598. He was educated at the University of Oxford ; was regularly admitted to orders in the Church of England, and preached for some time as a minister of that Church ; but on embracing the doctrines of the Puritans, he rendered himself obnoxious to the laws against Nonconformists ; and embarked for America, where he arrived with his wife, whose name was Mary, on the 5th of February, A.D. 1631."

Though he could not have expected, on arriving at Salem, to have much use, defensive or offensive, for his nonconformist and protesting principle, it had not become pointless or rusty during its short abeyance. And he soon found matters to declare against, with an uncompromising boldness which brought him into collision with the sort of mongrel ecclesiastical and civil authority established there.

"He had scarcely landed ere he began to assert the principle of religious freedom, and insist on a rigid separation from the Church of England. A declaration that the magistrate ought not to interfere in matters of conscience could not fail to excite the jealousy of a government constituted as that of Massachusetts then was. And this jealousy was roused into active hostility, when, in the April following his arrival, he was called by the Church of Salem as teaching elder under their then pastor, Mr. Skelton."

He insisted that the magistrate had no right to punish for heresy, or any breaches of the first table (the appointment of the Sabbath included), otherwise than in such cases as disturbed the public peace. The freest thinker must have a crotchet or two. Williams would not allow the magistrate "to administer an oath to an unregenerate man;" maintained "that a man ought not to pray with such, though wife, children," &c. ; and "would not join the churches at Boston, because they would not make a public declaration of their repentance for having communion with the Church of England while they tarried there." But the mortal offence to the government was, his declaration against the king's patent, granting to his subjects the lands which belonged to the Indians. A solemn process, secular and sacerdotal, terminated in an order to depart from within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, after a short interval, during which he was commanded to keep his heresies to himself. The discovery that he was employing this term of special indulgence in concerting with some of his zealously attached friends in projecting to form a little extraneous colony somewhere within the Indian borders, where the principle of religious freedom should be fully carried into effect, decided the governor to have him forthwith shipped off for England. A naval officer was commissioned to execute the mandate.

ROGER WILLIAMS BANISHED FROM MASSACHUSETTS.

In an evening in the midst of winter Williams was sitting by the hearth of his humble dwelling, with his lamp and Bible ; beside him his young children, and his wife at her needlework, quietly striving to repress the signs of her sorrow at the thoughts of what is before them ; when a visitation still more austere than the snow storm, which is driving around the cottage, rudely pushes in among them in the shape of a

"Deacon," to announce, in the harsh and magisterial tone of bigotry armed with authority, that unless the refractory schismatic shall immediately repair to Boston, to make his submission and forswear his heresies, he will be seized and taken on shipboard, to rid the country of such a pest; a few hours' grace being the utmost that is allowed him. Exposition, pleading the inclemency of the season, injury to health, or anything else, are in vain. The thing is said, and the messenger is off.

SUPERNATURAL INTERPOSITION.

To submit or not to submit is no question with the heresiarch. But in what way to escape the instant peril is a most distressing perplexity, which excites an earnest ejaculation of prayer that some decisive counsel may, in some manner, be brought to him. He composes himself to wait and think, while the tempest is roaring with redoubled violence, followed by a partial calm. At this moment entrance is obtained by another visitor, unknown, and of strange and striking appearance; of dignified demeanour; extreme age marked on the lineaments of his countenance; but with more, far more, of a spirit's glance than the fire of youth, gleaming in his eyes; and tones of voice which thrill through the soul. In the fewest words, he dictates an immediate journey into the wilderness; names a circumstance which shall occur to signify to the wanderer where to take his ultimate position; and departs, leaving Williams in amazement and doubt as to the quality of the mysterious stranger; but perfectly decided to obey his injunction, as an indication of the will of heaven. After a short restless slumber he rises to make his preparations; and with a tender reluctance awakes his wife to assist him, she having sunk, from a fainting fit caused by the deacon's message and spite, into a sleep which had not been disturbed by the second visitation. A few travelling necessities got ready, including provisions for several days; a sorrowful adieu; and we have the adventurer setting off at the earliest dawn, to traverse, with the guidance of a pocket compass, a boundless solitude of forest and snow; a solitude which was only *relieved* at the approach of night by sounds which, distinguishable amidst the blasts that roared through the woods, told him that wolves were not far off.

TERRORS OF THE FOREST.

Williams presently hears the growl of the American panther, so evidently near that he is expecting, every moment, the deadly spring. Coming darkness and exhausted strength make it necessary to sit up for the night; and fortunately he finds himself at the entrance of a narrow valley, protected in some degree from the tempest by rocky steeps on both sides, and offering the shelter of a close growth of trees, intermingling their branches so as to form a thick shade overhead. He plies his hatchet for fuel, kindles a fire, and sits down to his evening meal, fortified by conscience and a sense of the protective presence of divine power, against hardship and peril, and against all access of repentance for having maintained his integrity at such a cost.

His fire is the signal to bring a pack of wolves to seek after their evening repast, on somebody that they know must be there to have lighted it.

While heaping on additional fuel he is surprised to perceive the assailants becoming mute and slinking off, but is at the same moment startled at the cause,—the whine of the panther, which, after a fearful interval of silence, breaks out into "a long-drawn yell." He is standing in a posture to receive the attack, not forgetting even in so critical a moment Daniel and the lions, when a human voice calls to him from the thicket, in words intelligible and friendly; and an armed red man darts to the spot, greeting him as brother; promptly lighting the calumet;* expressing his surprise at a white man's having so venturously exposed himself; and quelling his terror by explaining that it was *his* (Waban's) mimic cry of the panther that sent off the wolves.

THE RED MAN'S FRIENDLY RECEPTION OF WILLIAMS.

As plain an account as could be given in Indian language, and to Indian faculties, of the cause of the self-banishment, puts the intelligent savage in a thoughtful mood of wonder that white men should hate and persecute one another about differences, even slight differences, of

* A large Indian tobacco pipe, used as an emblem of peace.

religion. He strongly surmises that *Chepian* (the Indian's devil) must be their god. He insists that the wanderer shall partake the shelter and fare of his not distant wigwam, where it is pretty certain the "deacon" will not intrude, and very doubtful how he would get off if he did. This humble dwelling, with its wild hunter's furniture and accoutrements, becomes dignified by the generous hospitality and sedulous and perceptible care of the proprietor; and additionally so by his pensive, reflective, and inquiring temper of mind. The loss of Waban's affectionately remembered wife has left him lonely and meditative; and he is restlessly desirous to know something, if he might, of that invisible world to which she is gone.

THE FIRST SABBATH IN THE WILDERNESS.

From a profound repose our exile awakes to his Sabbath orisons, performed under the wondering but quiet observation of his host, who is an especial subject of them, in prayers that his benighted spirit may be "visited by heaven's fair light;" and that he may be made, through his knowledge of the tribes, chiefs, and localities of the great desert, an agent to assist towards finding the land of promise for planting religious liberty. The prayers are followed by an endeavour to unfold before him the leading facts of revealed religion, to which the savage gives the most serious attention. He shows a philosophic candour; there is no venom of the *odium theologicum* in his savage blood; the term heresy has not found its way into his language.

THE RED MAN'S COSMOGONY AND SCHEME OF FAITH.

He requests the bringer "of strange things to his ears" to listen in turn, while he shall exhibit the system of religious faith devoutly held by the red men on the authority of their ancestors. Waban describes in highly picturesque language the genesis of the world by the great spirit Cawtantowit, existent through all space, but till then in a profound slumber, from which he awoke at last to survey a dead boundless waste of waters, which were put in commotion by the great event.

Next the earth emerged, and was speedily furnished with its appropriate inhabitants—all but Man. At the creative voice a man came forth formed from a rock; but betrayed

so hard and cruel a nature that the Great Spirit dashed him in shivers, to be replaced by a man and woman made from an oak and a pine, the original red pair. By the time that to these creations, with that of deities (Manittoos) and the celestial luminaries, had been added, all the good materials were worked up. But through some principle of fate, the worthless and noxious refuse also felt the formative energy, and sprang to life in the shape of a horrible demon, the Ohepian of the mythology. A controversy arises between our two friends about the propriety of worshipping this malignant power through fear; in which an argument addressed to the Indian's pride of courage decides him never more to render a coward's homage.

He gives Williams all the required information respecting the tribes and chiefs, their relations and dispositions; undertakes to convey intelligence to his wife, with a savage's address and caution; and indicates to him the proper direction for an excursion in the mean time, through a scenery depicted in vivid images, towards the border tract of a powerful tribe, on speculation whether to seek refuge there for himself and family.

RETURN OF WABAN.

Meditating in his lonely cabin on the past and the dark future of his strange destiny, and growing impatient at the protracted absence of his friend, Williams is at length startled by the entrance of a savage so formidably set off in all the plumed, painted, and armed array of battle, that even a packet he silently delivers to him from his wife leaves him unrecognised for Waban, till revealed by the tones of his voice, uttering a fierce exclamation of "war!" It announces that a deadly feud between his and a powerful neighbouring tribe is on the point of exploding; and that that there is coming a band of chiefs to demand Awanux's (the white man's) military co-operation. They arrive soon after with the regent, Massasoit,* at their head, an ancient warrior, whose undiminished valour has, nevertheless, been tempered by time and reflection. After the grave ceremonial of the *calumet*, follows a long, animated, and eloquent discussion between

* The greatest commander among the American savages. See Young's "Pilgrim Fathers," June, 1621, page 202.

the old chief and the Puritan, whose single aid in martial enterprise could not be of any account but from some notion, we may suppose, that in each individual of the "pale-faced" nation there must reside a certain portion of that power which has proved so irresistible in its progress of usurpation on the Indian realms.

WILLIAMS BECOMES A PACIFICATOR BETWEEN MASSASOIT
AND THE NARRAGANSETS.

The Puritan, though not less intrepid than those of his order were found to be at a later period, declares he will have nothing to do with the slaughter; but, earnestly remonstrating against the war, surprises the chiefs by offering himself for the desperate adventure, as they deem it, of bearing overtures of peace to the ferocious Narragansets, already in arms. After an interval of solemn silence, to consider so unexpected a turn, the wise old Sagamore accedes, and by a very politic representation to his chiefs, on fire for battle, obtains the acquiescence of all but one, a sort of Moloch of the council, under whose sullen half submission there appears to lurk a malignant treachery, which draws from the presiding chief a stern denunciation of death against any one who shall waylay the messenger of peace. Waban is appointed to accompany him, bearing the calumet.

An alarming scene opens on their view, in their near approach to the central station of the Narragansets—the war dance, in all its fantastic, rampant, and yelling furies. It required our ambassador's strongest efforts to repress his own apprehensions, and the kindling fierceness of his companion, while they advanced with the emblem of peace through the frowning and menacing multitude, whose hands were observed going instinctively into contact with their tomahawks and arrows; the very children's precocious ferocity being darted at them in looks, gestures, and curses. But the laws of truce must not be violated; and the messenger is conducted by Miantonomi, a young warrior of noble, but formidable aspect and loftiest bearing, into the presence of the venerable head of the tribe, under whose dignified austerity his courage somewhat quails; especially when the Sagamore, in reply to the pacific proposition, goes, into a train of severe and just comments on the ill

faith and insatiable rapacity of the pale-faced race. But, fortunately, the Sagamore is a person whose martial spirit has been tempered to moderation by reason, experience, and policy; he discourses with a judgment and equity which might shame almost any statesman; is willing to entertain the overture of the enemy; and for the purpose of deliberation issues a command to delay the march of his fiery troop. Williams improves the interval to make acquaintance with the most influential chiefs, whom he brings to a favourable temper by his frank deportment, his representations of the very palpable and solid benefits of peace, and a distribution of trifling presents.

THE PAWAW OR WIZARD-PRIEST OF CHEPIAN.

There is, however, one individual who repels and scorns his advances, a pawaw, or wizard, the priest of Chepian; a man abhorred, but still more dreaded, as being firmly believed to wield the powers of the terrible demon. This malignant has all that can be conceived of the infernal in his disposition; denounces destruction; challenges to a trial of power; and on an appointed day comes forth, with all the appalling insignia and ceremonial of his office, in the view of the whole tribe assembled to witness the experiment, with an awe that held them as if petrified, in expectation of some terrible event. He tells the assembled nation that he has received from his god an imperative command to rouse them with the alarm of the destruction that is darkening over them by the continual advance of the invading aliens from beyond the ocean, on whom he pronounces execrations, and ends his address with a challenge of defiance and scorn to the wretch of a white man now before them;—a defiance intrepidly hurled back on the “Priest of Beelzebub.”

THE MANITTOO, OR CHARMED RATTLESNAKE.

An assemblage of beings who could heroically brave torture and death, here shrinking under the dire spell of superstition, are intent with shuddering breathless expectation on the opening of a casket, believed to contain a potent Manitto, which comes forth in the shape of a rattlesnake. It swells, and glides, and spires, splendid in preternatural colours; and after several evo-

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lutions, fixes its glance on Williams, moving toward him with elevated crest ; while some magical fascination, of odours, colours, and musical sounds, diffused through the air, trances his senses and prostrates his strength ; the multitude shouting, " The manitto ! the manitto !" Williams recovers at the critical moment, just as the snake is coiled to make a spring, and strikes off its head. Enraged at the sight, the human monster poises an envenomed lance, and is prevented from darting it only by Waban's arresting his arm. The brave and indignant Miantonomi, with a violent blow of the haft of his lance, drives the miscreant away yelling and howling into the woods.

SUCCESS OF THE NEGOTIATION.

There is a short suspense of amazement and stupefaction in the multitude, and then a shout of exultation. The ancient chief congratulates the victor and his own people ; assures him of unlimited privilege on their territories, at the same time enjoining him to use his good offices for them with his white brethren ; and sends him back with the joyful news of peace to the tribe from which he has been commissioned. Welcomed on his return, he receives the free grant of whatever place within their domain he shall choose for the church in the wilderness.

ROGER WILLIAMS'S FIRST SETTLEMENT.

Now follows his surveying tour, his selection, the wooden construction of his lodge ; the enclosure and commencing cultivation of a portion of ground, with indefatigable toil, and able assistance in every operation from the faithful and equally indefatigable Waban. His imagination has begun to expand around this nucleus of a Free State, arranging over the tract the future dwellings, gardens, plantations, schools, places of worship, all the charities of life and religion ; with a total and endless exclusion of crabbed deacons and ecclesiastical tribunals. What a disturbance to his flattering visions to find this incipient Eden invaded by, almost literally, the infernal serpent—" the fell Pawaw !" Certain signs of some malignant presence preceded his being descried, with an assistant fit companion, by Waban, in the edge of a gloomy forest, on the opposite side of a river, across

which there takes place a mutual demonstration of hatred and defiance, by furious shouts and shot of arrows. But a sudden and somewhat protracted cessation of hostilities allows the patriarch of freedom to recover confidence enough to commission his brave and wary associate to fetch Mary and the children, by a journey which must be of several days. Such is, however, his impatience, that he follows his messenger all the way to a spot within view of Salem ; whence he sees the hasty transactions at the cottage, the loading of two horses, lent by one of his secret friends, and the setting out of the family on foot.

WILLIAMS AND HIS FAMILY TRACKED BY THE PAWAW.

There is a first moment of unmingled delight at the re-union ; but as they proceed, Williams is alarmed at the manner of Waban, alternately accompanying and preceding the little band, in silence, and with a restless, starting, glancing vigilance ; explained after a while, in words not intelligible to Mary, by the information that in his way to Salem he had been tracked by the hell-hound ; at the end of it had perceived him watching the family's dwelling ; and is certain, from indications unequivocal to Indian sagacity, that he is now lurking near at hand in the forest, to dog them with deadly purpose in their progress. Whatever, for the frustration of that purpose, is possible to a wild hunter, and to no other man, is done by the quick senses, and searching and daring activity of Waban, as guide and protector of the slow and toilsome march, till the approach of evening ; when the anxiety and fear which had harassed them at every step through the day are aggravated to extreme distress at the almost hopeless prospect for the night. The nearest Indian village is named ; but it is much too far off to be reached by the wearied females and children. To complete the dismay of the situation, an arrow from the dark forest passes and grazes Waban's head. He plunges into the thicket to find the unseen foe, but only hears him breaking away to a distance through the under-wood. He then recollects, as the only possible resource, and not very far off, a cave, in which he and other hunters had sometimes found shelter in tempest or the night.

THEY TAKE REFUGE IN A CAVE.

The terror which hastens their movement toward the dreary refuge is but partially allayed by their entrance into it ; for it is quite certain that the demoniac pursuer will soon be in their neighbourhood. The mother and children are bestowed in the rude but sufficiently capacious hold. At some distance down an open avenue, by which alone it is accessible, Waban makes a great fire of the dry wood of the brake, to the surprise of Williams at a proceeding just only fitted, as he should think, to betray their hiding place. The sagacious Indian promptly sets him right, by explaining that the deadly enemy knows their retreat perfectly well ; and that the fire is for the purpose of exposing *him* in his approach, as a mark for the arrow. There is a disconsolate yet thankful short repast ; and then the two guardians take their posts : Williams in the entrance, behind a partial curtain made by shrubs ; Waban concealed on a jutting rock outside.

THE PAWAW AND HIS BLOODHOUND.

Dark night ; distant howlings ; a fierce beast leaping from the thicket toward the fire, baying and howling, but recalled by a whistle before Waban's arrow could strike it. He exclaims, "The Pawaw ! his dog !" and shrinks back so close in his covert as to raise an apprehensive suspicion that his courage is failing. A mass of branches, moving out from the wood, tells who, though not discernible, must be there. The fixed horror of a few moments is broken up by a fearful growl. It is the precursory bloodhound, believed by the savages, and even by Waban, to be the Pawaw's manittoo. William's hatchet cleaves its head. But immediately there is a stirring of the vine, by some hand forcing it aside. An earnest call, "Waban, where art thou !" is repeated as in doubt and reproach. But Waban is just where he should be ; and an arrow from his obscure position lays "a giant savage" on the earth, howling in death. Presently there is "another and more fearful yell ;" and the reviving blaze of the fire shows a figure advancing, not doubted to be the incarnate fiend himself. Williams springs out to share the peril. The brave Waban's hand and eye are on another shaft, when the bow-string breaks. Instantly he leaps from his rock, darts down the avenue, evades a hatchet hurled with

impetuous force at his head, and closes in mortal conflict. The combat soon passes out of view into the wood, where it is protracted through every variety of ardent, agonistic ferocity; the family listen to the sounds in an ecstasy of terror; Williams runs toward the spot with his axe, prepared to meet what might too possibly be the last extremity for them all. The signs of desperate struggle subside into silence, followed, after an interval, by the wild cry of victory; of which the expression, so intensely demoniac, conveys a fearful presage; he is held in a suspense almost intolerable, till a form issuing from the shade proves to be his champion, bearing a head into the light of the fire, in order to recognise the hideous features. All the savage flames up in his visage and action while, holding it by the long hair, he whirls it round and round, till he sends it bounding into the wood.

WILLIAMS ESTABLISHED IN HIS SETTLEMENT.

"Sire Williams," with his family and brave defender, is re-established in his plantation; where they cheerfully labour; converse over all the trials and perils through which a merciful Providence has conducted them; have an amiable sympathy with all animate and inanimate nature around them; and exult by anticipation in that republic of religious freedom of which they are the hopeful germ. No fell pawaw, now, to break in on their peace.

NEW TROUBLES.—A DEACON AGAIN.

But to his dismay Williams soon found that the same spirit had taken another form, no other than that of "a Plymouth elder." A deacon again comes to announce from authority, with sanctimonious formality, that the recusant shall not stay there to plant and sow his heretical mischief. Even now, if he will repent, recant, and perform penance due, the outcast's doom may be reversed or mitigated. But all in vain; after an animated declamation on the prerogatives of reason and freedom of thought, he represents, indignantly, that the tract he is occupying has been formally and freely conveyed to him in full right of possession, by the chief of the tribe. The deputy of church and state will have him to know, that the domain of that chief is included within the limits of the territory granted in absolute right to the colony,

by the king of England. He will, therefore, continue at his peril on this side the boundary river Seekonk. Beyond that he may betake himself to the Narragansets, or whatever pagan realm he pleases, so that the Holy Land be rid of him. That this tool of intolerance can ever again sit in synod to anathematize schismatics, he owes to Williams's stern repression of the wrath of Waban, who is burning to administer the same quietus as he had to the "black priest."

WILLIAMS'S SECOND PILGRIMAGE.

Certain that the mandate will be enforced, our ultra-exile prepares to abandon, with poignant regret, the scene of his labours, where his plants, his hopes, and his family, are all smiling and flourishing around him, and where he has contracted an almost affectionate relation with every object. But he resumes his fortitude to console Mary and the young ones, whose distress at this breaking up of what was to have been their delightful home, and the apparently interminable doom to destitution and wandering, is described in a touching manner. His reliance on Providence here receives a confirmation, by a more express recurrence to his memory of a circumstance of which he has sometimes been transiently reminded, but without due reflection; namely, that the mysterious and perhaps superhuman visitant, at whose dictate he made an instant flight from Salem, intimated his probable reappearance to the refugee at the place appointed for his ultimate asylum; and told him that the sign of his having attained it should be the greeting, "Whatcheer! Whatcheer!" from a tribe of Indians. No such tokens have been given him in his present situation. Human injustice therefore is only the unwitting signification of the Divine will.

The particulars of the departure; the adieu to the scene so much loved by both parents and children; Mary's pious but sorrowful endeavour to respond to her husband's faith in Providence: the last sight of the forsaken dwelling, as they are rowed and steered by Waban in his slight canoe round a projection of the land; the stern aspect of the desert solitude as they coasted along; the appearance of wild animals disturbed or attracted by their passage; are traced in picturesque description.

ARRIVAL AND SETTLEMENT AT A SPOT OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

It is not a very prolonged voyage that brings them in sight of wreaths of smoke, rising from behind a cape. A little further, and they hear sounds which betray the presence of a multitude in a state of excitement; too probably, surmises our adventurer, some grand assembling in preparation for war. But he is soon undeceived by Waban's information, obtained from incidental intelligence, that it is a joyous celebration of peace, that very peace which had been effected by his intermediation. A short labour more of the vigorous rower presents to the assembly the unknown pale-faces, Mary's complexion additionally blanched at the formidable spectacle. The sudden appearance arrests their games, and brings them, all but the haughty chiefs, to the strand, gazing in silence, and not without menacing glances and gestures. There is a somewhat critical pause before their white brother has the resolution to stand up and bare his "manly forehead;" when he is recognised by some of the chiefs, who instantly hail him with the exclamation, "Whatcheer!" which is speedily repeated in shouts by the universal multitude.

This wild chorus is to our exile the voice of heaven. Here at last he obtains the reward of his constancy to his principles. Here is the destined spot for planting, under the auspices of a savage nation, the religious liberty which cannot grow on Christian ground, on one side of the Atlantic or the other.

Our heroic exile is welcomed, privileged, and revered by the Indian tribe; adores the Providence that has conducted and guarded him through so many perils; and looks with faith and exultation to the future ever-growing prosperity of that establishment of religious freedom of which he is to be honoured as the patriarch.

In conclusion we will only observe that the narration is consecutive, and is kept in a direct forward progress toward the ultimate event, without violent transgressions of probability. Indeed the author assures us he has adhered in a great measure to historical documents, including one written by Williams himself.

[On the subject of the preceding graphic and very interesting sketch, see Mr. Foster's Letter to Dr. Price, *Life*, vol. ii. pp. 156—7.]

GENERAL DEPRAVITY OF THE HUMAN RACE.*

It would seem a little strange that our curiosity to know more of the human race, whether historically or geographically, should not be at all repressed by the certainty beforehand, and the often renewed experience of the fact, of our finding in the acquirement just so much additional manifestation of the depravity and wretchedness of that race.

Let a previously unknown, or very imperfectly known, section of it be clearly brought into view, and though it should appear under the most degraded aspect of human existence, exhibiting the most odious moral and intellectual deformities, accompanied by physical and economical circumstances the most repulsive to our taste, we nevertheless gladly receive the information, and thank the man whose adventures and researches have supplied it as a kind of benefactor.

CURIOSITY INHERENT IN MAN.

If there were to come to us a slight rumour of a tribe or nation, existing perhaps in the hitherto absolute *terra incognita* of Africa under or near the line, reported as more hideous in barbarism and turpitude than any yet known, we should be so much the more, for that peculiarity, eager to have them brought into our acquaintance. If an explorer had dared the peril of such a scene, and escaped to tell us what he had beheld, we should demand from him a most full and particular report; and nothing would fret us more than if he should say, that there were some things which, for the credit of humanity, or even to save himself a probable imputation on his veracity, he judged it best to pass over in silence. We should want, of all things, to have a confidential personal communication with him, in order to get at those concealed treasures of knowledge.

IMPROBABILITY OF DISCOVERING AN UTOPIA.

In the indulgence of that passion for geographical discovery which has distinguished the age, we never dream

* New Zealand: being a Narrative of Travels and Adventures during a Residence in that Country between the Years 1831 and 1837. By J. S. Polack, Esq., Member of the Colonial Society of London. Two vols. 8vo. 1838.

of finding any such thing as a region adorned and blessed with a decided prevalence of the virtues, and their accompaniments and consequences. We never expect to hear of man in anything better than his old and general character—the ascendancy of evil over good. Whether the region heretofore unvisited be described to us as favoured with all the beauty and fertility that a benignant nature can lavish on it, or as rugged, frowning, and inhospitable,—if the describer should go on to say, that there is a moral beauty which rivals the one, or compensates for the other, he would instantly be told that he has miscalculated our credulity; and that, without advancing one league toward the distant scene of his investigation, we can virtually go thither and survey it in the strength of a principle which authorizes us to contradict him. The human race, we should tell him, has been too uniform in the manifestation of one great, sad, radical property of its nature, through all time, and all the known world, to allow our belief of any such exception as a tribe from whose happy domain the vices and miseries are excluded or departing—unless, indeed, he means his report to testify that somewhere the millennium has commenced; and then we shall be apt to think that felicitous visitation can hardly have so missed its way as to alight on central Africa, perhaps, when it is so lamentably wanted in England. Still we are inquisitive how this creature, man, is acting out his qualities in another, and another tract of the earth. The novelties in the manner will most likely be found to be but different modes of what is bad. We are philosophically content to expect no otherwise; but want to know them notwithstanding.

GENERAL FIDELITY OF MODERN TRAVELLERS.

The age is past when the adventurers into distant and imperfectly known regions could presume to impose delusive representations on the people at home. Those of the present and recent times, a surprising number, and in rapid succession, have maintained, for the most part, a substantial adherence to truth. So that we have now the means of a real and accurate knowledge of what sort of people there are, and what they are doing, in tracts and corners of the world which, but a few generations

since, lay under a cloud of mingled ignorance and fiction. Perhaps the ascertainment of the reality has struck a kind of balance between the opposite licenses of fiction. If some fine romantics have faded from sight on the one hand, some huge monstrosities have vanished on the other. The physical enormities, at least, are gone off; there are no more stories of human creatures shaped in fantastic and anomalous outrage on the authentic type; the men with tails, or dogs' heads, or the visage planted into the chest instead of being mounted on a neck, have long since been swept into the vast rubbish of the past.

REFLECTIONS ON THE PREVALENCE OF MORAL DEFORMITY.

In the moral and intellectual part of the exhibition, it is to be acknowledged that the change has left, or brought into view, some phenomena which it did require testimony of well-tried validity to establish as an unquestioned part of our knowledge of the human species. That knowledge is now so comprehensive, and includes so ample a variety of manifestations of the evil principle, that we may doubt whether there can remain anything yet to be brought to light that will much surprise us. Be almost whatever it may, in the way of error, perversity, degradation, iniquity, we are quite prepared to admit the probability that it may belong to human nature. If there be one more feature of mental or moral deformity, it will be sure to be found associating consistently with some of the facts which have long ceased to be novelties.

THE ADAPTABILITY OF MAN TO HIS LOCATION.

In observing what sort of people possess what portions of the earth, a curious speculator might find some amusement in raising the questions—what relation or fitness there is, respectively, between them? whether the right of continued occupancy have any dependence on such fitness? what obligations, greater or less, they may be supposed to be laid under according to the quality of their local allotments? how far it is better or worse for them that they are so located? whether those to whom the less agreeable tracts of the world have been assigned have an adequate or partial compensation afforded by any of the circumstances or influ-

ences of those regions ? what would be the effect of a mutual exchange of habitations between tribes occupying domains widely different in physical character ? Setting out of view the fact of how the various tribes actually obtained their present abodes in the natural progress of emigration, and considering their claims to portions of the globe as according to their qualities, we might be at a loss to discover the principle of equity in their distribution. Some barbarous tribes find a precarious subsistence in dreary deserts ; and others, not less barbarous, an easy one in domains of fertility, beauty, and luxury. We feel an uneasy sympathy with certain portions of the race, less vitiated than the general mass, whose lot is cast in climates where nature maintains a frowning austerity, and life is rather endured than enjoyed, on a tenure of hardship, an economy of toil, privation, and hazard—for instance, Greenland, Iceland, Lapland, the Isles of Scotland, and some parts of Switzerland. Some of the temperate and salubrious regions, as China, are condemned to sustain an immense multitude of human creatures mentally dwarfed, cramped, bent down, and fixed, in stupified conformity to an irrational, inveterate, obdurate prescription, corroborated by superstition. Or a fine realm elsewhere, as Spain, may be appropriated by a people whose semi-barbarous fanaticism is virulent and sanguinary.

PHYSICAL VIEW OF NEW ZEALAND.

If we might give license to our imagination in apportioning the field of terrestrial nature to orders of inhabitants according to some rule of supposed worthiness, to what sort of people should we assign New Zealand ? It appears to be an eminently fine and valuable fraction of the earth. By its extent in length, of nearly nine hundred miles, from north to south, it has a great variety of climates, distant enough at both extremities from latitudes unfavourable to activity, alacrity, and enjoyment. By its much smaller breadth the greater part is favoured with the mild influences of the vast ocean. It has harbours, streams, fertile tracts, beautiful valleys and hills, innumerable. Its variegated surface exhibits a splendid picture, where the sublimities have their share, in a range of snow-capped mountains, and

grand precipices and promontories of the coast. It is a region which our fancied law of distribution would appropriate to some highly improved section of the human race, such a one as would most fully and worthily avail itself of a territory so favourable at once to the economical purposes of agriculture, arts, and commerce, and, as we should imagine, to the general development of the mental faculties.

MORAL AND SOCIAL VIEW OF NEW ZEALAND.

Imagine, then, this splendid piece of *terra firma*, proudly rising above the boundless waste of waters—imagine it so occupied, so adorned, so honoured; and then turn to the exhibition before us. A region surrendered to the principle of evil; where every spot bears a blasted mark; where the presence of man is a dreadful infestation; where, as if they themselves thought so, the inhabitants have seemed intent on restoring the land to the solitude of its natural beauty by incessant mutual destruction; where a reversal of what would be the qualities of undepraved humanity glares forth in deceit, treachery, rapacity, cruelty, revenge, cannibalism; blended with whatever is disgusting in gluttony and filthiness, whatever is despicable in fickleness and cowardice, and whatever is ridiculous and absurd in conventional customs, and notions and mummery of superstition.

Before bringing us acquainted with his own experience and observations, our author, in a notice of the successive navigators who have made surveys or visits, recalls a series of characteristic facts and anecdotes, illustrative of New Zealand human nature; the circumstances most conspicuous in the record being the murderous collisions between the natives and the crews of European ships—the fault, indeed, not always being wholly with the former. He relates divers tragical affairs as consequent on a disregard of the warning, “Never trust a New Zealander,” pronounced by Captain Cook, whose right judgment of the people Mr. Polack strongly affirms.

POLACK'S PERSONAL EXPERIENCE OF THE NEW ZEALANDERS.

It is but justice, however, to say, that the present adventurer had not, for himself, any violent cause to reproach them. In his first recorded journey of local investigation he was accompanied by a considerable band of their young men, mostly

sons of chiefs, who served him very effectually as guides, carriers, woodcutters, and cooks, proud to form the suite of an European personage. There was an eager competition for the honour of bearing him, horsed on the back, through a stream or swamp, while every one of them would have disdained to perform this or any other servile office for an indigenous squire. He was generally received with marks of respect; had seldom any serious cause for apprehending danger; and on the whole, seems to have been much at his ease among them. He made all good-humoured allowance for attempts at imposition, in cajoling promises not meant to be fulfilled, in protestations of disinterested friendship, or in overrating the value of articles trafficked, or services rendered, or to be rendered. It is curious to see, sometimes, what they thought they could make the European gentleman believe; or at least thought it worth the trial. He had accepted the dirty hand of a celebrated old "priest of Araitehuru, the Taniwoa, or aquatic deity of the headlands of a harbour;" who solemnly assured him that if the compliment had been declined, he would have raised such storms that the beach on which he was then travelling would have been impassable, the means of conveyance dashed in pieces, and a bitter repentance inflicted. And he pointed to a heavy surf, breaking on a bar two miles off, and declared it was by his potent restraint that it was kept raging at that safe distance, in spite of its being furiously actuated by the Taniwoa. The sham gravity with which our author returned thanks for this important service, would seem to have made the old rogue believe that his pretensions were admitted, for he capered with delight. But "nothing for nothing," the reckoning came, and there was great difficulty to settle the account for so mighty a benefit with "a head of tobacco."

THE "ATUA" SUPERSTITION OF THE NEW ZEALANDERS.

How the generic sentiment of religion has been perverted to all uses of cupidity, mischief, and farce! And in its depraved forms what a much more general and active interference it may have than is, for the most part, seen where the right notion of it is admitted, and where it claims the authority and influence of truth. The superstition of

these islanders would seem as intrusively to interfere with and pervade the economy of life as that of the comparatively refined and intellectual Hindoos.

They are infested with an ever-growing swarm of demons, denominated *Atuas*. These are supposed to be the souls of dead chiefs, haunting the places where they lived or died, assuming occasionally a temporary incarnation in birds, lizards, and what not ; and with as much disposition and power to do mischief as when they had been the owners as well as inhabitants of bodies. And it is a striking illustration of what the people actually experience of power in their fellow-mortals, that they deem it always combined with malignity in its defunct possessors. The *Atua* is always ready to wreak some spite. Fail to do what he exacts, or do anything to offend him in the slightest degree, even though unintentionally or inadvertently, and he is sure to play the very devil. If he but wants a little amusement, you are likely to know of it by some mischance that shall befall you. Distempers, pains, unlucky accidents, losses, frights, bad weather, storms—it is the *Atua* that has been at work. The case is mentioned of a young man suffering a severe pain of the bowels ; the cause was obvious ; the *Atua* had taken possession of his interior, and was gnawing and devouring it. A priest was had to eject him by a ceremony of alternate coaxing and threatening. They acknowledge the white man's *Atua* to be more powerful than any of their own ; and say, that to him they owe the introduction of certain malignant diseases.

As these noxious agents can work their purposes out of reach of revenge, and with greater facility and power than when in the mortal state, it may be supposed that the *Atuas*—that-are-to-be should feel the less repugnance to the thought of death. The case, it seems, is so, but with a whimsical and rather inconvenient circumstance of exception :—

“The chiefs suppose that their left eye after death ascends to heaven and becomes a star. *They are fearful of being killed in war : as it is supposed, in that case, their titular divinityship forsakes them, and they become serviceable only to add effulgence to the star of their conqueror.*”

Notwithstanding a fantasy so little congenial with the

brave nobility of heroism, they have anticipations which enable them to settle a somewhat advantageous account, prospectively, with death:—

"The apotheosis of a chief takes place immediately on his decease; the feeling of pride which elates him on his supposed divine exaltation, and that of the exhumation of his bones in after years, when his prowess and deeds of valour will be sung by hundreds of his affectionate followers, cause him rather to welcome death than shun it."

NEW ZEALAND BELIEF IN METEMPSYCHOSIS.

The notion of the untoward fate of a chief slain in battle, will, indeed, be a stimulus to eager and desperate violence when he comes into actual conflict; but it must be a strong incitement to the practice of destroying an enemy in the way of treachery and surprise. This degrading doom must admit of exceptions; for, on passing a rotten memorial of a great warrior chief who had fallen in battle, and whose head had been secured, dried, and preserved as a trophy by the hostile party, our author was assured that the demolished champion was become a formidable river-god, active in the proper business of his station, that is to say, upsetting canoes, and playing divers feats of a similar nature, such as causing the river at times to be impassable, by raising heavy swells, as some satisfaction for the detention of his head. A bird, of a common species, that happened to be perched and uttering his monotonous note on the monumental post, was instantly recognised and dreaded by the party as the vehicle of the Atua; and caused, after its disappearance, a very serious consultation as to the purport of the threatenings, presumed to have been pronounced by him in the person of this poor flutterer.

THE REINGA, A NEW ZEALAND WALHALLA.

Under the denomination of *Reinga*, they believe there is, somewhere aloft, a city or region of the dead, where "the spirits are as numerous as the sand;" where they enjoy, as the greatest happiness of *spirits*, excellent good cheer; and all is pleasant, except that no fighting is allowed. We know not what authority it can be that keeps the peace; for the chiefs feel so strongly the necessity of some such

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pleasurable excitement, that ever and anon they are descending for a while to the earth, to haunt the scenes of their former earthly exploits, to perpetrate such mischiefs as may well raise among the unprivileged mortals the envy of such power combined with such impunity. One spot on the coast is mentioned as being reputed in a peculiar manner the place of exit of spirits passing to the *Reinga*. The only vegetation on the acclivity is a long spear grass, and a kind of creeping plant which runs in strong fibres up the sand-hills. This serves as a ladder for the spirits to climb by. "The wrath of the natives would be unbounded were these steps cut away by the wantonness of Europeans."

"If the spirit belonged to a village in the interior, it is supposed to carry with it some tufts or leaves, of such shrubs or branches of trees as flourish most in the place where they had their residence on earth. These tufts are called *wakaous*, or remembrancers; and the spirits, it is said, leave one of the 'cards' in every place where they may have rested, according to custom, on the way to the *Reinga*."

NEW ZEALAND PRIESTCRAFT.

There is a plentiful nuisance of priests, with a sprinkling of priestesses. They manage what business is to be done with and about the *Atuas*, including the trade of doctors, conjurers, and fortune-tellers. They are ultra-privileged; for they seem to lose nothing of their credit by the failure of their incantations and predictions; having always plausible explanations, in the alleged caprices or spite of the *Atuas*; and these explanations go down with the gulled populace. It is the gods that are at fault for whatever comes amiss.

"Priests possess the gift of prescience, and are supposed to foretell to an hour what is likely to happen; and should the contrary to the prediction take place, it is accounted for that the *Atua* is in an ill-humour, thus venting his bile on the priest; whose flock observe, 'Nu Tilani,' man no fool; so they return the supposed anger of the *Atua*, with double applause on the priest, and a proportionate contempt on the faulty divinity, who is unable to know his own mind—which is a national feature."

Since, according to our author, the sacerdotal profession, supplied most commonly from the families of the chiefs, is

taken up as a convenient, respectable, and profitable resource, without any special qualification for its employments, we might wonder how these personages can have acquired such a hold on the minds of the people. There are some, indeed, who venture, in words, to make light of the priestly character and claims; but their infidelity is apt to shrink when put to the trial. There is, virtually, a spiritual court to deal with them.

"The younger relations, who possess but little in worldly goods in respectable families, generally take to this profession. There are many sensible natives who laugh at this class of men; but these free-thinkers, by the force of habit or example, succumb to the crafty old men on being taken ill; but no sooner recover than they become again faithless. The priests do not fail to notice these *independents*, and they are doubly mulcted when taken unwell."

These sages are the oracles consulted respecting the commencement, the continuance, or the cessation of war. A victory brings them double work, that of soothsaying, and that of privileged eating. When the body of a principal enemy is to be cut up, partly roasted, and tasted by these people, auguries are elicited by the appearance of the intestines; and on their position and taste depends the renewal or the cessation of the contest. The priests alone eat of the first body slain in battle; the chiefs and people partake of all that may be slain after. Thanks and offerings are presented to *Tu*, the native Mars, and to *Wiro*, the evil spirit. A female chief when slain, is cut up and sacrificed by priestesses; that is, if the men have sufficient *subjects* in hand of their own sex. These feminine incarnations of Satan are treated with much respect, are believed and trusted with the same implicit faith as the priests.

EXTENSIVE CANNIBALISM.

The victors sometimes killed themselves by gluttony in devouring human flesh. No wonder at this fatal effect in one of the instances; since of a thousand men slain of the defeated army, one fourth part were devoured on the same day, on the spot, by the conquerors, who were to the number of three thousand at the commencement of the battle. But the practice is not confined to formal war. It is a gratification additional to that of revenge in treacherous

murders. Slaves are sometimes less valued for their services, than as materials for gluttonous debauch. We can recollect to have seen an affectation of scepticism as to the existence, anywhere, of such a practice; any doubt pretended with respect to the New Zealanders would be simply ridiculous.

THE NEW ZEALAND CHIEF E'ONGI, ONCE RESIDENT IN ENGLAND.

In the savage conflict just referred to, the commander of the victorious party killed the leading chief of the opposite tribes, and drank the blood as it gushed from the decollated head. The left eye was hastily scooped out, and swallowed by the demoniac leader, that it might add to the refulgence of his own eye, when at his death it would be translated as a star in heaven. This chief was no other than the noted E'Ongi (usually written Shungie), who had made, previously to these hostilities, a visit to England, where he conducted himself with a manly, easy decorum; was introduced to George IV.; received much attention from a religious body with a view to engage his favour to missionaries; manifested a sagacious policy for the purposes of his ambition, in sedulously procuring useful implements, decidedly preferred by him to showy trifles; but was especially intent, above all, to supply himself with fire-arms and ammunition—a new aliment to his unmitigable ferocity. It was even believed that his eagerness, after his return to New Zealand, to prove the irresistible efficacy of these means of destruction in the hands of his warriors, was the real instigation to the war; while the pretext was, that one of his relations had been murdered and devoured by a neighbouring tribe. The leader of that tribe offered him any payment or satisfaction he should require; but he vowed extermination; and only a forlorn relic of the tribe was left alive, and this in slavery or dispersion. He was by far the most renowned and dreaded warrior in the island, or in the memory of its inhabitants. It was believed that he aspired to make himself master of them all—all that his ferocious massacres might leave in existence. But his own horrid life was prematurely brought to a close after a tedious decline, in consequence of a bullet-wound received fifteen months before.

Pursuing some retreating enemies to where they made a stand among bushes,—

“E'Ongi, who fought after the native fashion, namely, by lurking behind the trunks of trees, stepped on one side to discharge his musket, when a ball struck him, supposed to have been discharged by one of his own party. It broke his collar bone, passed by an oblique direction through his right breast, and came out a little below his shoulder-blade, close to the spine. The wound stopped his career. Most of the surgeons in the different whale-ships that entered the Bay of Islands, examined it, but found his case past all remedy. The wound never closed.

“His last moments were employed in strenuously exhorting his followers to be valiant, and defend themselves against the numerous enemies they had provoked, and who would take advantage of his departure to the *Reinga*, or world of spirits; adding, he wanted no other payment after his death. He besought them to allow the Church Missionaries to subsist in peace, for they had ever acted for the best. His dying lips were employed in repeating the words ‘*Kiá toá! kiá toá!*’ be courageous, be valiant. The demise of this indomitable warrior was awaited in fear and trembling by many of his nearest friends, who were fearful that the Hokianga chiefs would, according to custom, kill them as sacrifices to accompany their master's spirit; but the chief of the place bade them dismiss their fears.”

He died in March, 1828. Fiend as he was in war and victory, he is described as of very mild and inoffensive habits in time of peace; liking to play with little children; extremely affectionate to his relations; and almost overwhelmed by the loss of several sons, and of a favourite wife, whom, though blind, he regarded as his best friend and wisest counsellor.

IMPROVED CHARACTER OF THE NATIVES.

It is pleasing to be informed that the scene of E'Ongi's destructive exploits has become like an extinct volcano by his death. There has been no inheritor of his predominant power and ambition, and the chiefs of that northern territory have agreed in the policy of settling their differences in other ways than by mutual slaughter. The improvement is partly ascribed to the location of many Europeans among them. It was quite time to consider whether they should be willing to perish wholly from the earth. The face of the land

is like the fine scenery of the tragic theatre; an enchanting imagery to set off the horror of crime and death; tracts smiling and glowing in natural beauty, but frowning with the memorial of exterminating murder. Our author surveyed one fair and fertile tract after another; which, within memory, or according to tradition, had once been occupied by a living multitude, but are now desolate; marked here and there with some traces and relics of the works of tribes extinct. We may wonder how the population should ever have been numerous, if their temper and habits were the same in past ages as within the period of our acquaintance with them. And when we take into view the wars, the treachery, the cannibalism, the infanticide, the suicides, in honour of deceased relations, and the diseases imported from Europe, we may and do wonder that their numbers have been kept up to even the present amount.

FICKLE COURAGE OF THE NATIVES.

It is remarkable how much cowardice lurks in a temperament which blazes up into rage and madness in actual conflict. In the course of an exploring journey, our author was amused at the evident terror of his band of stout young chieftains, on occasion of the sudden appearance, or reported approach, of some two or three strange men, till they were recognised as a tribe not hostile. Even when such heroes are confronted in battle array, they are shy of commencing the fray, till some provocation fires their blood into reckless fury. The explosive suddenness of anger was often shown in the ordinary affairs of life. At some trifle of offence they would leap up, and caper, and rage about in frantic violence, with frightful gesticulations and grimaces. The Englishman would laugh at them, and by some adroit turn speedily reduce this outbreak to quietness or even good humour. Their fickleness and caprice were often an annoyance to him when he had to depend on their co-operation. His management was sometimes by humouring and bribing them, and sometimes by assuming the resolute tone of a master.

PARENTAL AFFECTION OF THE NEW ZEALANDERS.

We have mentioned their affection for their relations. Parents show a doating fondness for their children, who do

whatever they like without fear of chastisement; and, of course, are often impertinent and insolent in return. Meetings after absence make what we are in the fashion of denominating a *scene*:—

“One of the females who had accompanied us met with her father: whom she had no sooner beheld, not having expected to see him in this village, than she fell on his neck, and embraced him with such marks of filial piety and tenderness, as prevented me from being an unmoved spectator. The parent, who was quite gray, and bowed down with old age, applied his nose to hers, large tear-drops rolling in quick succession down his aged face, which the duteous daughter wiped away with her mat, that was soon saturated with their united tears.”

This was genuine, no doubt; and such was the warmth of parental affection in a man who would, very likely, have luxuriated in a feast on the roasted body of another parent's daughter, if obtained among the spoils of victory. Is it that in the savage, in the absence of all moral culture of the affections, the attachment of near relationship is, therefore, the stronger in the simple unmodified nature of an instinct, like that of the lower animals?

THE CEREMONY OF THE ‘TANGI.’

We wonder whether there be a philosophy that can assign the principle from which human beings should, equally on joyous and mournful occasions, affect a violent sorrow, and inflict on themselves frightful wounds, as in the ceremony denominated *tangi*, at once the most ludicrous and the most serious etiquette we have ever read of. On a meeting, from a distance, of parties who are friends, or whose policy it is to appear so, they burst out into loud wailings, and lacerate their own flesh with the muscle-shell, till they stream with blood, to the dismay of an European spectator. On the arrival of the author's party at the village of a chief who gave them a friendly reception,—

“The abomination of the *tangi* commenced, in which the early sobs rose to shrieks and outcries that were truly dismal to hear; it reminded me of those unhappy people whose prostrate imagination conceives no hope. This howling lasted an hour; and as we had passed through many adventures (in the ideas of a native), it took some time to chant over. The women, as usual, were most outrageous in the lament; and cut gashes

in their flesh with such ferocity, that I was fain glad to quit their vicinity."

THE UNIVERSAL RELATIONSHIP OF MAN.

We must reconcile ourselves, as well as we can, to the fact of our standing in the relationship of humanity with whatever is the most degraded portion of it. The declaration that "of one blood are made all nations, to dwell on all the face of the earth," brings something of rebuke and humiliation to the pride of civilization and refinement, when we read of a section of our general kindred having at this day such a taste and notion of luxury as that exhibited in the following paragraph:—

"I was introduced to that part of the enclosure, where the heads of the enemy that had been captured during the week were placed on poles, in front of the house of the chief. I counted nine. These heads had chanted the war-song but four days previously; the bodies which had appertained to them danced the wild *haka*, and had since been consigned to the oven, and nearly wholly devoured by the natives. Curious to see this abhorrent food, after it had undergone a culinary process, I requested a minor chief to show me some. He accordingly mounted a *wāhi*, where the provisions are always kept, and brought down a small flax basket, containing the human viand. At first view I should have taken it for fresh pork in a boiled state, having the same pale cadaverous colour. My informant stated it was a piece of the lower part of the thigh, grasping with his hand that part of my body, illustrative of what he advanced. It appeared very much shrunk; and on my observing it must have appertained to a boy, the head of its possessor when alive was pointed out to me, apparently a man of forty-five years of age.

"The sight of this piece of mortality afforded the chief some pleasure; for he stretched out his tongue, pretending to lick the food, and gave other significant signs, indicative of the excessive delight he felt in partaking of human flesh. He entered largely on the subject, pointing to many parts of my body, such as the palm of my hand, shoulders, and lower extremities, as being particularly delicate, even to the most fastidious."

VIRTUES OF THE NEW ZEALAND WOMEN.

We wish we had been distinctly told that the *women* stand aloof from such abominations. In other respects our author

has much to say in their favour. Here, as everywhere else, the all-pervading depravity of the human race has a mitigation of its virulence in the female sex. There are in the work repeated strong testimonies to a degree of modesty, in the young females especially, which, amidst such habits and spectacles as they are accustomed to witness, could have been preserved only by an innate principle. Such of them as become the wives of Europeans, especially if they have been under the tuition, or become the converts, of the missionaries, accommodate themselves with admirable facility to the dress, good order, and all the decorums of civilized life. In the savage state they are remarkable for a devoted attachment to their husbands, much greater than, we dare say, any of those husbands deserve. It appears to be no uncommon occurrence for a wife to destroy herself on the death of her husband; and that not in servility to any dictate of superstition, as among the Hindoos, but from the impulse of genuine and desolate affection. It happened several times to Mr. Polack to witness the funeral rites for such a self-immolated widow. The women share the common lot of their sex among all barbarous nations in being undervalued and doomed to all the hardship in the economy of life.

ARISTOCRACY AMONG SAVAGES.

The aristocratic principle has found its way (for it inheres in human nature) to this far-off fragment of the earth, where ancient patricians and modern peerage had never been heard of. But here it is remarkable, that the thing is not a contrivance for exemption from being useful; for the chiefs work in the plantations, gardens, and manual employments, as hard as, and along with, the commonalty and serfs. How such an anomaly can have happened is rather wonderful. Is it that they have been less arrogant than their "order" elsewhere, on the strength of rank, or that the plebeians have been able and had the sense to keep them down? It is not that little value is set on noble descent; it affects materially the regulations of society, especially in the affair of marriage. A chief may take a wife of inferior condition without damage to his station; but when a *lady* of quality accepts a man of the lower order she raises him, indeed, but

in the same degree herself descends. The son of such a marriage appears to inherit the mother's original rank, for with all freedom of speech and manner, he will remind his father that he is of finer quality. Though the chieftain rank is principally by descent, a man who is natively "nobody," may attain it by distinguished military exploits. There is a slave-class, consisting chiefly of captives and their descendants. Numerous runaways of this class have collected themselves into a sort of tribe, in an out-of-the-way district, to which the debasement peculiarly incident to their condition has accompanied their liberty.

VALUABLE QUALITIES OF THE NEW ZEALANDERS.

Hideously savage and repulsive as the character of these islanders stands out in our author's representation, verified by numerous narratives and anecdotes, he is, nevertheless, confidently sanguine as to what may come to be at no distant time. He is strong in the opinion of both their capability of a renovated condition, and their aptitude for it. They are far from that lumpish impregnable grossness which fixes down, as by a law of gravitation, the state of some of the outcasts of humanity, to remain the same from generation to generation. They are naturally intelligent, inquisitive, observant, of ready apprehension and flexible temper. They are quick to perceive the advantage of European arts, implements, and modes of operation, which they have a facility in imitating and adopting. Their spirit of traffic, knavish and thievish, no doubt, and specially intent on obtaining the means of effective warfare, will gradually conduce, by their trade with Europeans, to a multiplication of their wants and tastes, and tend to transfer their passion for guns and powder to objects more akin to peace and civilization. Their present care and neatness in the cultivation of their garden-grounds, afford some assurance they can be industrious. The vast nuisance of their superstition is not, we think, of a nature the most difficult to be abated. It is of a coarse consistence, by what we may call its poverty of dogmas. It exists in one rude fallacy of the imagination, instead of being radicated in intellectual and abstract principles; it cannot, therefore, have anything like the tenacity of the Asiatic paganism,

with their systematic order of speculative doctrines, to be complicated with and pervert all thinking on all subjects. It is a superstition which, when begun to be thrown off, may soon be wholly thrown off; since, though it does maintain a comprehensive tyranny over the people's feelings and actions, it is by one bare tangible form of delusion that it does so. A few notorious instances of evident impunity in defying and scorning the Atuas and their priests, will do much toward a riddance of the imposition and the bondage; as in the case of the heroic native female in the Sandwich Islands, who descended, alone, in the sight of an anxious multitude "halting between two opinions," into the great volcano, to challenge with insult the dreaded god of fire in his own domain, on the very edge of his glowing lava. The emancipation will be assisted by the conviction, acknowledged by these pagans, of the superior power of the Englishmen's God, who makes them invulnerable to the power and malice of theirs. All power sinks in estimation when seen in the presence and in awe of a greater power.

PROSPECTIVE COLONIZATION OF NEW ZEALAND.

Already considerable numbers of English have found their way into these fine islands; some to be located, many to traverse, trade, or play the villain, among the natives. The consequence is a balance of good and evil, with a very decided tendency to the latter; a certainty that it will and must predominate, unless prompt measures be adopted by this country to prevent it. Our author asserts pointedly and repeatedly, that the character of the natives, especially of the females, has become much vitiated (vitiating from that of the savage state!) by communication with the English. The country is becoming infested with deserters from ships and miscreants escaped from the convict colony. There are fast creating a pestilent compost of the vices of civilization, preposterously so called, with indigenous ones of the savages. Some of the masters and crews of trading ships have committed the most abominable iniquities.

It is but little that, on the wide scale, the mischiefs done by the numerous English reprobates can be countervailed by the missionaries, judicious and zealous as their exertions are testified to be. Mr. Polack insists, urgently, on the neces-

sity of a formal enterprise of colonization, armed with a strong official power, to exercise a coercion over the English propagators of vice and ruin ; to protect the natives while endeavouring to civilize them ; and to promote cultivation and commerce on a large regular plan ; having, in the first instance, obtained by purchase an extensive portion of land. He asserts that such an occupancy would be very acceptable to many of the natives : who can understand that it would be a great benefit to have European improvements introduced among them ; to have a traffic secured on equitable regulations, and even to have put over them, or at least to have among them, a foreign authority, able to interpose for the repression of the disorders which are rapidly working their destruction.

Under the auspices of such an establishment, to some extent lords of the soil, with great maritime resources and facilities, and gradually diffusing a mitigating and pacifying influence among the barbarous population, our author thinks the country would be a fine field for emigrants. He expatiates on its fertility, the adaptation of its various climates to all the vegetable productions of necessity or luxury ; its noble forests, its thickets of flax growing without cultivation ; its beautiful scenery ; and its commodious harbours. It is placed in strongly advantageous contrast with all but a very minor portion of the Australian continent ; of which it is mortifying to find so vast a proportion doomed to perpetual sterility for want of water ; while certain tracts warn off all but the moveable scantling of human existence, by a liability to transient deluges. It is mentioned in favour of New Zealand that it is fitted to be an advantageous point or centre of connexion between our already established colonies and the numerous islands of the Pacific Ocean.

Mr. Polack does not take any pains to obviate the fearful apprehensions that might arise in the minds of persons looking to emigration, at the thought of seeking a home in the midst of such a ferocious race. But he assumes, with a facility and confidence, that these formidable neighbours will speedily divest themselves of their infamous habits ; will renounce their favourite amusement of wholesale and retail assassination ; will addict themselves with a ready good will to agriculture, the mechanic arts, and traffic ; will gene-

rally, within a generation or two, learn the English language; and will sweep away their trumpery of Atuas, priests, conjurers, and that vexatious annoyance of the *taboo*, which is encountering every poor mortal at every turn. They are ambitious of acquiring something of what gives the Europeans so evident a superiority. And our author has seen some of the performances in the nicer parts of carpentry-work, which excelled those they imitated, and greatly elated the vanity of the workmen. Numbers of them are employed in the South Sea whaling and trading vessels; and soon become as competent to the service, in all its parts, as any other hands on board.

It is highly satisfactory to see in forward preparation, on a respectable scale, and under liberal and powerful patronage, such a scheme as our author recommends. To be sure, we have already colonies more than enough for the purposes of exhibiting bad government, draining the national treasury, instituting episcopal sees, and rendering us vulnerable at so many points to any enemy hereafter powerful at sea. But one really cannot help being sorry that so fine a tract of earth should be worse than useless on the planet, so capable and reclaimable a race of creatures abandoned to destruction, and a large portion of our own population, the while, in desperate competition for bits of ground to subsist upon.

We ought to have noticed more expressly that our author always speaks of the missionaries in strong terms of approbation and applause. Besides the general salutary tendency of their labours (although within a sphere necessarily very limited), he mentions various instances of their beneficial interference to prevent deeds of violence, and allay the passions of hostile parties.

THE IMPROVEMENT OF TIME, AN ESSAY.

ON THE WASTE OF INTERVALS.*

THE total loss of time in pure contented idleness, needless sleep, and painful listlessness, is to be condemned without mercy as the most unqualified guilt. There is another loss of time on which the censure may be pronounced with considerable mitigation, and that is, the neglect of many short periods which occur in the intervals of our serious engagements, and are impossible to be prevented, and difficult to be improved. They, however, form, when all added together, so material a portion of our life, that the loss of them is to be regarded as a very serious evil. If a man even of considerable assiduity could have a complete account at the end of the year of the whole measure of time lost in short intervals—by passing inactively from one employment to another, by indecision, by having forgotten to furnish himself with some inconsiderable but yet indispensable information, by waiting for the co-operation of other persons during a delay, perhaps, occasioned merely by their want of punctuality, or of losing that co-operation by failure of punctuality himself—he would be confounded to see this account placed in figures opposite to the number of hours which he had spent in real industry. And if the time consumed in useless intervals were added to what had been expended in sleep, in the other indispensable refreshments of nature, and in the relaxation indulged after the fatiguing part of his employments, what would be his sensations in contrasting this collective account with the comparatively small space of time which had been filled with industrious exertion? It is true that intervals of perfect inaction and mental vacancy may be allowed to follow some of the severe and protracted exertions of physical or intellectual strength; but it will be admitted that such intervals, in addition to the space unavoidably surrendered to sleep and the several seasons of refreshment within the day, ought to be very short, and cannot need to

* This fragment is selected from Chap. VI. of an unpublished Essay by Mr. Foster, entitled '*The Improvement of Time*,' and which it is proposed to include in our next volume.

recur very often. The corporeal and mental machine is not so extremely weak a thing as that every thought should be anxiously in quest of occasions for giving it repose.

In looking for the means of lessening this evil, it will be suggested as one useful direction that the changes from one employment to another should not be unnecessarily multiplied. If, for example, it is in a man's choice to change the nature of his employment, whether study or any other occupation, six times in the day, or to employ the whole time in three kinds, it would, perhaps, be better for the saving of time to adopt this latter plan, which would preclude three of the intervals involved in the former. He may devote the whole of the next day, with a similar avoidance of intervals, to the other three pursuits. And I am persuaded that of two men, of equal ability and industry, and whose employments equally admitted this choice of a slower or quicker vicissitude, the one who devoted the first day to half the six kinds of employment, and the second day to the other half, would accomplish more than he that divided each of the days among all the six. Besides the absolute space of vacancy, however small, between the laying aside of one occupation and the entrance on another, it is impossible that even the hand, but incomparably more the mind, where the employments are intellectual, should not require some little time to adapt itself to the new mode of operation. And in mental employments, the obvious advantage in point of time gained by avoiding many intervals of transition, is perhaps much less than that which is gained in the habit of the mind. Prolonged application to one thing will tend to improve the power and produce the habit of thinking in a continued train, which is one of the highest endowments of intellect. The habit of patient reasoning and invincible perseverance will never be matured in a plan of diverting the attention, however vivid it might be during the allotted time, from one thing to another in that quick succession of change which is injudiciously intended to turn the labour into amusement. We are all quite enough aware of the advantage of relieving the physical and mental powers by change of the mode of exertion ; but we are not sufficiently warned, on the other hand, of the danger of acquiring from this continual shifting of the object of attention, the fickle-

ness of thought which is fatal to all systematic energy of mind.

The importance of Method, as another means of preventing loss of time in small intervals, will already have occurred to every reader. The importance of method extends throughout the whole system of the improvement of time; since the application of its principles alone can produce that arrangement and combination which cause the diversified activity of life to be a system instead of a confused multiplicity of efforts without mutual dependence or connexion, and perhaps counteracting one another; but I mention it here only for the advantage which it gives in making a man certain, when he is dismissing one kind of employment, what is to be the next. The life of an adventurer or traveller will necessarily include so many occasions of action which are dependent on circumstances and persons beyond his control, that a large portion of his activity can be subjected to no methodical rules, and the choice of what he shall do at any particular time must be determined by what he could not know till that time arrives. A large proportion of mankind, on the other hand, are so rigidly bound down by the necessities of life to occupy almost all their time in one unvaried employment, as to have little room for arrangement and choice. But there are a considerable number whose situations, whose plans, or whose duties, include several definable occupations, which they can dispose, if they exert consideration enough, into an order which will best combine the effect and advantage of them all. This order, appointing the several parts of the day or the week to their respective employments, will at the end of each bring to hand the next in succession, as regularly as the numerical names of the hours of the day follow one another, and by thus precluding the delay of hesitation considerably reduce the interval. At the close of his solitary pursuits, the man is not compelled to waste half an hour or a full hour in considering to which of his social offices or public employments he shall devote the ensuing portion of the day.

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